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ABSTRACT

Designed to supplement and enliven standard textbook presentations of Japan, this workbook, through student exercises, seeks to answer some of the most common questions U.S. students have about Japan and its people. Classes exploring only one aspect of Japan as well as those seeking an integrated picture of Japan's traditional culture and contemporary society are encouraged to use the workbook. The exercises in the introductory section are suggested as approaches to beginning class discussion. Teachers can then proceed to any of the topical sections that follow: geography, language, religion, traditional history, modern history, society, government and politics, economy and trade, defense and foreign policy, literature, drama, culture, and arts. Each section has an introduction noting how the exercises within that section relate to one another or to points developed in other sections of the workbook. Materials on the Japanese American experience also are included.

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Contemporary JAPAN

A TEACHING WORKBOOK
third edition, revised

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third edition, revised

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Is a Japanese family like an American family?

What is the Tale of Genji?

Why are Japanese and English written so differently?

Is Japan Number One?

The exercises in the INTRODUCTION section are suggested as approaches to beginning the discussion. Teachers can then proceed to any of the topical sections that follow: GEOGRAPHY, LANGUAGE, RELIGION, TRADITIONAL HISTORY, MODERN HISTORY, SOCIETY, GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, ECONOMY AND TRADE, DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY, LITERATURE, DRAMA, CULTURE, and ARTS. Each section has an introduction noting how the exercises within that section relate to one another or to points developed in other sections of the workbook. Materials on the Japanese American experience are included.

The workbook is designed to supplement and enliven standard textbook presentations of Japan. For this purpose, units on various aspects of Japanese history and culture have been prepared by specialists at Columbia University or selected from and identified in other publications. Materials prepared at Columbia were reviewed by a board of Japan experts on the Columbia faculty and by a panel of secondary level teachers on the faculties of junior and senior high schools in the New York vicinity. Final revision was based on their suggestions and criticisms.

The revision and expansion of the workbook for this third edition was made possible by a grant from the U.S.-Japan Foundation.

It is hoped that the workbook will be useful to classes exploring only one aspect of Japan as well as to those seeking an integrated picture of Japan's traditional culture and contemporary society.

Responsibility for the content of the workbook and for remaining errors or omissions rests solely with the East Asian Curriculum Project of Columbia University.

The United States and Japan: A Special Relationship

From Commodore Perry, Pearl Harbor, and the occupation to their economic, political, and military ties of the 1980s, Japan and the United States have long shared a special relationship.

Today as two industrial giants, both with democratic political systems and common defense policies and interests in the Pacific region, the two countries have much in common. They are at once colleagues and competitors. Yet, perhaps because they are separated by thousands of miles of ocean and have inherited different cultural traditions, each country often seems unfamiliar and inscrutable to the other.

The exercises that follow in this workbook are designed to answer some of the most common questions Americans have about Japan and the Japanese:

Why are the Japanese so successful?

What does it mean to be Japanese?

Who were samurai?

What problems do the Japanese face and how are they solving them?

What would it be like to grow up in Japan?

What is a balance of trade? What does Japan trade?

What is zen?

Why did Japan and the United States go to war in World War II?

Japanese words and names have been transcribed in this workbook according to the Hepburn system of Romanization.

Vowels in Japanese are similar to those in Italian:

a	as in	arm
i	as in the first e in	eve
u	as in	rude
e	as in a in	chaotic
o	as in	old

Long marks or macrons over the vowels u and o (ū, ō) require that the sound be held for twice its normal duration.* Since there are no true diphthongs in Japanese, each vowel must be pronounced separately. For example, the word kai is pronounced ka-i.

Consonants are pronounced as in English (g is always hard) with the exception of r, which is rendered like the unrolled r of Spanish. Double consonants should be sustained in the same fashion as the lengthened vowels mentioned above.

* The long marks are usually omitted from such prominent place names as Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, Honshu, Kyushu, and Hokkaido, and words that commonly appear in English-language dictionaries such as Shinto, shogun, and daimyo.

Acknowledgment: Adapted from A Syllabus of Japanese Civilization, second edition, by Paul H. Varley. Copyright © 1972 by Columbia University Press. Reprinted by permission.

INTRODUCTION / CONTENTS

CONTEMPORARY JAPAN: A POSTINDUSTRIAL SOCIETY (Themes)

Presents a list of five themes that offer possible approaches to initiating a discussion of Japan in the classroom.

JAPAN: AN INTERDEPENDENT NATION (Film Guide)

This excellent film provides an introductory overview of all aspects of contemporary Japan. A film guide with supplementary exercises has been developed for use with the film by The Japan Project at Stanford University.

VIDEO LETTERS FROM JAPAN (Film Guide)

A comprehensive visual overview of Japan for students, presenting material similar to that contained in Japan: An Interdependent Nation. Two series are available: one for grades 5-9; one for grades 9-12.

MADE IN JAPAN: THE PRODUCT EXERCISE (Exercise)

A simple exercise in which students are asked to identify items in their homes that were made in Japan. Designed to initiate discussion of the economic ties between the United States and Japan.

THE DISCOVERY BOX (Resource)

An introductory unit developed by The Japan Project at Stanford University.

NEWSPAPERS: VIEWS OF THE WORLD (Reading/Exercise)

Based on the actual front page of one of Japan's national newspapers, this exercise helps students explore one source of information Japanese and American have to learn about each other.

IS JAPAN NUMBER ONE? (Reading/Guide)

If students are already extremely conscious of economic relations between the United States and Japan, this unit can be useful in directing their attention to many aspects of contemporary Japan that they may wish to explore further.

JAPAN: TECHNOLOGY AND GLOBAL ISSUES (Film Guide)

"Energy Conservation in Japan"

"Pollution: Japan Meets the Challenge"

These two films demonstrate that Japan is very similar to the United States in economic development, that it faces similar problems (pollution, energy conservation), and that it is at the forefront of discovering solutions to these problems from which Americans can benefit. Either film can be shown in courses on global issues without necessitating an entire unit of study on Japan.

RECOMMENDED RESOURCES & RESOURCE CENTERS

Annotated lists of additional resources providing a general introduction to Japan:

- Resource Centers
- Audio-Visual Resources
- Teacher References
- Teaching Workbooks
- Travel Opportunities for Teachers
- Teachers from Japan in American Schools

Contemporary Japan: A Postindustrial Society

SUGGESTED APPROACHES FOR INITIATING A DISCUSSION OF JAPAN IN THE CLASSROOM

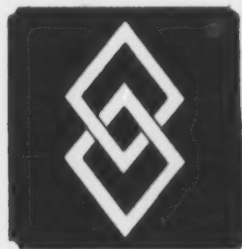
- Theme 1 Situated on a string of islands in Asia, Japan was once an isolated country but now is a leading industrial power in the world--ranked third behind only the United States and the Soviet Union. How has Japan been so successful?
- Theme 2 Japan is very similar to the United States in that it is an advanced, industrialized society where citizens enjoy relatively high standards of living and face common problems. What does Japan look like? How are the Japanese solving problems that Americans also face, such as pollution, energy conservation, and urban overcrowding?
- Theme 3 Japan is a competitor of the United States in technological innovation and trade. What should Americans know about Japan's society and economic system? Can Americans learn from Japanese? What is behind the image of Japan as "Number One"?
- Theme 4 How do Japanese feel about themselves and their world position? What types of change are taking place in Japan?
- Theme 5 What makes Japan different and unique?

The units that follow in the INTRODUCTION section are highly recommended as ways to explore the above themes.

INTRODUCTORY THEMES/2

Once the introductory questions have been raised, subsequent sections of the workbook may be introduced in any sequence as you explore the question of what makes Japan different and unique.

GEOGRAPHY	The effect of islands, mountains, and scarce national resources on Japan's development
HISTORY	Traditional Japan; castle towns and samurai; the Meiji Restoration; World War II; the American occupation; economic growth from 1870 to 1980
SOCIETY	Education; lifetime employment; family roles; group orientation; urban life; women; youth
ECONOMY	Facts about Japan's economy and trade relations; secrets of Japan's economic success
GOVERNMENT	How the Japanese government functions
DEFENSE/ INTERNA- TIONAL RELATIONS	Japan's role in the Pacific and the world; the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty; Japan's "nuclear allergy"
CULTURE & DRAMA	Noh and Kyōgen; rock gardens and festivals
LANGUAGE & LITERATURE	The writing system; novels and poetry
RELIGION	Shinto and Buddhism; contemporary religious attitudes



Japan: An Interdependent Nation

Introductory Film

An introductory overview of Japan is provided by this excellent film, produced by the International Film Foundation in 1980.

JAPAN: AN INTERDEPENDENT NATION includes discussion of geography, agriculture, fishing, natural resources, history, the legacy of World War II, religion, drama, sports, games, food, nightlife, education, government, and provides a glimpse of contemporary Japan in comparative perspective--its economy and trade relations, population, the challenges it faces, the nature of family life.

A guide with class exercises is available to use with the film. Individual lessons on vocabulary-building, data collection, graph reading, and a student worksheet to aid in comprehension of the film are included. Emphasis is on making U.S.-Japan comparisons. The film guide can be used to enrich the narration of the film which is very fair and comprehensive, but slightly slow.

<u>Title:</u>	JAPAN: AN INTERDEPENDENT NATION
<u>Format:</u>	16 mm, color, 25 minutes (release date: 1980)
<u>Available from:</u>	Audio-Visual Services Kent State University 330 KSU Library Kent, OH 44242

AN INTERDEPENDENT NATION/2

Rental fee:

\$15.75 plus \$1.00
postage and handling
or: Audio-Visual Center
Indiana University
Bloomington, IN 47405

c. \$15.00 plus postage and handling

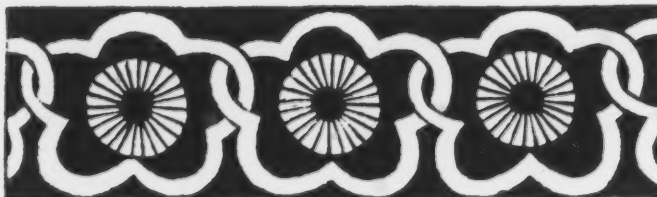
FILM GUIDE with supplementary activities

Available from:

The Japan Project/SPICE
Room 200, Lou Henry Hoover Building
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305

Price:

\$2.00



INTRODUCTION
FILM EXERCISE

Video Letters from Japan

TWO SERIES OF HIGHLY RECOMMENDED OVERVIEWS OF JAPAN FOR GRADES 5-7 AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

Format: Nine packages, each with a teacher's guides, VHS video tape, and a classroom poster, playing time 25-30 minutes each.

Available from: Education and Communications Department
The Asia Society
725 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Tel. (212)288-6400

Price: \$22.95 per package
\$130.00 for all six packages of Series I, pre-paid
\$137.00 for all six packages of Series I, if billed

VIDEOLETTERS FROM JAPAN I (Grades 5-7)

(1) MY DAY

A typical school day of a sixth-grade Tokyo boy, featuring family and peer relationships, school and play, home and classroom chores, and afterschool activities.

(2) TOHOKU DIARY

School field trip of five sixth-graders and their teacher to Tohoku, the northernmost region of Honshu (the largest island of Japan), featuring geographic, industrial, and historical exploration.

(3) MAKING THINGS

Japanese industry--traditional and contemporary--in Osaka (third largest city in Japan), Kobe (an international port city), and Mino (a small village).

(4) MY FAMILY

An in-depth look at two families in northern Japan, providing glimpses into Japanese home and community life, wintertime recreation and celebrations, and the different activities of girls and boys.

(5) LIVING ARTS

A look at the traditional arts and culture of Japan through the lives of a contemporary Japanese family living in Kyoto, Japan's cultural capital.

(6) OUR SCHOOL

6th graders of a Tokyo elementary school take us through the various aspects of their school year revealing the fun and games and rigorous academic expectations of educational life in Japan.

VIDEOLETTERS FROM JAPAN II (Secondary School)

(1) SUBURBAN TOKYO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

(2) THE COLLEGE YEARS

(3) An, as yet, untitled program on the early work years immediately following college.

[The three videos above should be available for distribution starting in fall 1988.]

INTRODUCTION Exercise

To the teacher

This exercise might also be used as an introduction to the section on ECONOMY AND TRADE.

Made in Japan/ The Product Exercise

STEP 1

In class, make a list of all these items in your home that you think come from Japan:

- 1) Was your refrigerator made in Japan?
- 2) Was your television set made in Japan? What is the brand name?
- 3) Was your radio made in Japan? What is the brand name?
- 4) Was your stereo equipment made in Japan? What is the brand name?
- 5) Was your tape recorder made in Japan? What is the brand name?
- 6) Was your camera made in Japan? What is the brand name?
- 7) Were any of your clothes made in Japan? By which company?
- 8) Does any of your family's food come from Japan?
- 9) Was your family car made in Japan? By which company?
- 10) Do you have a calculator? Was it made in Japan? What is the brand name?

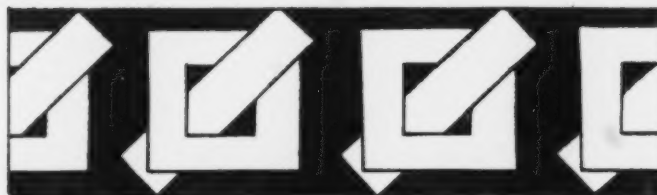
STEP 2

Take your list home with you and check your answers. Were you right? Did you leave out some things? Did you know which brand names were Japanese and which were American?

STEP 3

Compare your list with those of your classmates.

- What type of items are most commonly imported from Japan?
- Which are not imported from Japan?
- What do the results tell you about the quality of Japanese technology?
- Which companies or brand names were most commonly listed?
- Are you surprised by the results?
- Did you think that some of these brand names were American?
- If a student in Japan tried to make the same list today, what do you think the results would be?



Teacher's Note: A more elaborate version of this exercise, stressing interdependence, is included in the packet entitled "An Introduction to International Trade: Focus on Japan and the United States" by The Japan Project at Stanford University. See the resource list on U.S.-Japan Trade in the section of the workbook on ECONOMY AND TRADE for a complete reference.

Discovery Box

Discovering Japan through Artifacts

A 29-page unit of classroom activities with instructions on how to create your own "discovery box" from Japanese articles available in American stores. Designed for grades 1-6, it can be easily adapted for upper grade levels.

Available from:

The Japan Project
SPICE
Lou Henry Hoover Building
Room 200
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305-6012

Tel. (415)723-1116

Price:

\$5.95

Newspapers: Views of the World

To the student Although the Japanese written language is difficult to learn, Japan has the second highest literacy rate in the world, surpassed only by that of the Soviet Union. This high degree of literacy is reflected in the reading habits of the people. Newspaper circulation is particularly high -- third in the world in volume (following the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.) and second only to Sweden in circulation per 1,000 people (526 copies, compared to 287 copies per 1,000 people in our own country).* In this section, we examine the effect this has on the views Japanese hold of the rest of the world.

Newspapers: Views of the World

The illustration that follows is the front page of the evening edition of the Asahi shinbun (Asahi newspaper) for January 21, 1981. The Asahi is one of the five major newspapers of Japan; others are the Yomiuri shinbun, Mainichi shinbun, Sankei shinbun, and Nihon keizai shinbun. Each of these newspapers is distributed nationwide, publishing the same articles throughout the country on international and national political, economic, and cultural news. Local editions vary only in local news, advertising, and television and radio listings, in much the same way that The New York Times or Daily News have special sections for Long Island or Westchester. In addition, there are also many local papers, and specialized papers such as sports dailies, as well as a great number of weekly news magazines similar to Newsweek or Time.

Coverage of United States news is extensive. On the whole, the average Japanese knows a good deal more about the United States than the average American knows about Japan. The two major stories on the front page of the January 21 edition, as you can see by the photographs, cover American news: the inauguration of President Reagan and the return of the U.S. hostages from Iran. A translation of the headlines and the opening paragraph summarizing the two stories appears on the facing page.

*Statistics are from Facts and Figures of Japan, 1980 edition, published by the Foreign Press Center, Tokyo, and available free from the Japanese Consulate.

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1981年(昭和56年)1月21日 水曜日 34149号

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朝日新聞

夕刊

朝日新聞社



STORY

星百合さん捜索再開

運命また強硬方針を決定

上場関係の賛否対立が激化

カルメン・マキ再会かある

16 2 14 14

16 2 14 14

16 2 14 14

16 2 14 14

16 2 14 14

16 2 14 14

16 2 14 14

16 2 14 14

「小さな政府」めざす

レーガン米大統領 就任演説



自由な経済を強調

「敵対国」に屈せず

【ワシントン20日電】レーガン米大統領は20日、就任演説で自由な経済を強調し、敵対国に屈しない姿勢を示した。演説は、自由な貿易と競争の重要性を述べ、冷戦時代の結束を告げた。レーガン氏は、米国の経済的強さを誇り、世界に自由な市場の拡大を求めた。

【ワシントン20日電】レーガン米大統領は20日、就任演説で自由な経済を強調し、敵対国に屈しない姿勢を示した。演説は、自由な貿易と競争の重要性を述べ、冷戦時代の結束を告げた。レーガン氏は、米国の経済的強さを誇り、世界に自由な市場の拡大を求めた。

公立高校

入学全

自治



人質、西独に向かう

怪アジエ 由元気な足どり

【ワシントン20日電】人質事件の進展が注目されている。西ドイツ方面から情報が得られ、人質の安全が確保される見込みがある。また、怪アジエの足どりが気になるとされている。当局は緊張感を維持し、事態の収束を図っている。

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Via
Algiers
—
THEY
APPEAR
HEALTHY

HOSTAGES
HEAD
FOR
WEST
GERMANY

Aim Is Small Government

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT REAGAN



Emphasis
Is
On
Free
Economy

NO
YIELD
ING
TO
'HOSTILE
COUNTRIES'

*On January 20, Americans were elated by two historic events. First, at the Capitol Building, in Washington, beginning at noon (Japan time, 2 a.m. Jan. 21), Mr. Ronald Reagan was inaugurated as fortieth president. He called for an "American rebirth" marked by prosperity and vitality. Meanwhile, Mr. Carter, cherishing the hope that somehow the liberation of the Iranian hostages would be realized during his term of office, stood by at the White House, but finally, as time ran out, he proceeded to the inauguration ceremony. The departure of the 52 U.S. Embassy personnel from Teheran, after 443 days, occurred at 12:33 p.m., just after the ceremony ended (Japan time 2:33 a.m. Jan. 21). The freed American diplomats reached Algiers about 8 hours later, where U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Christopher took over from the Algerian government, which had negotiated the agreement; and the group headed for the U.S. Air Force Base in Weisbaden, West Germany. The new president did not touch on the hostage question at all in his inaugural address, but displayed his concern by designating Mr. Carter as special government envoy and sending him to Weisbaden.

Questions for Discussion

1. What is the difference between circulation measured by volume and circulation per one thousand readers?

What do the figures given in the introduction tell you about Japanese newspaper publication?

2. Why do you think the Japanese as a whole are better informed about U.S. affairs than Americans are about Japan?

What contemporary reasons can you think of?

What historical reasons?

3. Does the United States have any national newspapers?

How would you explain this?

Does your city have specialized papers as well as general newspapers?

What are they?

Exercises

1. In your library, find the issue of your local daily newspaper that covered the inauguration and hostage release. Compare the front-page headlines with the ones from the Asahi shinbun. Write a short statement about what aspects of the two events are seen as most significant in the coverage according to what is mentioned in the headlines.

2. Skim through your local papers and one national news magazine for a week, and cut out all the articles that mention Japan. You might also make a note of mentions on the broadcast news -- either radio or television, and include your notes. Then write a short essay showing what you have learned about Japan and its affairs from the news media. Consider the following questions: What seems to be the area of focus of these stories? Does this indicate what Americans see as their most important ties with Japan? Do you agree?



Is Japan Number One?

WHAT CAN AMERICA LEARN FROM JAPAN? WHAT DOES
AMERICA NEED TO LEARN FROM JAPAN?

I am convinced that it is a matter of urgent national interest for Americans to confront Japanese success more directly and consider the issues they raise. . . . Japan has dealt more successfully with more of the basic problems of postindustrial society than any other country.

--Ezra Vogel
Preface, pp. viii, ix

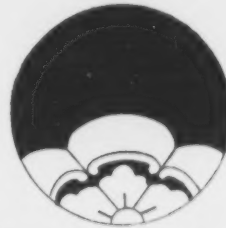
Book Title: JAPAN AS #1: LESSONS FOR AMERICA
Author: Ezra Vogel
Publisher: Harper and Row (Colophon Books)
Price: \$4.95 paperback

**TO THE
TEACHER**

This excellent, short book could be used to provoke discussion and further investigation of topics by students. For example, individual students or small research teams could each be assigned to report on one of the twelve chapters. Comparative data on U.S. performance in the particular topic area could also be gathered independently by such research teams.

Students who have little background knowledge of Japanese society as a whole may tend to idealize Japan's performance in certain areas as a model for the United States, but this book will arouse student curiosity about learning from another culture. As such it provides a good introduction to the many faces of Japan presented elsewhere in the workbook.

Contents



Part I. The Japanese Challenge

- Chapter 1 **A MIRROR FOR AMERICA** suggests that America could profit from studying Japan's successes.
- Chapter 2 **THE JAPANESE MIRACLE** describes some areas where Japan has the competitive edge.

Part II. Japanese Successes

- Chapter 3 **KNOWLEDGE: PURSUIT AND CONSENSUS** examines Japan's institutions for gathering, analyzing, and disseminating information and argues that shared knowledge produces a group commitment to action.
- Chapter 4 **THE STATE: MERITOCRATIC GUIDANCE AND PRIVATE INITIATIVE** explains the distinguished nature of Japan's national bureaucracy and the special role it plays in guiding the state.
- Chapter 5 **POLITICS: HIGHER INTERESTS AND FAIR SHARES** describes how Japan's diverse interest groups unite for common goals, while the political system acknowledges the claims of all recognized groups.
- Chapter 6 **THE LARGE COMPANY: IDENTIFICATION AND PERFORMANCE** explains the practices by which large companies gain the loyalty of their employees and encourage productivity.
- Chapter 7 **BASIC EDUCATION: QUALITY AND EQUALITY** is a description of the school system and national policies that produce high academic motivation and virtually 100 percent literacy.
- Chapter 8 **WELFARE: SECURITY WITHOUT ENTITLEMENT** shows how government policies on national health, the aged, unemployment, etc., create support for the needy at minimum public expense.

Chapter 9

CRIME CONTROL: ENFORCEMENT AND PUBLIC SUPPORT explains why the Japanese police are effective in apprehending criminals and why they receive strong public support.

Part III. American Response

Chapter 10

LESSONS: CAN A WESTERN NATION LEARN FROM THE EAST? identifies features for new American policies based on the Japanese model and possible dangers of such policies.

JAPAN AS #1: LESSONS FOR AMERICA

Chapter 1. A MIRROR FOR AMERICA.

One way for America to gain a perspective on its problems is to compare how the same questions are dealt with in Japan, the world's third largest economy and a modern democratic state with a free enterprise system similar to our own. Japan is a useful mirror because 1) it has consciously examined and restructured its own institutions, 2) it drew upon and recombined both traditional and foreign systems, 3) it has dealt with problems just beginning to confront America, and 4) its institutions have been extraordinarily successful.

Chapter 2. THE JAPANESE MIRACLE.

Japan, compared to the United States, is a small country. It has a large population, limited agricultural land, and virtually no industrial raw materials. When the Allied occupation ended in 1952, Japan's production had returned to prewar levels, but its GNP was still low. In the next three decades, Japan became the world's second industrial producer, a leader in international trade, and was able to deal with national problems such as health care, education, transportation, and pollution.

Japan lags behind in political and cultural influence and is not the number one power in gross national product, but it may be number one in coping with the problems of the postindustrial society. (Note: This book is not a well-rounded picture of Japan, but focuses on Japanese successes that may be useful to Americans wishing to improve our country.)

Chapter 3. KNOWLEDGE: PURSUIT AND CONSENSUS.

This chapter focuses on Japanese patterns of data gathering, for "if any single factor explains Japanese success, it is the group-directed

quest for knowledge" (p. 27). For individuals, study and self-improvement continue throughout life. The demand for information supports diverse forms of continuing education as well as massive industries of printed and electronic media. The Japanese commitment to compete in sports like baseball and swimming is cited as an interesting example of the practice of information gathering. The national government and large businesses maintain complex organs for information gathering, analysis, and dissemination. The national obsession with information gathering results not only in wise decisions, but also in consensus on group action and individual commitment to organizational goals.

Chapter 4. THE STATE: MERITOCRATIC GUIDANCE AND PRIVATE INITIATIVE.

Much of the credit for Japan's development of successful national and international policies must go to the government bureaucracy. Whereas America's top governmental advisers change with each new administration, Japan's bureaucracy is autonomous, experienced, and talented. Only the best students of the nation's elite universities are recruited. They are generalists who train by a rotation of posts, advance according to length of experience, and retire at about age fifty, unless chosen to become ministry chief.

Government ministries research and publish position papers on trends and national goals. While seldom subsidizing private business, the ministries try to encourage the private sector to pursue national goals by creating attractive conditions. The bureaucracy, which gives stability in the political winds, is itself moderated by the process of consensus policy formation, whereby all involved sectors of the nation contribute to making a decision. The bureaucracy is monitored by the press, opinion polls, and deliberative councils.

Chapter 5. POLITICS: HIGHER INTERESTS AND FAIR SHARES.

Vogel suggests that Japanese politics is a more effective "democracy" than that of America, in its capacity to give expression to diverse interests and to satisfy those interests. Rather than working through narrow, special-interest associations, the Japanese act in multipurpose groups (village or professional organizations, for example), which are better organized and willing to form alliances for a more general good. Because members invest so much time in these groups, they are usually well-informed on the issues and able to mobilize a united front.

A group may unite with like-minded groups in other locales to form a vertical, national organization at the same time that it is involved horizontally with diverse groups in the same locale to promote regional development. Virtually all major business firms are involved in cross-cutting alliances: united with all other firms in the same industrial sector, united with firms of diverse sectors to form an economic cartel (zaibatsu), united with other firms of comparable size. Japanese attitudes toward the distribution of benefits or power are never "winner takes all." Rather, a conscious effort is made to

include all recognized groups. Voting laws are such that they ensure the election of some minority candidates. As long as the informal forces of social control remain strong enough to create solidarity (consensus and unified action), Japanese groups will continue to form aggregates and be able to obtain their fair share through the political process.

Chapter 6. THE LARGE COMPANY: IDENTIFICATION AND PERFORMANCE

Large Japanese companies are among the most successful in the world, in part because of organizational practices that integrate employees and ensure worker commitment to company goals. The practice of lifetime employment means that employees see their own long-term self-interest in helping the company thrive. Employee fears of being surpassed by junior workers are removed by using a system of advancement based on seniority, thus minimizing counterproductive, intracompany competition. Decision-making "from the bottom up" results in consensus on policy and builds morale, particularly at lower levels.

The loyalty and enthusiasm that large companies engender in their employees is not merely a product of national character or of continuity in traditional institutional organization. Rather, it is the result of consciously pursued organizational principles developed in the mid-twentieth century.

Chapter 7. BASIC EDUCATION: QUALITY AND EQUALITY

The Japanese school system has produced virtually 100 percent literacy, and Japanese are among the best educated people in the world. The education system does have some undesirable aspects, such as the "examination hell." The system works to motivate all involved parties--students, parents, teachers. Extra days of school, outside classes (*juku*), and parental support in part explain the scholastic excellence. That Japan's education system is national (rather than state) has resulted in consistently high standards, as well as uniformity in textbooks, curricula, teaching practices, etc. Educational television, offering programming to complement school curricula, is a nationally available resource.

Chapter 8: WELFARE: SECURITY WITHOUT ENTITLEMENT

Japan has succeeded in securing the health of its citizens, supporting its aged, and buffering its workers against economic trauma through a series of policies that minimize government interference and public expense. The national health plan encourages frequent visits to private physicians, fixes fees at a low price, and pays 70 percent of the cost. For people over seventy, there are national pension plans and free medical treatment. All other welfare payments are kept small to discourage reliance on the government. Welfare is provided through occupational groupings, a system which is supported by business because benefits reinforce worker loyalty. The government reduces unemployment and unemployment compensation by partially reimbursing companies for not laying off workers. Small farms and small retail businesses are protected by government rules so as to offer a source

of economic activity for retired people. Expenses are minimized by high centralization of the welfare bureaucracy. While the Japanese welfare system fails to protect certain groups, it achieves the welfare of most of its citizenry through policies that increase employment opportunities while encouraging individual and family economic responsibility.

Chapter 9. CRIME CONTROL: ENFORCEMENT AND PUBLIC SUPPORT

Japan confounds the expectation that industrial, urbanized nations will see an increase in crime. Japan has a low crime rate, and the police are very successful in apprehending the criminals who do appear. The police are effective because they are highly trained professionals granted large discretionary powers. The extensive system of local police boxes means that help is always close at hand. The public trusts and cooperates with the police. Criminals are not sheltered but are encouraged to surrender. The legal system is efficient, but it shows leniency for contrition, thus discouraging resistance.

Chapter 10. LESSONS: CAN A WESTERN NATION LEARN FROM THE EAST?

Americans have been reluctant to acknowledge that it is through superior planning, organization, and effort that the Japanese have beaten us in economic competition. If America is to profit from Japan's experience, an integrated program would contain features such as 1) an industrial and trade policy that goes beyond mere reliance on free-market mechanisms; 2) a small core of permanent, high-level bureaucrats of the highest caliber to guide national policy; 3) a communitarian vision that recognizes the merits of group endeavor and reevaluates the concept of individual liberties in the face of common interests; and 4) aggregation of interests whereby groups in the same field of endeavor spend more time determining common goals. In applying the Japanese patterns we must be careful not to smother individual rights, individuality, and creativity, ignore the variant, the opposition, and the little man, condemn the misfit, stimulate excessive nationalism, or become immobilized by continuing to rely on consensus when one partner refuses to compromise.

The Japanese model evolved in a period of rapid economic growth and other circumstances that have now changed, but it appears that Japan will continue to have the leadership, cohesion, and group support necessary to maintain a highly effective society without any great change in the near future. America, in this time of social and economic crisis, can profit from borrowing elements of the Japanese model.

Questions for Discussion

1. What country do Americans usually think of as Number One? Why?

What is your reaction to the idea of Japan as Number One? In what areas does the author consider Japan to be Number One?

In what areas is Japan second? In what areas does Japan lag behind?

2. The Japanese are famous for their ability to seek out foreign ideas and adapt them for their own use.

Do you think that Americans are good at learning from other countries?

If yes, explain how you think Americans do this.

3. Can you think of any cases where America has tried to change to meet the challenge posed by another country? What do you know about Sputnik?

4. The author suggests a number of ways in which the Japanese have been "successful" in dealing with social problems.

Which of these solutions sound attractive to you and why?

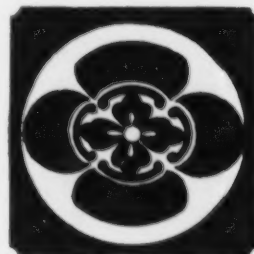
Which don't you like?

Which of the suggested changes might be relatively easy to accomplish?

Which of the suggested changes would be particularly difficult to accomplish in America?

5. To what extent does the Japanese educational system seem to contribute to Japan's success?

Do you think that there are any elements of this system that Americans should adopt?



TECHNOLOGY AND GLOBAL ISSUES

Energy Conservation in Japan

This is an excellent film that can be used in class to illustrate several important points:

- Japan's dependence on foreign suppliers for raw materials necessary for its advanced economy (petroleum is Japan's major source of energy, yet 99 percent of it must be imported)
- the advanced level of Japan's economy and technical development
- the similarity of problems faced by Japan and the United States
- global interdependence in addressing challenges of development, now and in the future
- the technology of alternative sources of energy, simply presented (nuclear power, geothermal power, water, the sea)

<u>Film title:</u>	ENERGY CONSERVATION IN JAPAN
<u>Format:</u>	16 mm, color, 26 minutes (release date: 1981)
<u>Available from:</u>	Japan Trade Center Public Affairs Office 1221 Avenue of the Americas New York, NY 10020 Telephone: (212) 997 0400
<u>Price:</u>	FREE

**TO THE
TEACHER**

- * graph exercises on Japan's energy needs, using more complete and up-to-date statistics, are included in the workbook section on ECONOMY AND TRADE, introductory exercise #7A.
- * A list of QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION is appended to the film guide. The questions can be distributed to students prior to the film showing in order to focus their attention on the material in the film.



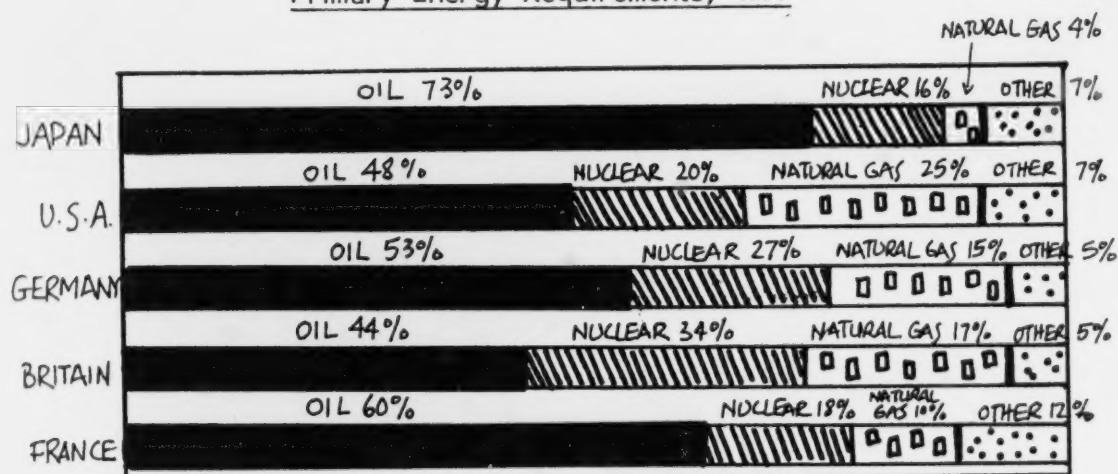
Synopsis

Japan is shown to be pursuing the quest for alternative energy sources to petroleum with particular vigor, given its extreme dependence on foreign oil. (As of 1977, 99 percent of Japan's oil was imported.)

- Graphs demonstrate Japan's relatively great dependence on oil, in comparison with that of other advanced industrial countries. These graphs are reproduced below to be used as teaching aids.
- Alternative sources of energy that are being test and explored are described. These are nuclear energy, solar energy, geothermal energy, hot water produced by electricity generation, and flowing water--rivers and the ocean's waves. The scientific and technological principles that characterize each energy source are outlined by simple animation and are explained in terms that will be of interest to secondary-level students.

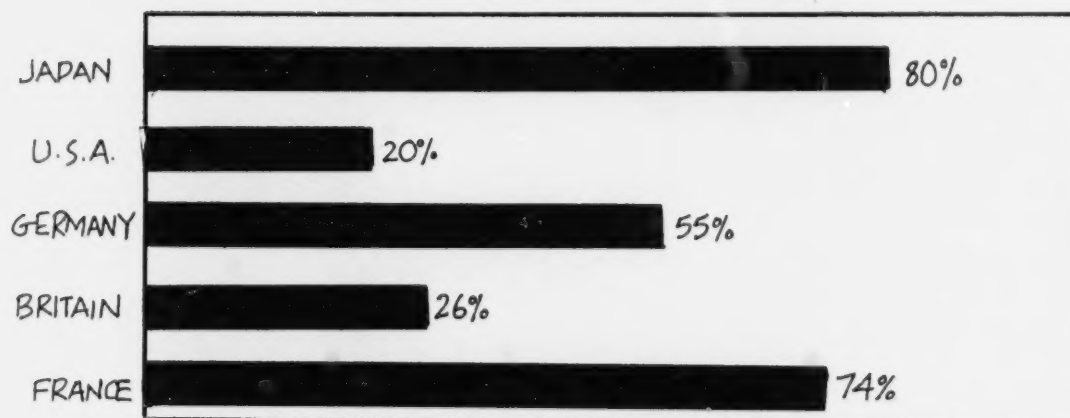
GRAPHS USED IN THE FILM

Primary Energy Requirements, 1977



SOURCE: OECD, 1977.

Dependence on Imports for Energy



SOURCE: OECD, 1977, cited in film "Energy Conservation in Japan."

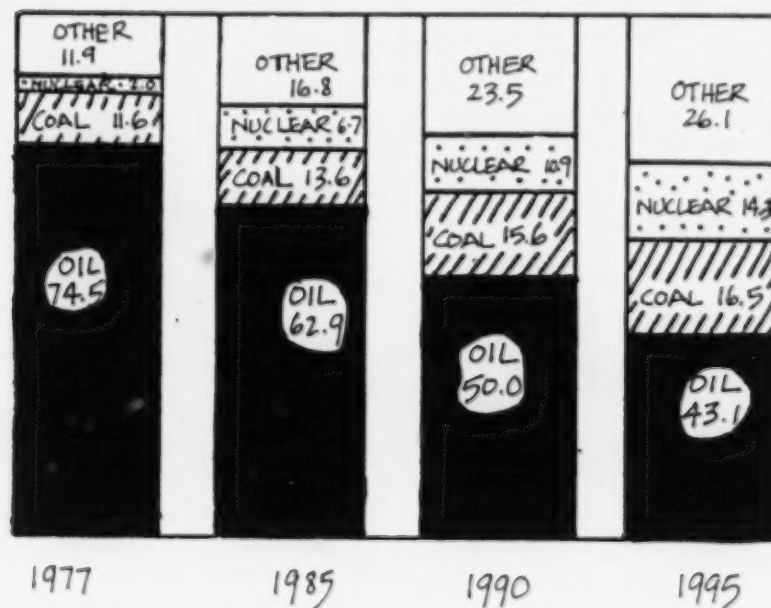
ENERGY CONSERVATION/4

Final Energy Consumption by Sector

	INDUSTRY	TRANSPORTATION	OTHER
JAPAN	57.5%	17.7%	24.6%
U.S.A.	32.1	34.5	33.4
GERMANY	40.8	18.9	40.3
BRITAIN	39.9	22.3	37.8
FRANCE	40.9	21.7	37.4

SOURCE: OECD, 1978.

Japan's Targeted Change in Energy Sources



SOURCE: AGENCY OF NATIONAL RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT, n.d.

Questions for Discussion

1. When the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), composed primarily of countries in the Middle East, first joined together to raise the price of oil in the early 1970s, their action had particularly strong impact on the Japanese economy. It was called in Japan the "oil shock." This "shock" set off the quest for alternative energy sources described in the film. Why?

2. Is there similar concern in the United States over energy conservation?

Are Americans also attempting to develop alternative energy sources?

Give examples.

Are we as concerned about the problem as the Japanese?

Why or why not? (Refer to the graphs for comparative perspective.)

3. What were the possible sources of alternative energy discussed in the film?

Which seemed most universal or interesting to you?

Why?

TECHNOLOGY AND GLOBAL ISSUES

Pollution: Japan Meets the Challenge

Pollution is an international problem with global dimensions, a problem which each country will face as it develops its industrial and physical resources for economic growth. Japan, an island nation that developed into an advanced industrial economy at an astounding pace, faces a pollution problem of particular intensity and urgency. Japan must solve the problem sooner than other countries; however, as the problem is universal, the solutions found in Japan are of interest to all nations. Japan can be seen as a leader not only in economic and technological development, but also in pollution control.

<u>Film title:</u>	POLLUTION: JAPAN'S GREATEST CHALLENGE
<u>Format:</u>	16 mm, color, 26 minutes (release date: 1974)
<u>Available from:</u>	Extension Media Center University of California 2176 Shattuck Avenue Berkeley, CA 94704 (Telephone): (415) 642-0460
<u>Price:</u>	\$15.00 (plus \$6.00 shipping)

Film Exercise

The environment in which we live is threatened by the very economic and technological advancement all countries seek.

In Japan, the problem of pollution is acutely felt because 80

percent of the land is mountainous, little land is inhabitable, and in the portion that is habitable, 75 percent of the population now resides in urban areas--the very same urban areas where industrial factories are concentrated.

At the end of World War II in 1945, the challenge Japan faced was to rebuild itself after the tremendous devastation of the war. Now that that has been accomplished with outstanding success--the fastest growth in history in just twenty-five years--the Japanese are concerned about the price they have paid with their environment for this growth.

Public opinion is important in democratic Japan, as it is in the United States and Canada, forcing the government to take action in pollution control.

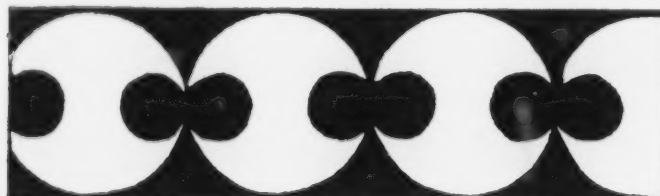
Japanese cultural values are illustrated by the fact that people take major companies to court over pollution cases, not necessarily to win the case but to force the companies to apologize in public. The latter carries particular weight in Japanese society and compels companies to take action.

The effects of a "compressed urban environment"--congestion, noise, garbage--are problems of environmental pollution that also must be addressed. For example, given the limited living space in Japan, vehicle density is eight times as high on Japanese roads as on American roads.

The famous case of industrial mercury poisoning in the local waters of the town of Minamata is mentioned.

Takeo Miki is shown as the head of the environmental agency in 1972. He went on to be Japan's prime minister in subsequent years. Here he speaks of the need to be conscious of gross national welfare as well as gross national product.

Visually, we see much of traditional Japan--housing, Mt. Fuji, kimono-clad women shopping in downtown Tokyo, the Imperial Palace, national parks and green spaces. Viewers gain awareness of a different culture and country facing the very same problems we face.



Questions for Discussion

1. Why do all advanced, industrialized countries face problems of pollution?

What do you think should be done about it?

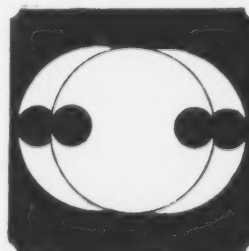
By whom?

At what price?

2. Why is the problem of pollution particularly acute in Japan?

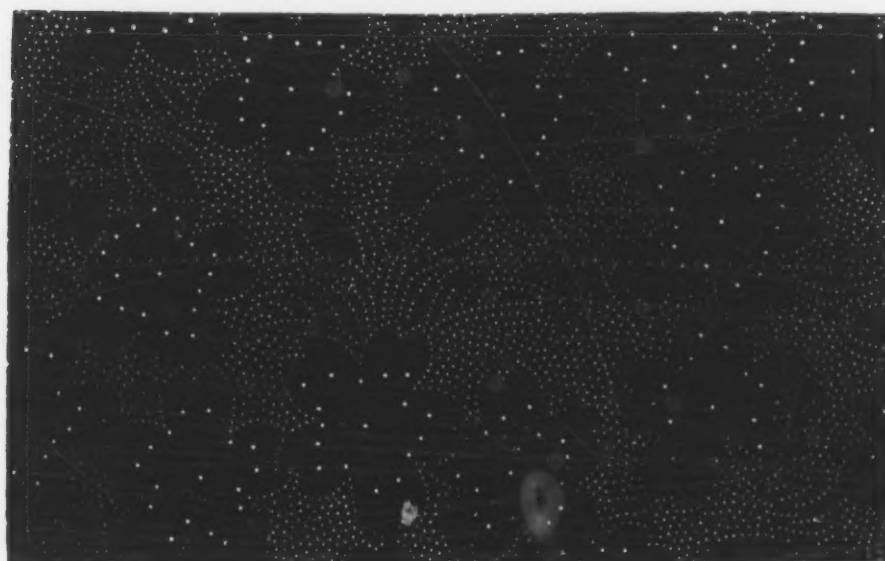
What reasons are given in the film?

3. What examples of major pollution cases are you familiar with in the United States? (example: Love Canal in New York State)



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RESOURCE CENTERS FOR SCHOOLS

I. ORGANIZATIONS

Japan Information Center
Consulate General of Japan*
299 Park Avenue, 18th Floor
New York, NY 10171-0025

Tel. (212)418-4459

*Offices also in Anchorage, Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Guam, Honolulu, Houston, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Portland (Oregon), San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.

The New York office has a packet of pamphlets and fact sheets providing excellent up-to-date information on Japan, a series of films and video cassettes, and a speakers bureau for schools. Contact the consulate nearest you for information on similar services and materials.

Japan Trade Center* (JETRO)
Public Affairs Office
1221 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10020

Tel. (212)997-0400

*Offices also in Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

The Japan Trade Center/JETRO offices have a series of excellent films on many aspects of Japanese society. The films are available for loan free-of-charge. Contact the office nearest you for a complete listing. (JETRO stands for the Japan External Trade Relations Organization.)

Japan Air Lines*
Public Relations Office
655 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10022

Tel. (212)310-1221

*Offices also in Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Honolulu, Houston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Jose, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.

The offices of Japan Air Lines have lovely posters and a series of short, extremely informative pamphlets on Japan's history, geography, performing arts, traditional sports, music, religion, language, festivals, legal system, government, games, traditional gardens, flower arranging, film, economy and trade, education, modern

architecture, labor, and the tea ceremony. Contact the office of Japan Air Lines nearest you or write to the New York office for materials.

Japan National Tourist Organization*

630 Fifth Avenue

New York, NY 10022

Tel. (212)757-5640

*Offices also in Chicago, Dallas, Honolulu, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

This organization has films, maps, and picture brochures available.

Foreign Press Center

2-2-1 Uchisaiwaicho

Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 100

JAPAN

The Foreign Press Center distributes a number of short, fact-laden white papers and summary reports on such topics as Japanese youth, the family, economics, science and technology, the environment and atomic energy. Write for more information about current resources.

Education Department

The Asia Society

725 Park Avenue

New York, NY 10021

Tel. (212)288-6400

The Asia Society distributes a series VIDEOLETTERS FROM JAPAN and publishes an excellent journal three times yearly, FOCUS on Asian Studies, that has classroom materials and resource lists on selected topics. Write to The Asia Society for information.

Education Department

Japan Society, Inc.

333 East 47th Street

New York, NY 10017

The Japan Society has published a paperback guide entitled Japan in Film: A Comprehensive Annotated Catalogue of Documentary and Theatrical Films on Japan Available in the United States. Currently, they are working on a video cassette series on Japanese society through film. Write for information on the guide and on other activities of the Japan Society.

Committee on Teaching About Asia
5633 North Kenmore Street #024
Chicago, IL 60660

The Committee on Teaching About Asia (CTA) is a standing committee of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) which serves to further the understanding of Asia by improving the teaching of Asian studies at the elementary, secondary and undergraduate levels.

Membership provides information and professional opportunities for area specialists and educators at all levels of American education. CTA offers many outlets for the exchange of ideas and teaching materials. Members benefit from a newsletter (published three times annually), frequent meetings, regional programs, and an annual meeting.

CTA membership is open to both members and non-members of the Association of Asian Studies. Annual dues are \$7.00 (\$10.00 outside the United States).

International Society for Educational Information (ISEI)
Royal Wakaba 504
22 Wakaba, 1-chome
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
JAPAN

This organization prepares materials on Japan for use in schools worldwide. Slide units, a kit of objects common to Japan, posters and paperback booklets on individual topics, including school life in Japan, are all available in English. Write for a list of materials and prices.

Foreign Policy Association
729 Seventh Avenue
New York, NY 10019

Tel. (212)764-4050

Global Perspectives in Education, Inc.
218 East 18th Street
New York, NY 10003

Tel. (212)475-0850

Both of the above organizations publish a variety of materials, many of which include excellent, up-to-date information and class activities on Japan. Write for information.

Japanese American Curriculum Project Inc. (JACP)

414 East 3rd Avenue

San Mateo, CA 94401

Tel. (415)343-9408

JACP publishes extensive resource lists and materials on Japanese Americans for schools. Write for their resource lists.

The Japanese House

Boston Children's Museum

Museum Wharf

300 Congress Street

Boston, MA 02210

An authentic Japanese house has been constructed within the Children's Museum and is available for class visits. The Museum also rents a series of artifact kits on various aspects of Japanese culture and society. Write to the Children's Museum for further information.

Consult also the following list of university based and other nonprofit resource centers for information on organizations in your area offering materials, speakers, films or workshops on Japan.

II. UNIVERSITY RESOURCE CENTERS



The centers listed below by state offer a variety of resources and services on Japan, such as newsletters on curriculum resources and current events, curriculum units, audiovisual materials, and speakers. Send your name to each center to be placed on a mailing list, and/or contact the center(s) nearest you for current programs.

ARIZONA

Asian Resource Center

(602)626-5463

The East Asia Center

Department of Oriental Studies

Old Law Building

University of Arizona

Tucson, AZ 85721

CALIFORNIA

The Japan Project TJP/SPICE

(415)723-1114

Lou Henry Hoover Building

Room 200

Stanford University

Stanford, CA 94305-6012

<u>COLORADO</u>	Center for Teaching International Relations (CTIR) Graduate School of International Relations University of Denver Denver, CO 80210	(303)871-2426
	Rocky Mountain Region Japan Program Social Studies Education Consortium 855 Broadway Boulder, CO 80302	(303)492-8154 Lynn Parisi Director
<u>CONNECTICUT</u>	Outreach Program Council on East Asian Studies Yale University Box 13A, Yale Station 85 Trumbull Street New Haven, CT 06520	(203)432-3429 Caryn White Director
<u>GEORGIA</u>	Southeast Program for Teaching About Japan Room 122 Aderhold College of Education University of Georgia Athens, GA 30602	(404)542-7265 Donald Schneider GA Coordinator
<u>HAWAII</u>	Asian Studies Program 315 Moore Hall University of Hawaii 1890 East-West Road Honolulu, HI 96822	(808)948-8543 Cynthia Ning Outreach Coordinator
	Center for Teaching Asian Pacific Studies East-West Center 1777 East-West Road Honolulu, HI 96848	(808)944-7777 David L. Grossman Director
<u>ILLINOIS</u>	Center for Far Eastern Studies University of Chicago 5848 University Avenue Chicago, IL 60637	(312)753-2632
	Outreach Educational Project 1130 East 59th Street University of Chicago Chicago, IL 60637	(312)962-8635 Patricia Grossman Project Coordinator

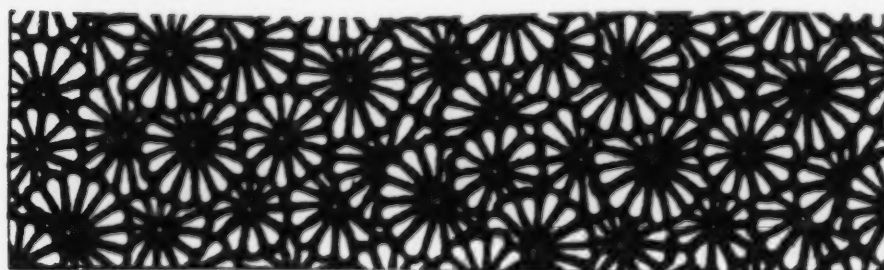
<u>ILLINOIS</u> (cont.)	Center for Asian Studies 1208 West California University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Urbana, IL 61801	(217)333-4850 Renee Schwartz Outreach Coordinator
	Urban Education Program Associated Colleges of the Midwest 5633 North Kenmore Street #021 Chicago, IL 60660	(312)561-6606 Marilyn Turkovich Director
<u>INDIANA</u>	East Asian Studies Center Memorial Hall West, Room 205 Indiana University Bloomington, IN 47405	(812)335-3765
	The Japan Program East Asian Studies Department Earlham College Richmond, IN 47374	(317)436-0262
<u>KANSAS</u>	Center for East Asian Studies 105 Lippincott Hall University of Kansas Lawrence, KS 66502	(913)864-3849 Jerry Schultz Program Assistant
<u>MARYLAND</u>	ASIAVAN -- Center for Asian Arts Towson State University Towson, MD 21204	(301)321-2794 Elizabeth Jones Director
	Middle-Atlantic Region Japan-in-the Schools Program Department of Education Policy, Planning & Administration Center for the Study of Education Policy & Human Values College of Education University of Maryland College Park, MD 20742	(301)454-5766 Barbara Finkelstein Director
<u>MASSACHUSETTS</u>	East Asian Program Harvard University/ Children's Museum Museum Wharf 300 Congress Street Boston, MA 02210	(617)426-6500 ext. 233/235/241 Leslie Bedford Director, Japan Resources

RESOURCES/7

<u>MASSACHUSETTS</u> (cont.)	Five College Center for East Asian Studies Box 740, 97 Spring Street Amherst, MA 01004	(413)256-8316 Paul Englesberg Outreach Coordinator
<u>MICHIGAN</u>	Centers for Japanese & Chinese Studies 108 Lane Hall University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI 48109	(313)764-5109
<u>MINNESOTA</u>	Great Lakes Japan-in-the-Schools Program College of Education 152-A Peik Hall 159 Pillsbury Drive SE University of Minnesota Minneapolis, MN 55455	(612)626-0555 John J. Cogan Director
<u>MISSOURI</u>	Center for International Studies University of Missouri at St. Louis 8001 Natural Bridge Road St. Louis, MO 63121	(314)553-5801 Katherine Pierson Coordinator
<u>NEW JERSEY</u>	Department of East Asian Studies Princeton University 211 Jones Hall Princeton, NJ 08540	(609)452-4276 Robert Ainspac Outreach Coordinator
<u>NEW YORK</u>	East Asian Curriculum Project (EACP) East Asian Institute Columbia University 420 West 118th Street New York, NY 10027	(212)280-4278 Roberta Martin Coordinator
	Education Department The Asia Society 725 Park Avenue New York, NY 10021	(212)288-6400 Timothy Plummer Director
	Asian Studies Curriculum Center New York University 735 East Building Washington Square New York, NY 10003	(212)598-2785 Donald Johnson Director

<u>NORTH CAROLINA</u>	Southeast Program for Teaching About Japan Department of Elementary Education East Carolina University Greenville, NC 28734-4353	(919)757-6191 Donald L. Spence Project Director
<u>OHIO</u>	School and Community Outreach Program on Asia (SCOPA) East Asian Studies Program The Ohio State University 308 Dulles Hall 230 West 17th Avenue Columbus, OH 43210 East Asian Studies Outreach Program King Hall 141 Oberlin College Oberlin, OH 44074	(614)422-9660 Sarah Mazak Coordinator (216)775-8313 Bobbie Carlson Coordinator
<u>PENNSYLVANIA</u>	Intercultural Understanding Project Allegheny Intermediate Unit Suite 1300, Allegheny Center Pittsburgh, PA 15212 East Asian Studies Center University Center for International Studies 4E05 Forbes Quadrangle University of Pittsburgh Pittsburgh, PA 15260	(412)323-5762 Marion Karl Director (412)624-5566 Louise Wilde Outreach Coordinator
<u>SOUTH CAROLINA</u>	Southeast Program for Teaching About Japan College of Education University of South Carolina Columbia, SC 29208	(803)777-6594 Betty Bullard S.C. Coordinator
<u>TEXAS</u>	TEXPERA (Texas Program for Educational Resources on Asia) Center for Asian Studies SSB 4.126 University of Texas at Austin Austin, TX 78712	(512)471-5811 Louise Flippin Program Coordinator Sandra Martin Program Assistant

<u>TEXAS</u> (cont.)	The Center for Excellence in Education College of Education P.O. Box 4560 Texas Tech University Lubbock, TX 79409	(806)742-2377 Duane Christian Director
<u>UTAH</u>	BYU ASIA Asia in Schools for Intercultural Action 134 FOB Brigham Young University Provo, UT 84602	(801)378-3628 Marguerite Gong Project Coordinator
<u>VIRGINIA</u>	East Asia Language and Area Center University of Virginia 1644 Oxford Road Charlottesville, VA 22903	(804)295-1808 Mary Israel Outreach Coordinator
<u>WISCONSIN</u>	East Asian Center 1440 Van Hise Hall 1220 Linden Drive University of Wisconsin Madison, WI 53706	(608)262-7801 Sally Henshaw Program Coordinator
<u>WASHINGTON</u>	East Asia Resource Center (EARC) Jackson School of Inter- national Studies 302C Thomson Hall DR-05 University of Washington Seattle, WA 98195	(206)543-1921 Mary Hammond Bernson Outreach Coordinator



AUDIO-VISUAL RESOURCES & DISTRIBUTION CENTERS

Film Guide

Japan in Film: A Comprehensive, Annotated Catalogue of
Documentary and Theatrical Films on Japan Available in the
United States

Edited by Peter Grilli and published by the Japan Society in November 1984, this is the most inclusive and up-to-date guide to films on Japan available. Highly recommended.

Order from: Japan Film Center
Japan Society, Inc.
333 East 47th Street
New York, NY 10017

Price: \$7.50

Organizations that distribute highly rated films on Japan--write
for their listings:

Japan Information Service
Consulate General of Japan
299 Park Avenue, 18th Floor
New York, NY 10171-0025

Free loan

Tel. (212)418-4459

(Offices also in Anchorage, Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Guam, Honolulu, Houston, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Portland (OR), San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.)

The Japan Foundation
342 Madison Avenue
Suite 702
New York NY 10173

Free loan

Tel. (212)949-6360

Japan Trade Center (JETRO)
Public Affairs Office
1221 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10020

Free loan

Tel. (212)997-0400

(Offices also in Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.)

The Asia Society
Education and Communication Department
725 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Tel. (212)288-6400

Inquire about the Videoletter from Japan I series, designed for elementary classroom use. Videoletter from Japan II, a new series designed for use with high school students, will be available in fall 1988.

International Society for Educational Information
Royal Wakaba 504
22 Wakaba 1-chome
Shinjuku-ku
Tokyo, 160 JAPAN

Producers of a series of excellent slide sets with accompanying cassettes on various aspects of Japanese society. Entitled the Japan of Today series, slides can be used with or without the narration.

TeleJapan USA
964 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10155

Distributors of Faces of Japan, two thirteen-part series on contemporary Japan produced for public television stations in 1987 and 1988 by WNET New York. An educational package edited for high school use and including five programs is now available for the 1987 series. Another package to accompany the 1988 series is in the works. Producers also of the video series Japan Today for high schools. Write for a list of programs and the teacher's guide.

Learning Corporation of America
1350 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10019

Inquire about their series The Human Face of Japan which includes six films. Also of note is their Program on Japan, aired on public television in April 1988. This series has been adapted for high school or college use in four, one-hour videos priced at \$400. At the elementary level, two sets of materials, Children of Japan and World Cultures and Youth, are available.

Great Plains National Television Library
Box 80669
Lincoln, NE 68501
Tel. (800)228-4630

Inquire about the two series Japan: The Living Tradition and Japan: The Changing Tradition each of which is a series of 15, half-hour video-cassette programs produced by the University of Mid-America.

National Media Programs
University of California at San Diego
UCSD Extension, X-002
La Jolla, CA 92093

Producers and distributors of a new audio/print series (not film) entitled The Challenge of China and Japan.

University of Tennessee
Research Corporation
415 Communication Building
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, TN 37996-0344

This 30-minute documentary focuses on one Japanese-owned plant in Rutherford County, Tennessee. The video highlights the interaction between Japanese and Americans both in the workplace and in the community. A 38-page teacher's study guide also offers a dozen lesson plans for grades 7-12 designed to use the video as a spring board for discussion of broader economic, geographic and historical issues. Purchases of the videotape can be made through the contact listed above, while rentals may be arranged through: Center for Economic Education, 205 Founders Hall, University of Tennessee, Chattanooga, TN 37403 [phone: (615)755-4118].

Harvard University Press
Audiovisual Division
79 Garden Street
Cambridge, MA 02138

Producers of Introduction to Japan, a series of 8 color filmstrips narrated by Edwin O. Reischauer.

University of California/Berkeley
Extension Media Center (EMC)
2176 Shattuck Street
Berkeley, CA 94704
Tel. (415)642-0460

The EMC at Berkeley has extensive holdings on Japan, many of which are annotated in the film units of this workbook.

Audio-Visual Services
The Pennsylvania State University
University Park, PA 16802

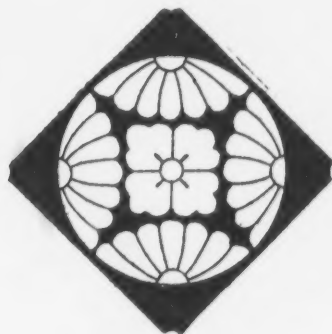
The Pennsylvania State University Audio-Visual Services has extensive holdings of film on Japan, including a library of Japan Foundation films rented for simply the cost of a service charge (\$6.50).

Contact also the university resource centers with extensive holdings of films on Japan for free loan:

Outreach Program	(203)432-3429
Council on East Asian Studies	Caryn White
Yale University	Director
Box 13A, Yale Station	
85 Trumbull Street	
New Haven, CT 06520	

East Asia Resource Center (EARC)	(206)543-1921
School of International Studies	Mary Hammond Bernson
302C Thomson Hall, DR-05	Coordinator
University of Washington	
Seattle, WA 98195	

The Japan Project (TJP)/SPICE	(415)723-1116
Room 200, Lou Henry Hoover Bldg.	
Stanford University	
Stanford, CA 94305-6012	



RESOURCES FOR TEACHER BACKGROUND

The Japanese
by Edwin O. Reischauer

Harvard University Press, 1978
paperback

A most readable, single volume background for teachers.

Perspectives on Japan:
A Guide for Teachers
NCSS Bulletin No. 69 (1983)
edited by John J. Cogan &
Donald O. Schneider

National Council for Social
Studies
3501 Newark Street, NW
Washington, DC 20016

Provides an excellent series of background essays for
teachers.

Price: \$10.25 plus \$1.50 postage and handling

The Japan Handbook: A Guide
For Teachers

by Richard Tames

Paul Norbury Publications
Coxton House
High Street
Tenterden, Kent
ENGLAND

This 138-page booklet is a handbook of information for
teachers. Divided into eight sections ranging from
geography to education, society, culture and economy, the
booklet provides basic facts for teachers and highlights
points that should be developed in class. A useful
reference for any teacher's shelf.

Price: \$6.00

What I Want to Know About Japan

Japan Information Center
Consulate General of Japan
299 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10171-0025

A new edition of a booklet that offers concise information
about Japan to American secondary school students is now
available. What I Want to Know About Japan, an illustrated,
96-page publication of the Japan Information Center in New
York, contains a wide variety of brief articles about Japan,
touching on such subjects as population, government, family
life, entertainment and customs. The 25 topics covered are
those that were most frequently cited in an informal survey
of seventh grade students in several parts of the United
States.

The booklet seeks to present a balanced view of both how the Japanese are similar to and how they are different from Americans.

The first edition of the booklet, which appeared in 1980, was written by Betty Bullard, Associate Professor of Education, University of South Carolina; David T. Lemon, Philip van Slyke, Inc.; and Timothy Plummer, Director, Education and Communications Department, Asia Society. The current edition has been updated and substantially revised by the staff of the Japan Information Center.

Price: free

A Teacher's and Textbook Writer's
Handbook on Japan

The International Society for
Educational Information, Inc.
Royal Wakaba 504
22 Wakaba 1-chome
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
JAPAN

This 84-page booklet published in 1985 provides a succinct overview of Japan's geography, climate and terrain, economy, history and culture.

In Search of Mutual Understanding

Laboratory for Educational
Development
Social Studies Development
Center
Indiana University
2805 East 10th Street, Room 120
Bloomington, IN 47405

The final report of the Japan/United States Textbook Study Project, published in 1981. It includes the findings and recommendations, as well as a description of the procedures used and the contrasting patterns of social studies offerings and textbook usage in the two countries.

Price: \$3.00

JAPAN: The Dilemmas of Success
by T.J. Pempel
foreword by Mike Mansfield

Foreign Policy Association
729 Seventh Avenue
New York, NY 10019

A concise, readable 77-page pamphlet published in 1986 that

provides excellent background on Japan and its role in the world today.

Price: \$4.00

Challenges and Opportunities in
United States-Japan Relations

Office of Public Communication
(PA/PC)
Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

A report submitted to the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Japan by the United States-Japan Advisory Commission (September 1984).

Price: free

Background NOTES on Japan

Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, DC 20402

This 12-page flier published by the Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State, provides a concise "profile" of Japan for teacher reference.

Price: \$1.00

Social Education 45, 5
(May 1981)

A Special Edition: TEACHING ABOUT
JAPAN THROUGH ART AND MODERN
LITERATURE

National Council for Social Studies
3501 Newark Street, NW
Washington, DC 20016

Price: \$5.00

Focus on Asian Studies

Education Department
The Asia Society
725 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10021

A journal for educators published three times a year; each issue is devoted to a specific topic and contains relevant class exercises and resource lists on Japan.

Price: \$3.50 per issue (write for list of back issues on Asian Trade, Women in Asia, Modern Asian Leaders and Asian Crafts).

The Japan Database

The Japan Database Project
Council of Chief State School Officers
379 Hall of the States
400 North Capitol Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001

Compiled by the Council of Chief State School Officers, with funding from the United States-Japan Friendship Commission, this 429-page guide has entries listed under five categories: specialists on Japan and Japanese studies; sources of information; curriculum materials (K-12); innovative materials (K-12); and exchange programs. Resources are grouped by state within these five categories.

Price: \$20.00

Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan

Kodansha International/USA
10 East 53rd Street
New York, NY 10022

A nine-volume Japanese encyclopedia written in English--a project that was ten years in preparation and contains 10,000 articles on Japan by 1,400 contributors from 27 nations. It was published in the United States in 1983. According to its publisher, Kodansha Ltd., the Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan is the most comprehensive reference work about one country ever published in the language of another.

Asia Yearbook

Publications Division
Far Eastern Economic Review
G.P.O. Box 160
HONG KONG

An annual publication by the staff of the Far Eastern Economic Review, a highly regarded weekly published in Hong Kong. Each Asian country is discussed with up-to-date reviews and statistics on its politics and social affairs, foreign relations, economy, and infrastructure.

Price: \$19.95 (softcover); \$23.95 (hardcover)

Teacher's Resource Handbook for
Asian Studies: An Annotated
Bibliography of Curriculum Materials
Preschool through Grade 12

by John N. Hawkins (1976)

Price: \$3.00

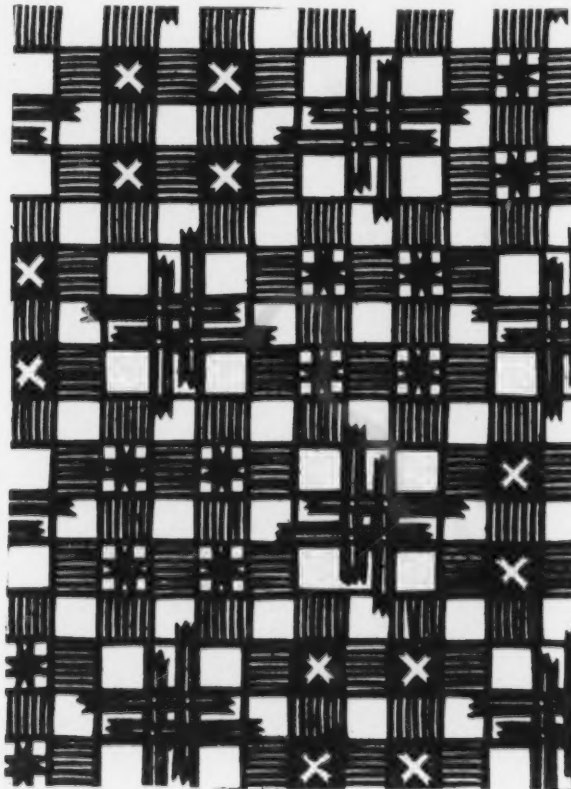
Curriculum Inquiry Center
Graduate School of Education
University of California
at Los Angeles
405 Hilgard Avenue
Los Angeles, CA

Cross-Cultural Learning in K-12
Schools: Foreign Students as
Resources

K-12 Project
National Association of Foreign
Student Affairs (NAFSA)
1860 19th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20009

Published by the National Association of Foreign Student
Affairs, this is a valuable compendium of suggested
activities and resources to use if you have students from Japan in
your classroom or school.

Price: \$5.00



TEACHING WORKBOOKS

In addition to Contemporary Japan: A Teaching Workbook, published by the East Asian Curriculum Project at Columbia University and from which this list is taken, there are a number of teaching workbooks containing class exercises, readings and activities for grades K-12.

Introduction to Japan: A Workbook

Youth for Understanding
International Student
Exchange
3501 Newark Street, NW
Washington, DC 20016

Price: \$10.00 plus \$2.50 postage and
handling

A workbook providing background for high school students on Japanese history, geography, society, and issues in U.S.-Japan relations. Much emphasis is placed on having students think through the issues of cross-cultural comparison. Although the workbook was designed primarily to educate students who will live in Japan for periods ranging from two to eleven months, it provides a rich variety of materials suitable to any high school class.

In Search of Mutual Understanding:
A Classroom Approach to Japan

Center for Teaching
International Relations
University of Denver
Denver, CO 80208-0268

Price: \$19.95 plus \$2.00 shipping
and handling

Focusing on religion, language, and education, this 92-page workbook offers a variety of lessons, exercises, and activities designed to make teaching about Japan more interesting. The publication is a joint project of the Social Studies Development Center at the University of Indiana and the Center for Teaching International Relations at the University of Denver.

Japan in the Classroom: Elementary
and Secondary Activities

Social Studies Education
Consortium, Inc.
855 Broadway
Boulder, CO 80302

Price: \$15.95 (prepaid orders only)

Developed and tested by teachers who participated in a 1985 Group Project to Japan, Japan in the Classroom contains 18 complete

activities K-12 teachers can integrate into a range of social studies units. Topics of lessons include Japanese homes and food, Japanese poetry and proverbs, population density, Japanese history, economic development, and Japanese investment in the United States. Students are involved in such activities as constructing timelines, creating a graphic that concretely compares population density in the United States and Japan, drawing and reading maps, and role playing a city council deciding whether to seek Japanese business investment in their community. Varied strategies encourage students to learn about Japan's culture and people. Masters for all student handouts are provided.

Opening Doors: Contemporary Japan

Education Department
The Asia Society
725 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Price: Inquire; publication now being reprinted

A project of the Education Sub-Committee, United States-Japan Conference for Cultural and Education Exchange (CULCON) in cooperation with the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction. This publication is comprised of a series of activities, divided into eight units, through which a student learns by experience and participation how the Japanese respond to universal problems such as personal identity, achievement, decision-making, expressing reality and preserving the quality of their life. The student can compare the Japanese response with his own response to these basic needs. Resource lists are included.

Parallel Passages: Contrasting Views
from Japan and the United States

Social Studies Development Center
Indiana University
2805 East 10th Street
Room 120
Bloomington, IN 47405

Price: \$4.50

This booklet of class activities, presenting contrasting views and interpretations of historical events and circumstances, was compiled by the Social Studies Development Center at Indiana University in conjunction with the Japan/U.S. Textbook Study Project. It provides an excellent introduction to the problem of perceptions and offers an approach to helping students become more

self-conscious about their images of other peoples and cultures and more aware of the diversity of views in the world. Topics such as Commodore Perry and the Opening of Japan, Slavery and the U.S. Civil War, Religion in Japan, and Japan and the United States in the World Today are included. (Teachers will find more background on the textbook study in the accompanying volume In Search of Mutual Understanding, also available from the Indiana University Social Studies Development Center).

Omiyage

Associates in Multicultural and International Education (AMIE)
P.O. Box 14256
Chicago, IL 60614

Price: \$32.50 (plus \$2.50 postage and handling)

\$4.25 for supplementary workbook
(plus \$.75 postage and handling)

A workbook for learning about Japan, its people, and its culture through a broad exploration of the Japanese language.

Teaching Japan Through the Arts

East Asian Resource Ctr.
Thomson DR-05
University of Washington
Seattle, WA 98195

Price: four (4) booklets at \$8.00 each

This series of four booklets designed for use in elementary and junior high school classes introduces Japanese culture through art forms. Each book contains student handouts and teacher-tested instructions for activities ranging from story-telling and dance to painting and paper construction projects.

Museum Kits: Boston Children's Museum

Boston Children's Museum
Museum Wharf
300 Congress Street
Boston, MA 02210

Price: Rental for 1-3 weeks ranges from
\$15-\$50

The Boston Children's Museum has a series of discovery kits, exhibit kits, and curriculum units on Japan that are available for

loan to schools in New York state and New England.

Titles include: JAPANESE CHILDREN'S DAY, JAPANESE NEW YEAR, JAPAN; GETTING ACQUAINTED, JAPANESE FAMILY.

Tanoshii Gakushu - Learning with
Enjoyment: Activities About Japan for
Elementary Students

Center for Asian Studies
1208 West California
University of Illinois
Urbana, IL 61801

Price: \$8.00

A workbook of activities on language, geography and culture for elementary students.

Toyko: Form and Spirit

Walker Art Museum
Minneapolis, MN

Price: free-of-charge

Curriculum activities developed to accompany an art exhibit of the same title in 1986 by the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis. Funded by a grant from the Hitachi Foundation, the activities can be conducted without reference to the exhibit. Directions for making kites, origami, scrolls, sushi rice and for furnishing a room Japanese style are among the activities included.

Japan Alumni Units

Keizai Koho Fellowship
Office
Charles Von Lowenfeldt,
Inc.
1333 Gough Street
Suite 6-F
San Francisco, CA 94109

Price: free-of-charge

Curriculum units developed by the "Japan Alumni" -- who have traveled to Japan on fellowships awarded jointly by the Japan Institute for Social and Economic Affairs (JISEA), the Keizai Koho Center and the National Council for Social Studies -- can be requested from the authors. Lists of the units are grouped in three categories: elementary school units, middle school units, junior/senior high units.

STATE MATERIALS

Modern Japan: An Idea Book for
K-12 Teachers

Office for Multicultural
and Equity Education
Superintendent of Public
Instruction
Old Capitol Building
FG-11
Olympia, WA 98504

Price: free-of-charge

Edited by Mary Hammond Bernson and Elaine Magnusson, this booklet is a collection of lessons and suggestions contributed by twenty-six teachers who participated in a summer institute on Japan sponsored by the East Asia Resource Center of the University of Washington in 1983.

Japan

Oklahoma State Department
of Education
Curriculum Section, Rm. 382
2500 North Lincoln
Oklahoma City, OK 73105

Price: \$3.86 including postage

A workbook prepared under the direction of Rita Geiger, Social Studies Specialist in the Oklahoma State Department of Education, following her visit to Japan as a JISEA fellow.

Japan

Superintendent of Schools
Washoe County School District
425 East 9th Street
Reno, NV 89512

Price: no charge

A 331-page curriculum guide to teaching about Japan developed by teachers in Washoe County, Nevada. A variety of classroom exercises, designed primarily for the 6th grade level, are grouped under such topics as history, government, industry, sports, religion, holidays, homes, gardens, ikebana and the like.

Teaching About Japan

Caroline Penn
Harris County Department of
Education
6208 Irvington
Houston, TX 77022

Price: \$3.00

A workbook for teaching about Japan developed by two social studies specialists from Houston, Texas who traveled to Japan as members of a Japan Foundation team. Lessons are divided among those designed for middle school and high school. Many of the upper-level activities focus on interdependence and trade-related issues; others focus on home life and cultural comparisons.

Japan: A Way of Life

Curriculum Development Centre
229 College Street
Toronto, Ontario
CANADA M5T 1R4

Price: \$12.95 plus \$3.00 postage and handling

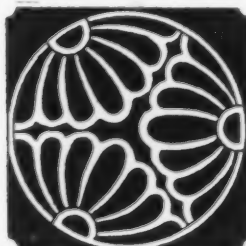
Japan, World Cultures Unit

Student Workbook
Teacher's Guide

Intercultural Understanding
Allegheny Intermediate Unit
Two Allegheny Center,
Suite 1300
Pittsburgh, PA 15212

Price: \$3.00 each item

Also Japan: A Resource Guide for Secondary Schools



TRAVEL OPPORTUNITIES FOR TEACHERS

Fulbright Summer Seminar Program

This program selects approximately twenty individual educators who travel to Japan as an organized study group during the summer. Supported by the Fulbright-Hays program and administered by the U.S. Department of Education.

For applications and information write:

Fulbright Summer Seminars Abroad
Center for International Exchange
U.S. Department of Education
Mail Stop 3322
Room 3916 ROB #3
400 Maryland Avenue SW
Washington, DC 20202

JISEA/NCSS Fellowships

This program selects approximately twenty-five individual teachers annually who travel to Japan as an organized study group during the summer. The program is sponsored jointly by the Japan Institute for Social and Economic Affairs (JISEA) and the National Council for Social Studies (NCSS). Administration of the program is provided by the offices of Charles Von Lowenfeldt.

For applications and information, write or call:

JISEA Fellowships
4332 Fern Valley Road
Medford, OR 97504

Tel. (503)535-4882

Japan Foundation/NCSS Team Fellowships

This program provides funding for teams of two social science educators each, from several different American school districts, to visit Japan in October of each year. Sponsored jointly by the Japan Foundation and the National Council for Social Studies (NCSS) and administered by the offices of Charles Von Lowenfeldt.

For applications and information write:

Japan Foundation/NCSS Project
4332 Fern Valley Road
Medford, OR 97504

Japan Society Cultural Program in Japan

An unusual study tour sponsored by the Japan Society and cosponsored and administer by the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE). Participants must pay their own fees for the program however.

For further information contact:

Asian and Professional Programs
Council on International Educational Exchange
205 East 42nd Street
New York, NY 10017



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TEACHERS FROM JAPAN IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

School systems interested in hosting a teacher from Japan as an intern and guest of the community for a period of time ranging from three weeks to nine months should contact the programs listed below for further information. School systems do not assume any financial responsibility for the Japanese visitors whose expenses are covered by the sponsoring program. The interns live with host families in the community who are compensated for the cost of additional food expenses.

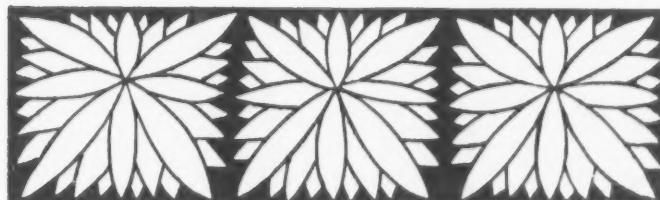
These programs provide an excellent avenue for enriching courses on Japanese culture, society and language.

Contact: School Exchange Service
 Council on International Educational Exchange
 205 East 42nd Street
 New York, NY 10017

Tel. (212)661-1414

--OR--

International Internship Program
7-5-4 Koyama
Shinagawa-ku
Tokyo 142 JAPAN



| GEOGRAPHY / CONTENTS

JAPAN'S GEOGRAPHY

(Reading/Exercise)

Provides an overview of Japan's physical and cultural environment with an introductory reading and nine map exercises. Maps 3 through 9 are designed as overlays. Plastic overlay masters can be made from the copies below. Xerox reproductions can also be made for individual student use. The nine maps are

- Japan: The Islands
- Japan and Asia
- Japan and California (comparison)
- Japan and Italy (comparison)
- Topography
- Population Density
- Latitudes/Japan and the U.S.
- Winds and Currents
- Japan (a quiz)

LAND, THE FAMILY, AND POLITICAL POWER

(Reading)

RESOURCES

(Resources)

A listing of maps, teaching units, fact sheets and other materials available on Japan's geography.

GEOGRAPHY AND CULTURE

(Readings)

A reference to related units that appear in the CULTURE section of the workbook.

TO THE STUDENT

A country's geography influences the development of its society and culture in many ways. Its location in relation to other nations has an effect on intercultural influences; its size affects demography, the development of social structures, and its position in the international community. Its topography dictates to a large extent where and how its people earn their livings, and its climate influences its agriculture and styles of living. The following maps will demonstrate these and other aspects of the influence of geography on national development.

Japan's Geography

Composition, Position, and
Relative Size

Japan is a shimaguni (island country): The Japanese archipelago (island chain) consists of four main islands--Honshu, Shikoku, Kyushu and Hokkaido--and thousands of smaller surrounding ones (see map 1). It lies off the Pacific coast of the Asian mainland; at the closest point, the main Japanese islands are 120 miles away from Asia (see map 2). Compare this with another shimaguni, Great Britain, which is, at the narrowest point of the English Channel, only 21 miles from Europe.

The total land space of the Japanese islands is about 142,000 square miles. As you can see from maps 2 and 3, it is a very small country when compared with the vast Asian mainland, or with the United States, where it is smaller than the single, although large, state of California. It seems even smaller when you realize how little of its land is useful for agriculture or housing, as we will discuss below.

China, the United States, the U.S.S.R., and a few other giants of the world are the unusual ones, however. Japan does not seem so small when compared with some of the great nations of Western Europe. It is, for example, larger than Italy, a country that has had a profound and lasting influence on the cultural development of Western civilization (see map 4).

Topography

The Japanese islands are covered by mountains, most of them heavily forested, and crisscrossed by short, swift rivers. Only a few of the rivers are navigable. Relatively little of Japan's land mass is suitable for agriculture--only about 15 percent, the same land that is also most suitable for living (see map 5). The population and areas of agriculture are therefore concentrated together, as you will see if you superimpose map 5 on map 6.

Japan's islands are very beautiful and varied, but they can be treacherous. Earthquakes are common and result from a fault that circles the Pacific Ocean, causing earthquakes on the west coast of North and South America as well. They are frequent in Japan, occurring more often than they are felt. Even so, one big enough to be noticed by scientists occurs every three days in Tokyo. Occasionally they do serious damage. The mountains of Japan contain 10 percent of the world's most active volcanoes. Mt. Fuji, Japan's most famous mountain and one of its most beautiful and revered, is a dormant volcano, which last erupted in 1707. Tidal waves occasionally result from undersea earthquakes, and typhoons sometimes hit Japan as they move north from the South Pacific.

The Japanese are more impressed, however, by the beauty and richness of their land than by its dangers. Although its topography creates difficulties, its climate is more benevolent.

Climate

The Japanese islands are for the most part in the temperate zone; as you can see from map 7, they stretch from north to south in latitudes similar to those of the eastern United States, from about 45° in the north to about 20° in the south. The capital, Tokyo, is in a similar position to Los Angeles or Washington in the United States (see map 7).

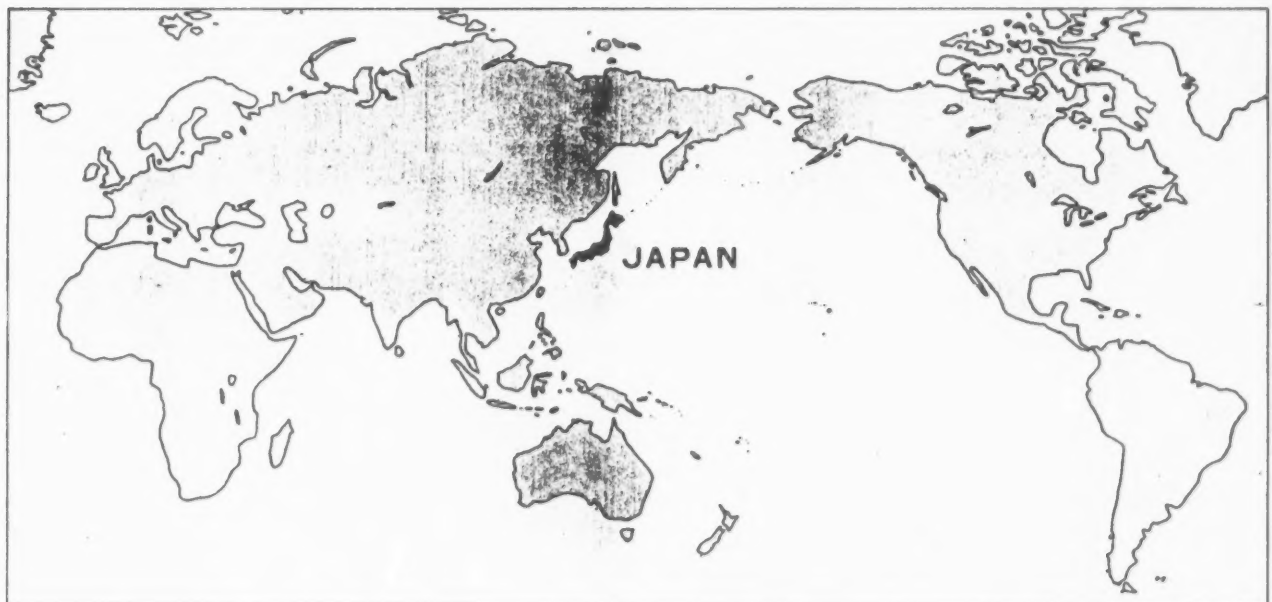
But latitude and longitude are not the only things that influence climate. Ocean currents, such as the Kuroshio and Tsushima currents from the south, warm the Pacific side of the islands and those near the Korean straits, especially toward the south, while the cold Kurile current, coming southward toward Hokkaido, brings plentiful nourishment to the coastal waters and improves the fishing (see map 8).

On the other hand, cold winds from the northern Asian continent blow east over the Sea of Japan, dumping deep, heavy snow on the

JAPAN'S GEOGRAPHY/3

northwestern coasts of Japan. There is a marked contrast between winters on the coast facing the Sea of Japan, called Japan's "snow country," where people often have to tunnel under the snow to move from house to house, and the clear, crisp winters on the eastern shore, with little snow at all, leaving dry winters on the more heavily populated side of the main islands.

Even on the eastern shores, however, Japan has abundant rainfall, since seasonal winds carry moisture into the country from its surrounding waters. In fact, in addition to the four seasons similar to those of our U.S. temperate zone climate, there is a rainy season, lasting about a month in June, followed by a hot summer. This is important for the cultivation of rice, Japan's traditional staple food.



Area : 377,708 square kilometers
(145,834 square miles)
Coastline : 33,986 kilometers
(18,487 miles)

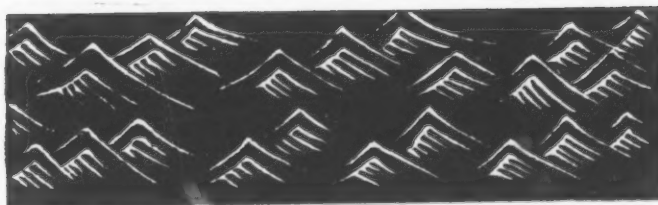
From Japan Today, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan 1983.

Map Exercises

TO THE TEACHER

There are nine (9) maps below. Maps 3 through 9 are designed as overlays. Plastic overlay masters can be made from the copies below. Xerox reproductions can also be made for individual student use. The nine maps are

1. Japan: The Islands
2. Japan and Asia
3. Japan and California (comparison)
4. Japan and Italy (comparison)
5. Topography
6. Population Density
7. Latitudes/Japan and the U.S.
8. Winds and Currents
9. Japan (a quiz)



EXERCISES TO ACCOMPANY MAPS BELOW



1. Look at map 2.

How do you think Japan's distance from the Asian mainland influenced its traditional relations with China and Korea?

How do you think these relations differed from the relations between the British Isles and the European continents?

2. In premodern times, when travel and communications were difficult because of Japan's mountainous terrain, the Japanese did not think of their country as small. Look again at maps 2, 3, and 4. What modern developments and requirements make it seem small today?
3. In rural Japan, farming families live together in villages, their houses clustered together, and go some distance to work in their fields each day. Compare this with American farming patterns, where each farm house, with its barns and other buildings, stood alone surrounded by its own land.

Superimpose map 6 on map 5. How would you relate this difference between Japanese and American farming practice to geographic differences?

What social forces would influence these patterns?

Which type of organization do you think is more common in other parts of the world?

In Western Europe?

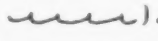
In China?

4. Traditional Japanese architecture is influenced by the land: Building materials come from its abundant forests, and methods of construction must take into account the frequent earthquakes.

What other geographical conditions would influence architecture?

Think of differences in buildings in the northeastern United States and in the southwest. What function, for example, would a peaked roof serve?

How does the place you live in reflect the influence of climate?

5. Examine and compare maps 7 and 8. From what you can see of relative latitudes in Japan and the eastern U.S., and from what you have read about the warm and cold sea and wind currents affecting Japan, discuss the climates you would expect to find in the areas marked A, B, and C.
6. On map 9, insert the names of
- a) the four major islands (indicated by );
 - b) the six major cities (marked by •);
 - c) the major ocean and wind currents (shown by ); and
 - d) the surrounding oceans and seas (shown by ).

Try to do this exercise without consulting the other maps.

7. Imagine that you are a tourist in Japan: It is January. First you travel to Tokyo and Kyoto to spend a week. Then you go to the northwest coast of the island of Honshu for a week.

Write one postcard to your family at home describing the weather during your week in Tokyo and Kyoto.

Write another postcard during your second week, describing the weather on the northwest coast of Honshu.

8. In land area Japan is about the size of California, but in population it ranks seventh in the world (behind China, India, the U.S.S.R., the U.S., Indonesia and Brazil).

How would you describe Japan's size?

Why is it important to know both the land area and the population of a country?

9. Use the following information to compare Japan and the United States:

	<u>Japan</u>	<u>U.S.</u>
Total land area	145,946 square miles	3,615,054 square miles
Population	119 million	234 million
Percent of land that can be cultivated for crops	15%	46%

- How many times larger than Japan is the United States in land area?
- How many times larger is the U.S. population?

- How many people per square mile are there in Japan? (People divided by square miles) In the U.S.?
- How many people are there per land area that can be cultivated in Japan? In the U.S.?
- What conclusions can you draw about population density (people per square mile) in Japan and the United States?
- What conclusions can you draw about agriculture in the two countries?

Vocabulary

geography

intercultural

demography

topography

archipelago

navigable

arable

treacherous

dormant

tidal wave

typhoon

temperate zone

latitude

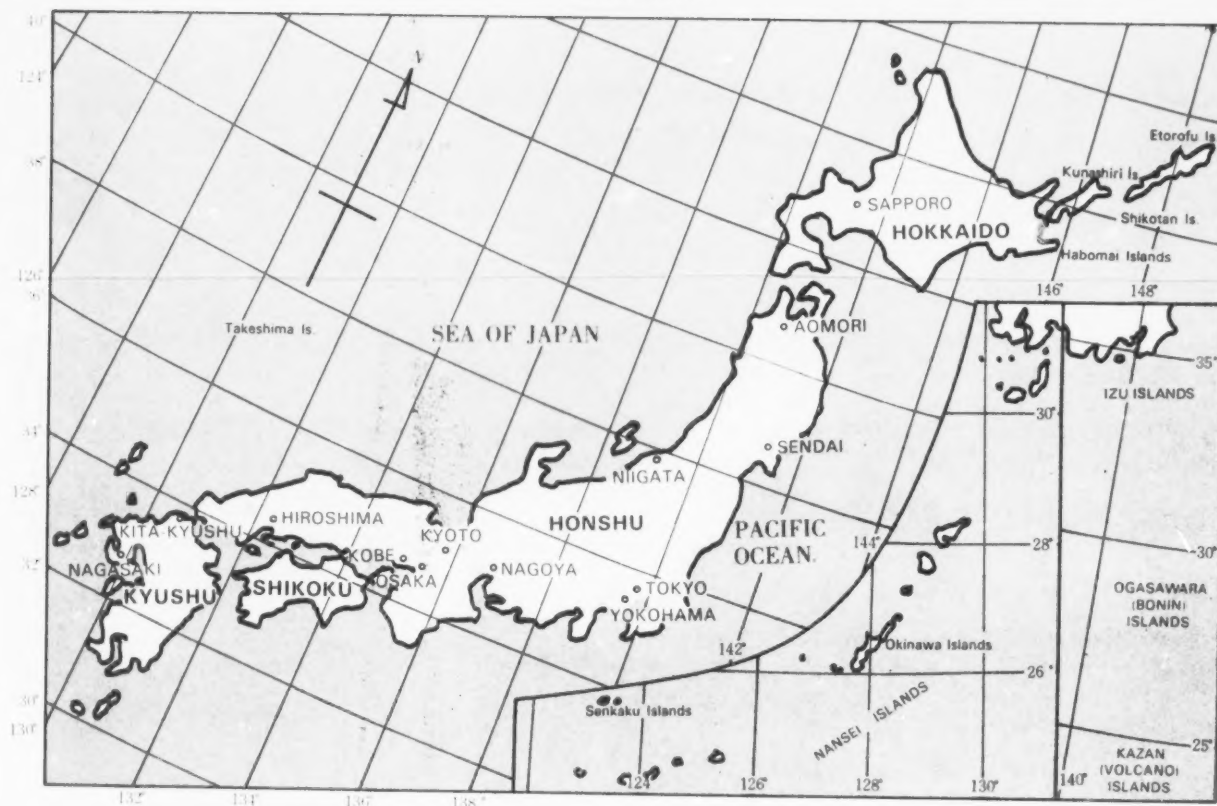
longitude

staple



map 1
JAPAN / THE ISLANDS

JAPAN



Acknowledgments

The source for this map is the pamphlet Japan Today (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, March 1983), back cover. The pamphlet is available from your local Japan Information Center, Consulate General of Japan.

Note:

Ownership of the islands Kunashiri, Etorofu, Habomai and Shikotan is disputed. The U.S.S.R. occupied them in 1945 and has asserted sovereignty over them since. Japan claims these Northern Territories as original Japanese territory not affected by the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1952. The issue is a continuing problem in Russo-Japanese relations showing little prospect of resolution.

map 2
JAPAN AND ASIA



map 3
JAPAN & CALIFORNIA



map 4
JAPAN & ITALY

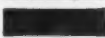


map 5
TOPOGRAPHY

KEY

1-1,000 FT. 

1,000-6,000 FT. 

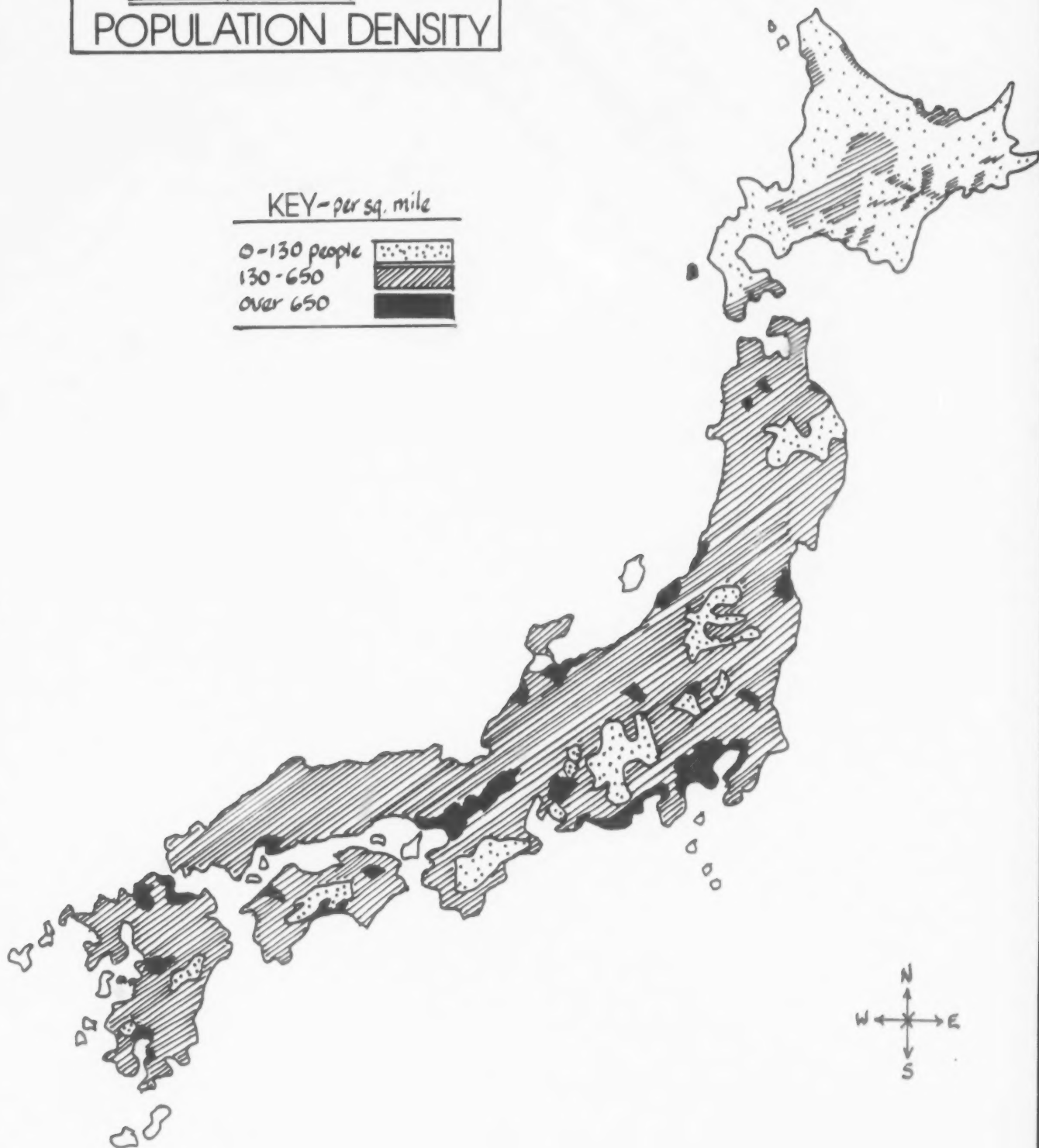
OVER 6,000 FT. 



map 6
POPULATION DENSITY

KEY-per sq. mile

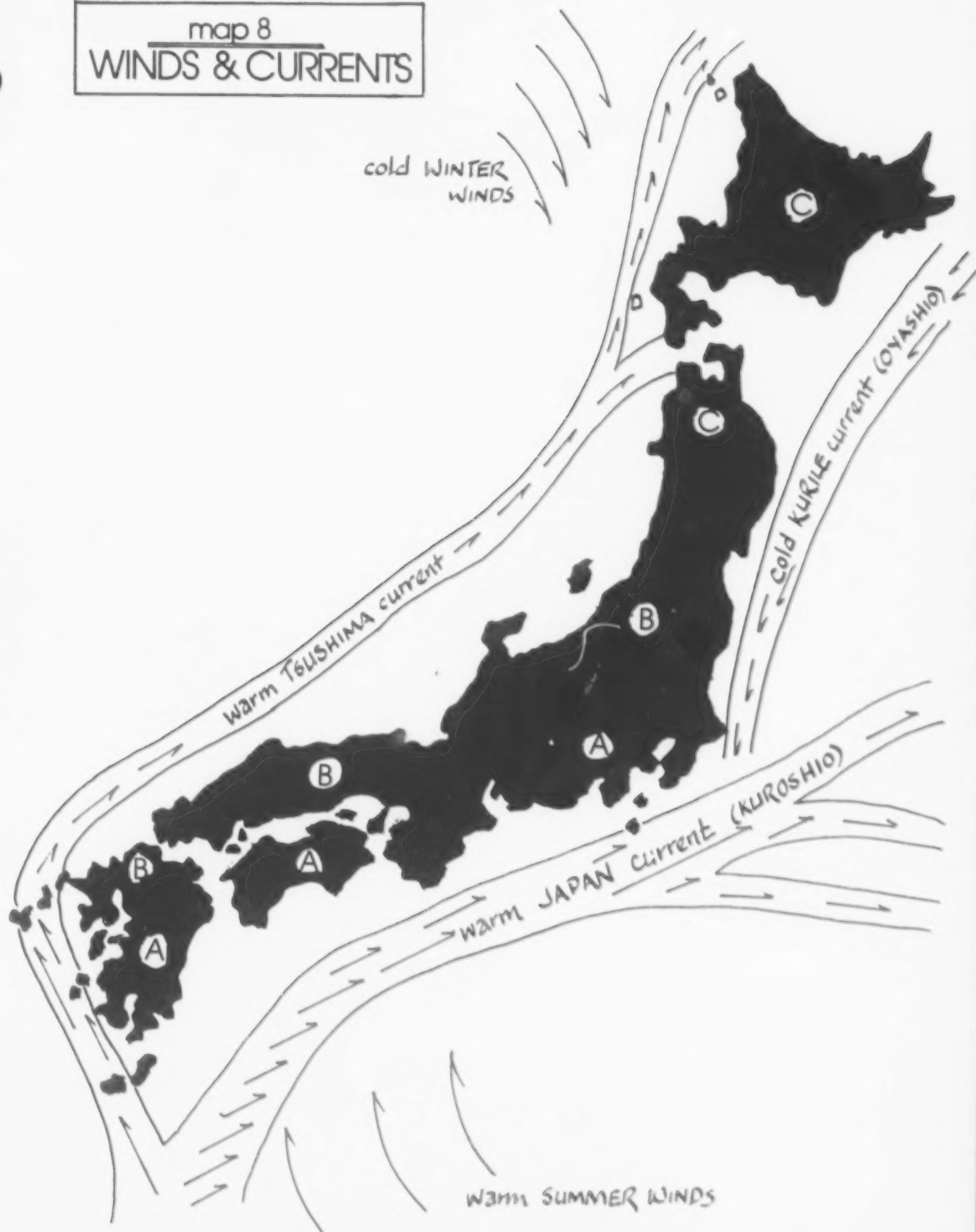
0-130 people	
130-650	
over 650	





BEST COPY AVAILABLE

map 8
WINDS & CURRENTS



map 9
JAPAN

KEY

- MAJOR ISLANDS
- MAJOR CITIES
- CURRENTS
- OCEANS/SEAS



Land, the Family and Political Power

To the student

Japan's topography has played an important role in shaping Japan's traditional culture and early

history. Japan's temperate climate, abundant rainfall, and rich alluvial plains near present day Tokyo, Nagoya, and Osaka favored the development of a traditional agrarian economy. Sometime during its pre-history, probably during the Yayoi period (300 B.C.-300 A.D.), Japan imported from China the technique of wet rice agriculture common to much of Asia.

To cultivate rice by this method, rice seeds are sown in small seedbeds. The seedlings are then transplanted one by one to a prepared paddy field. While the plants are maturing, they must be kept irrigated, but the fields are drained as the rice ripens. The rice is then harvested and threshed by hand. Wet rice agriculture requires plenty of rain, but also strong warm sun. It requires relatively flat, fertile land, an abundant and dependable supply of water for irrigation, and a reliable labor force. Japanese culture even today reflects values and institutions that evolved from Japan's early agricultural organization.

The Traditional Extended Family

Wet rice agriculture was particularly well suited to Japan because it does not require a lot of land. Good rice land is scarce in Japan, and it is criss-crossed with mountains and streams. The typical Japanese farm, even today, is less than an acre in size. There have been periods in Japanese history when a relatively few people held great rice producing estates, but these estates were made up of many tiny fields scattered over a wide area, each farmed by one family.

Wet rice agriculture does require a great deal of cheap labor. Wet rice agriculture is a labor intensive type of agriculture. In traditional Japan, labor was provided by an extended family. Each family was basically self-sufficient, working together to cultivate its own tiny field. When a son married, he and his family continued to live with the extended family, farming the same land. Japan's traditional social hierarchy developed to maintain order within the extended family. Each family member had a clearly defined status. At the top was the head of the household, usually the father. The family head had absolute authority over the family. He owned the family's property and water rights. He was also responsible for the welfare of the entire family and for the safety of its property. A better way to describe the Japanese family head is to say that he was the agent for the family. His name was entered in the village register, he represented his family in the village council, he paid the family's taxes. He was the only family member who had a legal identity.

The Emperor

The Japanese emperor was originally only one such family head; more important but not basically different from any others. He stood at the top of a social hierarchy of families in the same way that each family head was at the top of the hierarchy within the family. The emperor's position as first among many equals was legitimated by the myth of his divinity. Shinto mythology, Japan's earliest religious tradition, explained that Amaterasu the sun goddess established her descendants on earth to rule Japan eternally. An important part of the early emperor's role, therefore, was to link the Japanese people with their gods. He conducted religious rituals and communicated the will of the gods to his subjects. It may be useful to think of him as a shaman, a type of priest who uses magic to interpret the will of the gods and control events affecting the welfare of his people.

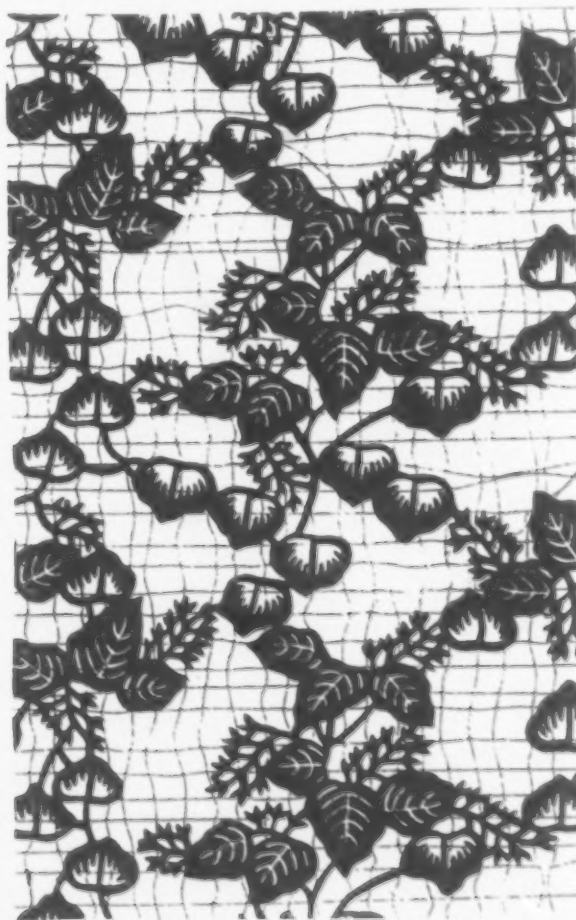
Throughout Japanese history, the emperor has been primarily a symbol. Occasionally a strong emperor has been able to assert power as well, but, for the most part, the Japanese emperor has been politically impotent. He reigns, but has seldom ruled. Japan has almost always been ruled by someone else.

Land as the Basis of Political Power

Until the twentieth century, Japan's true rulers were men who controlled land ownership: the court nobles during the first thousand years of Japanese history, the samurai and the shogun during the second. Often these men did not own the land themselves, but they held rights to a share of the rice crop. Even in the early twentieth century, wealthy landlords controlled much of Japan's productive land. The Americans who occupied Japan after World War II carried out a land reform program partly

because they believed that concentrated control of land rights had helped prevent Japan from developing a democracy.

Because mountains and streams divide Japan's farm land into small, isolated areas, it proved difficult to unify Japan politically. For most of its history, Japan has been divided into many autonomous domains, each governed by a regional strong-man. No one of these local rulers was able to claim national leadership until 1600, and not until the end of the nineteenth century did Japan have a central government strong enough to assert control over all of Japan. On the other hand, local government has played an important role in Japanese history. The rural village was the only political organization that the farming family needed. The village council protected each family's water rights, collected taxes, and maintained order within the village. If necessary, the village headman negotiated with regional government officials on behalf of the entire village. Consequently, the rural community was able to retain a considerable degree of independence, even when Japan was ruled by feudal lords.



GEOGRAPHY / Resources

MAPS

- Map of Japan and Korea National Geographic Society

An excellent map which clearly shows the geographic relation of Japan to the Asian mainland; enlarged inset detail of central Japan.

Available from: The National Geographic Society
Washington, DC 20036

Price: \$3.00

- Cultural Map of Japan National Geographic Society

This 3-foot, plastic-coated, double-sided map has on one side a topographical map of the Japanese islands, showing places of major interest and briefly describing their historical significance. On the reverse side there is a time line and four small maps of Japan covering the periods A.D. 552-710, 710-1185, 1185-1868, modern Japan to 1945. Highly recommended.

Available from: The National Geographic Society
Washington, DC 20036

Price: \$4.00

- Map of Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan

A desk-sized map (10-1/2" x 15") with one side depicting the topography of Japan; the other side prefectural boundaries, major roads and rail lines, parks and air routes.

Available from: Japan Information Service
Consulate General of Japan
299 Park Avenue, 18th floor
New York, NY 10171-0025

Price: free

● Map of Japan

International Society for Educational
Information, Inc. (Tokyo)

A wall map, depicting primarily the transportation system of the islands, with a brief account of eighteen principal cities.

Available from: ISEI, Inc.
Koryo Building
18 Wakaba 1-chome
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
JAPAN

Price: \$5.00

TEXT

● Geography in an Urban Age: Unit 6--Japan

Prepared by the High School Geography Project of the Association of American Geographers with support from the National Science Foundation

This excellent resource, published with many large graphs and maps, is unfortunately slightly out of date. Statistics are from 1970. Teachers using the booklet could easily update the graphs with information taken from publications available through Japan Information Service, address above.

Available from: Macmillan Publishers
966 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10022

FACT SHEET

● The Geography of Japan

This six-page flyer is one of the Facts about Japan series, prepared by the Public Information Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Available from: Japan Information Service
Consul General of Japan
299 Park Avenue, 18th Floor
New York, NY 10171-0025

Price: free

TEACHING UNITS

● Japan: A Unit on Geography

Developed by the East Asia Resource Center at the University of Washington, this 36-page unit contains: teacher background and student exercises locating Japan in the world, drawing maps of Japan, using Japanese characters and words to explain place names and to locate natural geographic formations, and reading charts to compare Japan's social and economic geography with that of other nations. Many other exercises are suggested in the unit. Highly recommended.

Available from: East Asia Resource Center
Jackson School of International Studies
302-C Thomson Hall DR-05
University of Washington
Seattle, WA 98195

Price: \$2.00

● The Economic Geography of Japan: An Inquiry Unit for Junior High

This 27-page unit, developed by Lucien Ellington of the Center for Economic Education at the University of Tennessee in Chattanooga, and Jane Duffy of Lakeview-Fort Ogelthorpe Georgia High School, focuses primarily on a comparison of two farm families--their land, major crops, farming techniques--in Japan and the United States. Supporting activities include discussion of the ration of population to land, resources, Japanese products, and Japanese food.

Available from: Midwest Center for Teaching
About Japan
Indiana University
2805 East 10th Street, #120
Bloomington, IN 47405

Price: Free

TRANSPARENCIES

● Nystrom Transparencies

A set of 16 full-color 8-3/4" x 11" transparencies.

Available from: Nystrom
3333 Elston Avenue
Chicago, IL 60618

Price: \$60.00

AUDIO-VISUAL UNITS

● Multi-Media Resource Unit: Japan

Designed primarily for elementary use, the enclosed filmstrip is overly simple, but the large maps and exercises can be adapted to higher grades. The maps include: 1. Japan Visual-relief wall map (44" x 58"); 2. Physical-Political wall map (35" x 44"); 3. Outline wall map (27-1/2" x 36") with boundaries, longitude and latitude marked; 4. 50 One-color desk activity maps (marked as the previous wall map, 8-1/2" x 11"); and 5. Historical maps: The Far East in 1895, and the Pacific Area in World War II, 1941-1945.

Available from: Rand McNally
P.O. Box 7600
Chicago, IL 60680

Price: Write to Rand McNally for information, or call 1-800-323-4070, ext. 425.

● Japan: The Face of the Country

120 slides of Japan's various regions with accompanying cassette and map.

Available from: International Society for Educational
Information, Inc.
Koryo Building
18 Wakaba 1-chome
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
JAPAN

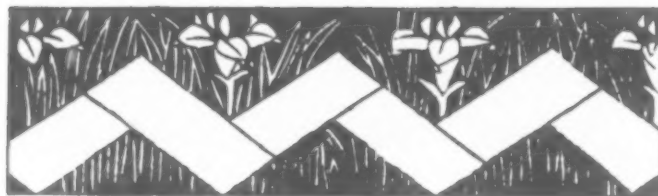
Price: \$60.00*

*Also available for free rental from Asian studies outreach centers around the country. See list of the centers in the INTRODUCTION section of the workbook. Contact in particular the centers at the University of Washington, the University of Michigan, Stanford University and Yale University.

Geography and Culture

- The Sunny Side of the Street is Very Dear to the Japanese
- Enduring Cold the Japanese Way
- Japanese Food: A Mirror of History

See CULTURE section of the workbook for these three related units.



LANGUAGE / CONTENTS

THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE: SPEAKING AND WRITING (Reading)
presents an overview of Japanese: the spoken language, both kanji and kana, the written language, and the difficulties and rewards of mastering the language

JAPANESE SYLLABARIES (Exercise)
provides an opportunity for students to practice kana, both hiragana and katakana

50 CHINESE CHARACTERS (Exercise)
provides the opportunity for students to write and read Japanese kanji

THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE AND THE COMPUTER KEYBOARD
(Primary Source Selection)
takes a different approach to explaining the complexities of the Japanese language--a 1984 article from The New York Times that discusses the difficulty the Japanese have encountered devising a computer keyboard for their written language

JAPANESE NAMES (Exercise)
is a one-page explanation of the order in which Japanese names are written

RESOURCE LIST
of additional teaching units

See also the LITERATURE section of the workbook.

Speaking and Writing

TO THE STUDENT

The language people speak influences how they think about many things. To the Japanese people, their language is one of the ways they define their nationality. For example, while English is the national language of many nations and peoples in the world today, and many more people use it as an international language, Japanese is spoken almost exclusively in Japan or by Japanese living abroad. So in one sense, a Japanese is a person who is brought up speaking Japanese.

THE SPOKEN LANGUAGE

As we learn about Japan, we learn many words to describe events, ideas, or objects having to do with the country and its culture. Fortunately, these words are not difficult for us to pronounce. When Japanese is written in the roman alphabet, each letter stands for a single sound.

The vowel sounds are pronounced:

a as in father

i as in meet

u as in rude

e as in say

o as in go

The basic units of the Japanese language, however, are syllables, not sounds. Standard Japanese uses 100 distinct syllables. Of these, 5 are single vowels, 62 are consonants combined with a vowel, and 53 are consonants combined with y plus a vowel.

Syllables of Japanese

wa	ra	ya	ma	pa	ba	ha	na	da	ta	za	sa	ga	ka	a
--	ri	--	mi	pi	bi	hi	ni	--	chi	ji	shi	gi	ki	i
--	ru	yu	mu	pu	bu	hu	nu	--	tsu	zu	su	gu	ku	u
--	re	--	me	pe	be	he	ne	de	te	ze	se	ge	ke	e
--	ro	yo	mo	po	bo	ho	no	do	to	zo	so	go	ko	o
--	rya	---	mya	pya	bya	hya	nya	---	chya	jya	shya	gya	kya	--
--	ryu	---	myu	pyu	byu	hyu	nyu	---	chyu	jyu	shyu	gyu	kyu	--
--	ryo	---	myo	pyo	byo	hyo	nyo	---	chyō	jyō	shyō	gyō	kyō	--

In addition to these syllables, Japanese uses one single consonant, the letter "n." It may also be pronounced "m." In general, consonants are pronounced the same way they are in English, except that g is always hard, as in get. When a vowel has a line over it, or when the consonants "k," "s," "t," or "p" are repeated, the sound is the same, but held longer--it is doubled. So the word for the Japanese language itself, Nihongo, is pronounced knee-hone-go, and the roman alphabet is called rōmaji, pronounced row-mah-gee.

Notice that several English sounds are missing from the Japanese language entirely: "c," "f," "l," "q," "v," and "x." When Japanese want to represent these sounds, they have to use Japanese syllables that sound almost the same. For example, to pronounce the country name "France," Japanese say "Huransu."

Another difference between English and Japanese is that Japanese syllables are never accented. Americans can say either Hiroshima or Hiroshima, but Japanese say Hiroshima.

Although Japanese is not difficult for Americans to pronounce, it is often difficult for us to learn to speak well, because it is unlike English in almost every way. The sentence structure is different, as you can see in this simple sentence:

I bought a book yesterday.

<u>Kinō</u>	<u>watakushi</u>	<u>wa</u>	<u>hon</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>kaimashita.</u>
(yesterday)	(I)	(subject indicator)	(book)	(object indicator)	(bought)

Even parts of speech are different, as you can see. "I" is still a pronoun, and "book" a noun, but Japanese has particles, like wa

and o, that indicate how words are related, a device which is absent in English. Often the subject of the sentence, such as "I" (watakushi wa) is left out, and distinctions between the singular and plural are rarely made, so sentences may seem ambiguous to English speakers. As in English, verbs change to show tense, but so do adjectives, because Japanese is an inflected language.

It is cold. Samui desu.

It was cold. Samukatta desu.

But one of the greatest differences has to do with levels of politeness. People speak differently depending on the person they are talking to, or talking about. A high-school student uses different forms to speak to the class teacher than when speaking to classmates, and the forms used by boy and girl students are slightly different, too. The very words--verbs, nouns, pronouns, and adjectives--often change, too. A person will use a different word for father, for example, when speaking to him and when speaking about him to someone else. These changes reflect the relationship between people, and their relative social positions. To address someone correctly, you must know his or her status in the society--that is, his or her position in a school or company, age, or relationship to you. This is an important way in which the language influences how people think about each other.

Of course, Japanese children learn all these things we consider difficult naturally, as we learn the many difficult aspects of English.

THE WRITTEN LANGUAGE

All languages were spoken before they were written. Ways of recording words and ideas were invented in only a few places in the world, and over many millenia were altered to adapt to many diverse languages. Many languages, like ours, use an alphabet, symbols that indicate the way words sound. Other writing systems use symbols to show what words mean as well. The Chinese writing system uses characters that indicate both sound and meaning.

Three kinds of symbols are used to write Japanese:

<u>Kanji</u>	thousands of characters borrowed from Chinese writing, each with a different meaning
<u>Hiragana</u>	46 "smooth" style phonetic symbols used for inflected endings, grammatical particles and other Japanese words
<u>Katakana</u>	46 "block" style phonetic symbols used for writing foreign loan words, foreign names, and for emphasis

Kanji (Chinese characters). The Japanese began to use the Chinese writing system about 1,400 years ago. These Chinese characters, called kanji in Japanese, are also called **pictographs** because they indicate meanings as well as sounds. The way that Japanese use Chinese pictographs to write their own language is a good example of Japanese ingenuity in adapting elements of other cultures to enhance their own.

How would you go about writing your own language with Chinese pictographs? You could do it easily enough by using each Chinese character to represent the same meaning as an English word. 日, for example, means day, or the sun. Then you would read it "day" or "Sun" instead of pronouncing it as the Chinese people do. Or, you could use Chinese characters to represent an English sound that is almost like the Chinese pronunciation of the pictograph. 日 is pronounced "rur" in Chinese. You could use it to write the first part of the English word "rih-hon." Then, of course, you would be pronouncing the pictograph much as the Chinese people do, but it would have lost its original meaning. Japanese people use both these techniques. As a result, each Japanese kanji can be pronounced in several different ways. 日 can be pronounced nichi, the Japanese words for day, or hi, a pronunciation close to the Chinese. 本 means a book, or the source or origin of something, and can be pronounced as hon or moto. When they are written together like this, 日本, they are pronounced Nihon, which means Japan. Characters also sometimes look like what they mean: 三 san, or mitsu, means three. But usually they do not, especially when the meaning is a more complicated concept: 愛 ai means love. A character can have only one line, or stroke, like 一 ichi, or hitotsu, which means one, but some have as many as twenty strokes or more, like 響 hibiki, or kyō, which means to echo or vibrate.

There are thousands of kanji, or characters, and students must learn 881 of them in elementary school, and a total of 1,850 by the time they graduate from high school. So you can understand that it takes a Japanese student a long time to learn how to write his language. See how many kanji you can learn to recognize in the next section.

Kana (syllabaries). When the Japanese started to use Chinese characters for their own language they ran into some problems. Chinese words are only one or two syllables, and they can use a character for each syllable, but Japanese words frequently have many syllables, especially inflected words. So the Japanese developed symbols from the kanji, called kana, to indicate sound without meaning, the way our alphabet does. But the symbols in these syllabaries indicate the sound of a whole Japanese syllable instead of each separate part. か is ka, for example, and つ is tsu. Kana usually have many fewer strokes than kanji.

There are two standard syllabaries being used today, each one with forty-six symbols. One is called hiragana, and is used for inflected endings, grammatical particles, and other Japanese words. For example, do you remember the sentence "I bought a book yesterday"? It sounds like this: Kinō watakushi wa hon o kaimashita. But is it usually written with a combination of kanji and hiragana, and looks like this:

・ 昨日私は本を買いました。

Japanese can be written horizontally, from left to right, as it is here. But it is usually written vertically, in columns running from right to left. Books, therefore, begin at what is the back of English books. Can you recognize which symbols are kanji and which are kana? Which kanji have you seen before?

The other syllabary is called katakana. It is squarer-looking than hiragana. Ka is カ instead of か, and tsu is ツ instead of つ. Japanese, like English, has many foreign loan words in its vocabulary, and katakana is used for these, such as terebi テレビ, television, aisu kurīmu アイスクリーム for ice cream, or rōmaji ローマ字, roman letters. It is also used for foreign names, like John ジョン or Karen カーレン, and it is used for emphasis, the way we use underlining or italic type in English.

MASTERING THE LANGUAGE

As you can imagine, it takes many years to learn how to read and write Japanese. For English we need to know only twenty-six symbols, the letters of our alphabet, to have the basic tools of our written language, although it takes a lot of practice to use these tools well. Japanese students must learn about two thousand symbols to have their basic tools, and still it takes practice to use them well. During the Meiji era (1868-1912), some people wanted to switch to the roman alphabet, or even to English. In the years after World War II, the written language was simplified and standardized to make it easier to learn.

However, the difficulties of learning Japanese have their compensations. Having symbols that indicate both sound and meaning gives the language flexibility, and can express deep and subtle meanings. The writing system is also a beautiful one, and when it is written with a brush and ink it is an art form in itself.

Vocabulary

ambiguous

inflection

aspect

adapt

millenia

pictograph

ideograph

kanji

kana

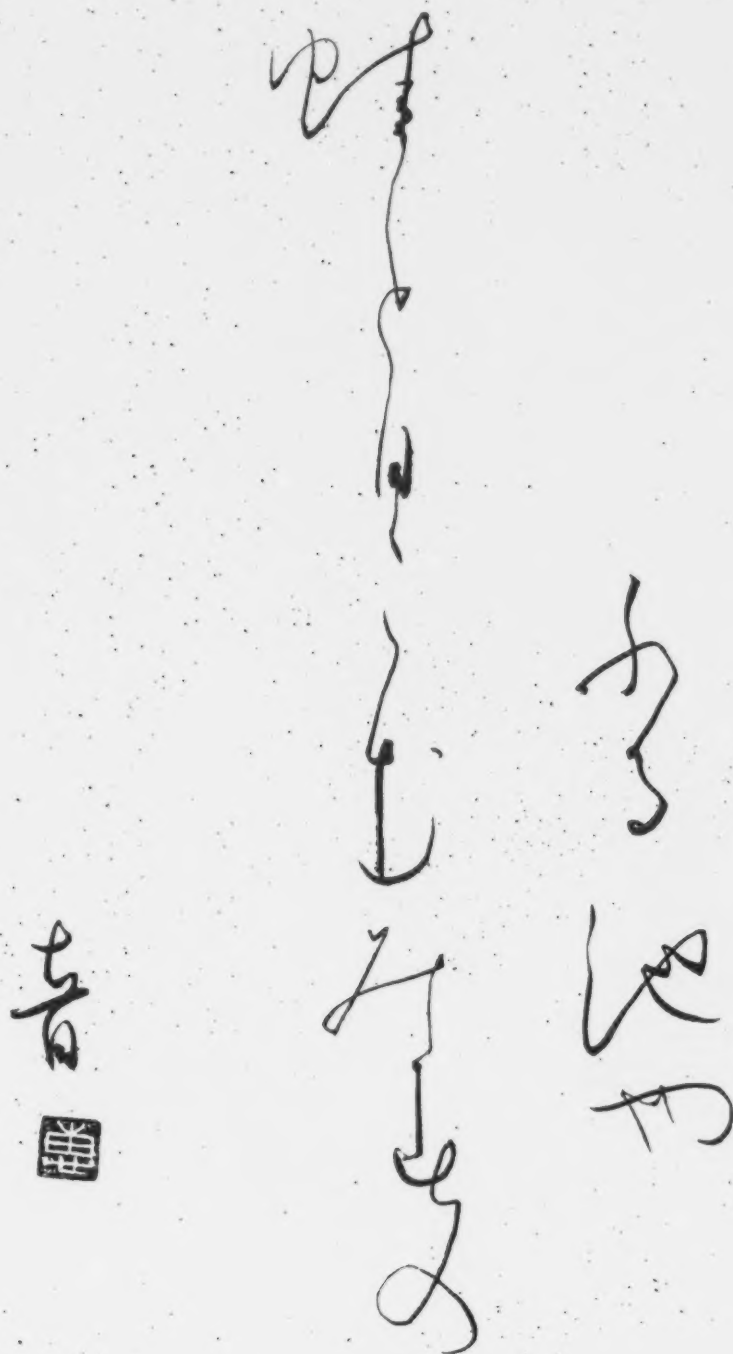
concept

stroke

syllabary

loan words

compensations



This modern example of traditional calligraphy is of a famous haiku by Matsuo Bashō (1644-1694): furu ike ya/ kawazu tobikomu/ mizu no oto (The old pond--/a frog plunges in;/ the sound of water. . .). Calligraphy by Dr. Amy V. Heinrich.

Exercises

1. How many countries can you name in which English is the national language?

French?

Spanish?

How do you think this came about?



2. What aspects of Japanese do you think would be hardest for you to learn?

What aspects of English do you think are hardest for Japanese students to learn?

3. In addition to loan words from English such as terebi and aisu kurimu, Japanese has many loan words from Chinese, and some from French, German, Portuguese, and other languages. Make a list of loan words we use in English from other languages.

One we often see in newspapers is **detente**. What language is it from?

See how many languages are represented in your list.

4. Practice saying the following Japanese words out loud, using the pronunciation guide you have read.

tatami (smooth straw matting used for the floors in Japanese homes)

ohashi (chopsticks)

konnichi wa (hello)

arigatō gozaimasu (thank you)

dō itashimashite (don't mention it)

samurai (traditional Japanese warrior)

Meiji (era from 1868-1912)

ichi (one)

ni (two)

san (three)

shi (four)

go (five)

roku (six)

shichi (seven)

hachi (eight)

kyū (nine)

jū (ten)

Getsuyōbi (Monday)

Kayōbi (Tuesday)

Suiyōbi (Wednesday)

Mokuyōbi (Thursday)

Kinyōbi (Friday)

Doyōbi (Saturday)

Nichiyōbi (Sunday)

Japanese Syllabaries

TO THE STUDENT

Try to practice writing hiragana on the following pages. Be sure to follow the correct order in drawing the strokes, and make your lines in the direction indicated by the arrows.



HIRAGANA

あ	か	さ	た	な	は	ま	や	ら	わ	
a	ka	sa	ta	na	ha	ma	ya	ra	wa	
い	き	し	ち	に	ひ	み		り		
i	ki	shi	chi	ni	hi	mi		ri		
う	く	す	つ	ぬ	ふ	む	ゆ	る		
u	ku	su	tsu	nu	fu	mu	yu	ru		
え	け	せ	て	ね	へ	め		れ		
e	ke	se	te	ne	he	me		re		
お	こ	そ	と	の	ほ	も	よ	ろ	を	ん
o	ko	so	to	no	ho	mo	yo	ro	o	n

HIRAGANA

あ	ゐ	う	え										
い	い	い											
う	う	う											
え	え	え	え	え									
お	お	お	お										
か	か	か	か										
き	き	き	き	き									
く	く												
け	け	け	け										
こ	こ	こ											

し	し	し	し									
し	し											
す	す	す										
せ	せ	せ	せ									
そ	そ	そ	そ	そ								
た	た	た	た	た								
ち	ち	ち										
つ	つ											
て	て	て										
と	と	と										
な	な	な	な	な								
に	に	に	に									

ぬ	↓	ぬ										
ね	↓	ね										
の	の											
は	↓	は										
ひ	↓	ひ										
ふ	↓	ふ										
へ	↓	へ										
ほ	↓	ほ										
ま	↓	ま										
み	↓	み										
む	↓	む										
め	↓	め										

も	ㇰ	ㇱ	も										
や	ㇰ	ㇱ	や										
ゆ	ㇰ	ㇱ	ゆ										
よ	ㇰ	ㇱ											
ら	ㇰ	ㇱ											
り	ㇰ	ㇱ											
ろ	ㇰ	ㇱ											
れ	ㇰ	ㇱ	れ										
ろ	ㇰ	ㇱ	ろ										
わ	ㇰ	ㇱ	わ										
を	ㇰ	ㇱ	を										
ん	ㇰ	ㇱ											

KATAKANA

ア	カ	サ	タ	ナ	ハ	マ	ヤ	ラ	ワ	
a	ka	sa	ta	na	ha	ma	ya	ra	wa	
イ	キ	シ	チ	ニ	ヒ	ミ		リ		
i	ki	shi	chi	ni	hi	mi		ri		
ウ	ク	ス	ツ	ヌ	フ	ム	ユ	ル		
u	ku	su	tsu	nu	fu	mu	yu	ru		
エ	ケ	セ	テ	ネ	ヘ	メ		レ		
e	ke	se	te	ne	he	me		re		
オ	コ	ソ	ト	ノ	ホ	モ	ヨ	ロ	ヲ	ン
o	ko	so	to	no	ho	mo	yo	ro	o	n

Calligraphy by Dr. Amy V. Heinrich.

50 Chinese Characters

TO THE STUDENT

TO THE STUDENT Experiment with writing the kanji that follow. Notice the order of the strokes (the little numbers beside them), and remember as you write that horizontal strokes are written from left to right, and vertical strokes from top to bottom.

一	1; 1/0. <i>ICHI, ITSU, hito(tsu), hito-one</i> [i ^h , y ⁱ • S] 一 — <i>ichi</i> — one 一 — <i>hitotsu</i> — one
二	2; 7/0. <i>NI, futu(tsu), futu-two</i> [ERH ⁴ • S] 二 — <i>futatsu</i> — two 二 — <i>hitotsu futatsu</i> — one and/or two
三	3; 1/2. <i>SAN, mit(tsu), mit(tsu), mitsu, mi-three</i> [SAN ⁴ • S] 三 — <i>mitsu</i> , <i>mitsu</i> — three 三 — <i>ichi ni san</i> — one two three
人	4; 9/0. <i>JIN, NIN, hito person</i> [JEN ² • D] 一人 — <i>hitori futari</i> (ir.) — one or two people 三人 — <i>sannin</i> — three people
日	5; 72/0. <i>NICHI, ITSU, hi day, sun; -ka suf. for counting</i> [nit ⁴ • D] 一日 — <i>ichinichi, ichijitsu</i> — one day, 1st (of month); <i>tsuitachi</i> (ir.) — 1st (of month) 二日 — <i>futsuka</i> (ir.) — two days, 2nd (of month)
四	6; 31/2. <i>SHI, yot(tsu), yot(tsu), yo-, yon- four</i> [ssu ⁴ , szu ⁴ • D → B] 四人 — <i>yōnin</i> — four people 四日 — <i>yokka</i> (← <i>yotsu + ka</i>) — four days, 4th (of month)
五	7; 1/3. <i>GO, itsu(tsu), itsu-five</i> [wu ³ • D → B] 五人 — <i>gonin</i> — five people 五日 — <i>itsuka</i> — five days, 5th (of month)
六	8; 8/2. <i>ROKU, mut(tsu), mu(tsu) six</i> [lju ⁴ • D → B] 六人 — <i>gorokunin</i> — five or six people 六日 — <i>muika</i> (ir.) — six days, 6th (of month)

七	七	9; 5/1. SHICHI, <i>nana(tsu)</i> , <i>nana</i> - seven [CH'ɪ¹ • S→B] 六七口 — <i>rokushichinichi</i> — six or seven days, 6th or 7th (of month) [month] 七口 — <i>nanoka</i> , <i>nanuka</i> (ir.) — seven days, 7th (of month)
八	八	10; 12/0. HACHI, HATSU, <i>yat(tsu)</i> , <i>ya(tsu)</i> , <i>ya</i> - eight [PA¹ • S→B] 七八人 — <i>shichihachinin</i> — seven or eight people 八口 — <i>yōka</i> (ir.) — eight days, 8th (of month)
九	九	11; 4/1. KYŪ, KU, <i>kokono(tsu)</i> , <i>kokono</i> - nine [CHU³ • D→B; P*] 九人 — <i>kyūnin</i> — nine people 九口 — <i>kokonoka</i> — nine days, 9th (of month)
十	十	12; 24/0. JŪ, <i>tō</i> ten [SHU² • D→B; P*] 十六人 — <i>jūrokunin</i> — sixteen people 十日 — <i>tōka</i> — ten days, 10th (of month)
月	月	13; 74/0. GETSU, <i>tsuki</i> moon, month; GATSU month [YŪEH⁴ • D] (of the year) 十二三月 — <i>jūnisangetsu</i> — twelve or thirteen 四月 — <i>shigatsu</i> — April [months]
曜	曜	14; 72/14. YŌ day of the week [YAO¹ • R sun & P*] 日曜 [日] — <i>nichiyō</i> [bi] — Sunday 月曜 [日] — <i>getsuyō</i> [bi] — Monday
火	火	15; 86/0. KA, <i>hi</i> fire, flame [HUO³ • D; P*] 火曜 [日] — <i>kayō</i> [bi] — Tuesday 火と日 — <i>hi to hi</i> — fire & sun
水	水	16; 75/0. SUI, <i>mizu</i> water [stream 1] [SHUI³ • D: dribblets 2-4 each side of a main 水曜 [日] — <i>suiyō</i> [bi] — Wednesday 火水 — <i>himizu</i> — fire & water, discord; <i>kasui</i> — Tuesday & Wednesday

木	木	17; 75/0. MOKU, BOKU, <i>ki</i> tree, wood [MU⁴ • D; P*] 木曜 [日] — <i>mokuyō</i> [bi] — Thursday 木木 — <i>kigi</i> — every tree, many trees
金	金	18; 167/0. KIN*, KON gold; <i>kane</i> money [CHIN⁴ • R earth & P*] 月水金 [曜日] — <i>gessuikin</i> [yōbi] — Monday, Wed- nesday & Friday [money 金のある人 — <i>kane no aru hito</i> — a person with
土	土	19; 32/0. DO, TO, <i>tsuchi</i> earth, ground [TU³ • D: mound of earth] 火木土 [曜日] — <i>kamokudo</i> [yōbi] (ir.) — Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday [on the moon 月にある土 — <i>tsuki ni aru tsuchi</i> — the earth/soil
本	本	20; 2/4. HON* book; unit for counting cylindrical objects; <i>moto</i> source, origin [PEN² • D & S: line at base of tree trunk; P*] 日本 — <i>Nihon</i> / <i>Nippon</i> (ir.) — Japan 六本木 — <i>Roppongi</i> (← <i>roku</i> + <i>hon</i> + <i>ki</i>) — pn.
山	山	21; 46/0. SAN, <i>yama</i> mountain [SHAN¹ • D: three peaks] 火山 — <i>kazan</i> — volcano 山水 — <i>yamamizu</i> — mountain water; <i>sansui</i> — mountains & water, landscape
目	目	22; 109/0. MOKU, BOKU, <i>me</i> eye; - <i>me</i> ordinal suf. [MU⁴ • D: an eye (originally drawn horizontally); 一目 — <i>hitome</i> / <i>ichimoku</i> — one look/glance [P*] 人の目 — <i>hito no me</i> — a person's eye
見	見	23; 147/0. KEN, <i>mi(ru)</i> see; <i>mi(seru)</i> show [CHEN⁴ • I: a man 6-7 surmounted by a big eye; 一見 — <i>ikken</i> — one look/glance [P*] 月を見る人 — <i>tsuki o miru hito</i> — a person who looks at the moon
行	行	24; 144/0. KŌ, AN, <i>i(ku)</i> , <i>yu(ku)</i> go; <i>oko(nau)</i> carry out; GYŌ* line [to & fro; P*] [HSING³ • D: crossroads, where many people go 八九行 — <i>hachikugyō</i> — eight or nine lines 月見に行 — <i>tsukimi ni iku</i> — go moon-viewing

来	来	25; 4/6. RAI, <i>ku(ru)</i> come [LAI ² • D→B] 来月 — <i>raigetsu</i> — next month 日本に来た人 — <i>Nihon ni kita hito</i> — a person who came to Japan
方	方	26; 70/0. HŌ* direction, side; <i>kata</i> side, way of [FANG ¹ • D; P*] [—ing, person (hon.)] 四方 — <i>shihō</i> — all [the 4] directions 見方 — <i>mikata</i> — way of looking, viewpoint
東	東	27; 4/7. TŌ, <i>higashi</i> east [TUNG ¹ • I: the sun rising behind a tree; P*] 東方 — <i>tōhō</i> — [the] east 東の方 — <i>higashi no hō</i> — eastward 東山 — <i>Higashiyama</i> — psn.
西	西	28; 146/0. SEI, SAI, <i>nishi</i> west [HSI ¹ • D B; P*] 西方 — <i>seihō</i> — [the] west 東西 — <i>tōzai</i> — east & west 西山 — <i>Nishiyama</i> — psn.
上	上	29; 25/1. JŌ, SHŌ, <i>ue</i> top; <i>a(geru)garu</i> raise; <i>nobo(ru)</i> go up to the capital; <i>kami</i> upper part [SHANG ⁴ • S] 水上で / 上 — <i>suijō de/ni</i> — on the water 上人 — <i>shōnin</i> — saint 目上の方 — <i>meue no kata</i> — a superior/senior
下	下	30; 1/2. KA, GE, <i>shita</i> bottom; <i>sa(geru)garu</i> lower, move back; <i>ku(daru)</i> go down; <i>o(rosu)</i> lower, put down; <i>o(riru)</i> get down; <i>shimo</i> lower part [HSIA ⁴ • S] 目下 — <i>mokka</i> — at present 目下の人 — <i>meshita no hito</i> — an inferior/junior
中	中	31; 2/3. CHŪ, <i>naka</i> middle, inside; <i>-jū</i> throughout [CHUNG ^{1,4} • S: an object pierced dead center; P*] 日本中 — <i>Nihonjū</i> — throughout Japan [tains 山中 — <i>Yamanaka</i> — psn.; <i>sanchū</i> — in the moun-
大	大	32; 37/0. DAI, TAI, ō(<i>kii</i>), ō(<i>ki na</i>) big; ō(<i>i ni</i>) greatly [TA ⁴ • D: a man with arms & legs spread wide; P*] 大目に見る — <i>ōme ni miru</i> — overlook, let pass 大水 — <i>ōmizu</i> — flood

小	小	33; 42/0. SHŌ, <i>chī(sai)</i> , <i>ko-</i> , <i>o-</i> small [HSIAO ³ • S: originally a triangle of three small 大小 — <i>daishō</i> — big & small, size [marks; P*] 小山 — <i>koyama</i> — hill, psn.
刀	刀	34; 18/0. TŌ*, <i>katana</i> sword; knife [TAO ¹ • D; P*] 日本刀 — <i>Nihontō</i> — the Japanese sword 小刀 — <i>kogatana</i> — (pocket) knife; <i>shōtō</i> — small sword
分	分	35; 12/2. BUN* share, lot; <i>wa(keru)</i> divide; <i>wa(kareru)</i> be divided; <i>wa(karu)</i> be clear; BU* rate, part; FUN* minute (of time) [FEN ^{1,4} • I: a divided top and a knife; P*] 三分の — <i>sanbun no ichi</i> — one-third 二十五分 — <i>nijūgofun</i> — 25 minutes
切	切	36; 18/2. SETSU, SAI, <i>ki(ru)</i> cut [CH'IEH ¹ • R knife & P*] 大切な — <i>taisetsu na</i> — important [sword 刀で切る — <i>katana de kiru</i> — cut down/off with a
手	手	37; 64/0. SHU, <i>te</i> hand [SHOU ³ • D; P*] 上手な — <i>jōzu na</i> (+ <i>jō</i> + <i>shu</i>) — skillful 切手 — <i>kitte</i> (+ <i>kiri</i> + <i>te</i>) — postage stamp
口	口	38; 30/0. KŌ, KU, <i>kuchi</i> mouth [K'OU ³ • D; P*] 人口 — <i>jinkō</i> — population 人の口 — <i>hito no kuchi</i> — a person's mouth
入	入	39; 11/0. NYŪ, <i>hai(ru)</i> enter; <i>i(reru)</i> put/let in; <i>i(ri)</i> entering [JU ⁴ • D: two roots going into the earth] 金入れ — <i>kaneire</i> — money-box, purse, wallet 入口 — <i>iriguchi</i> — entrance
出	出	40; 2/4. SHUTSU, SUI, <i>da(su)</i> put/bring/take out; [CH'U ¹ • I; P*] [de(ru) go/come out 出(入)口 — <i>de(iri)guchi</i> — exit [& entrance] 出来る — <i>dekiru</i> — be possible/completed

CHINESE CHARACTERS/4

川	川	41; 47/0. SEN, <i>kawa</i> river [P*] [CH'UAN ¹ • D: river flowing between two banks; 川口 — <i>kawaguchi</i> — river mouth, psn. 川下り — <i>kawakudari</i> — river descent
外	外	42; 36/2. GAI foreign; GE, <i>soto</i> outside; <i>hoka</i> other; <i>hazu(su/reru)</i> remove, undo [WAI ⁴ • R divination & P] 外人 — <i>gaijin</i> — foreigner 外へ出る — <i>soto e deru</i> — go outside
言	言	43; 149/0. GEN*, GON, <i>-koto-</i> word; <i>i(u)/yu(u)</i> say [YEN ² • D: words issuing from the mouth; P*] 方言 — <i>hōgen</i> — dialect 小言を言う — <i>kogoto o iu</i> — scold, complain
貝	貝	44; 154/0. kai (sea) shell [PEI ⁴ • D] 川の貝 — <i>kawa no kai</i> — river shell [water 水の中の貝 — <i>mizu no naka no kai</i> — shells in the
寺	寺	45; 32/3. ji, <i>tera</i> temple [SSU ⁴ , SZU ⁴ • I; P*] 東大寺 — <i>Tōdaiji</i> — pn. 山寺 — <i>yamadera</i> — mountain temple
時	時	46; 72/6. ji, <i>toki</i> time [SHI ³ • R sun & P*] 七時 — <i>shichiji</i> — seven o'clock 時々 — <i>tokidoki</i> — sometimes
売	売	47; 32/4. BAI, <i>u(ru)</i> sell [MAI ⁴ • I; P*] 売手 — <i>urite</i> — seller 売出し — <i>uridashi</i> — sale
買	買	48; 122/7. BAI, <i>ka(u)</i> buy [MAI ³ • I: shell/money 6-12 & net (= catch, obtain) 1-5 → buy; P*] 売買 — <i>baibai</i> — buying & selling 買手 — <i>kaite</i> — buyer
主	主	49; 8/3. SHU, SU, <i>nushi</i> master, owner; <i>omo (na)</i> main; <i>shu (to shite)</i> mainly [CHU ³ • D → E: flame 1 of holy light 2-5 → its guardian → master; P*] 主人 — <i>shujin</i> — master, husband 買い主 — <i>kainushi</i> — buyer
持	持	50; 64/6. ji, <i>mo(tsu)</i> have, hold, last [CHU ³ • R hand & P*] 持ち主 — <i>mochinushi</i> — owner 持って来る — <i>motte kuru</i> — bring

* Acknowledgment: From Essential Kanji by P. G. O'Neill (New York: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1973), pp. 27-33. Reprinted by permission.

Exercises

1. A common family name in Japan is Yamaguchi. Look through the kanji in this unit and see if you can write the name. (Hint: Yamaguchi means "mountain 'mouth'.")

2. Numbers are useful to know. Try writing the numbers 1 through 10.

Try 20 (= 十), 30, 40, 50.

Try writing "50 people" (5.10 person).

The number 14, for example, is 十四 . Can you write 13?

Can you write 23?

3. Dates are easily written in kanji. Try October 18 (10 month, 18 day).

May 31

Your birthday

The Japanese Language and the Computer Keyboard

The New York Times, Thursday, June 7, 1984

The Keyboard Stymies Japan

Language Is Huge Barrier

By ANDREW POLLACK

Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, June 6 — While increasing numbers of American office workers are adapting to the computer keyboard after years spent at the familiar typewriter, their Japanese counterparts face a more fundamental question: How do you use a keyboard?

The answer, if it is a keyboard for the Japanese language, is not easily. Some versions, with hundreds of keys and thousands of characters, are enough to give a typist nightmares.

Indeed, as the Japanese struggle to automate their offices and develop their computer industry, one of the most formidable obstacles has been their own language. Only recently have Japanese computer companies

managed to develop practical word processors for their own language. Now, they say, the door is open for office automation.

According to the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, sales of word processors are expected to jump to 170,000 units this year from 96,000 in 1983. Last year's total was almost triple the 35,000 sold in 1982, the first year of any significant word processor sales here.

"To get to this point has been a 20-year struggle," said Toshimichi Hirai, senior manager of automated office systems product planning for the Toshiba Corporation. "From now on, Japanese office automation probably will advance at least at the same speed as in the United States."

The most obvious of the many obstacles facing office-equipment makers here is how to squeeze 2,000 or more language characters onto a keyboard. Indeed, because of the difficulty and expense involved, type-

writers never became commonplace here. Most business correspondence has either been handwritten or sent to a professional printer.

But now, with the equipment newly available, Japanese office workers face the task of leaping directly from an age of handwriting to an age of word processors.

"Keyboard input has not been part of Japanese culture," said Hisashi Kobayashi, director of the International Business Machine Corporation's Japan Science Institute, set up two years to develop technology for Japanese language computers.

Need for Extra Capacity

Devising a workable keyboard and teaching the Japanese how to use it are only parts of the problem, however. Compounding the difficulty of manufacturing for the Japanese market is the fact that the computers, printers and display screens needed to handle Japanese characters must be far more powerful and have more capacity than machines made in the West.

For example, the Japanese language uses about 7,000 Chinese characters known as kanji, although only about 2,000 or so are needed for such day-to-day communications as reading a newspaper. In contrast, an English-language word processor need only store 128 characters.

Additionally, where a Roman letter can be represented on a computer screen by 35 or 72 picture elements, or dots, Japanese characters in contrast require 256 or even 576 dots.

Some kanji keyboards simply set out all the characters on what looks like a large place mat. The operator hunts down the proper character and selects it with a special pointer.

An early I.B.M. keyboard managed to fit the needed characters on a mere 216 keys, but each key represented 12 characters — all were printed in tiny type on top of the key. The operator, in effect, had to choose one of 12 shift keys for each character, as well as the character key.

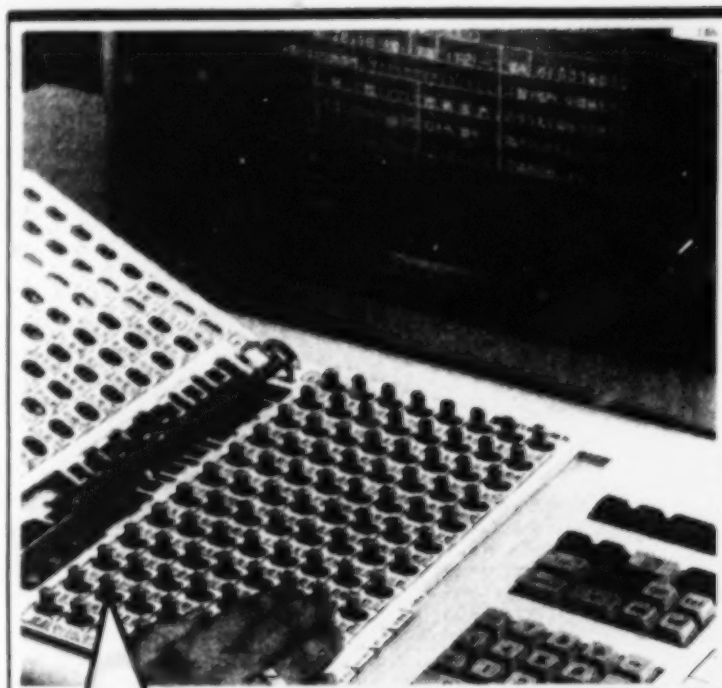
Still other keyboards have a book containing the characters, with holes in the pages to fit over the keys. As the pages of the book are turned, the keys change identities.

The big breakthrough came in 1978, when Toshiba introduced the first word processor to use a somewhat simpler set of Japanese characters known as kana.

Kana, which represent the basic syllables of the Japanese language, are roughly akin to letters in English — any Japanese word can be represented by stringing enough kana together. Although kana are more awkward to use than kanji, they make it possible to represent the entire language on only 50 keys or so.

The Toshiba word processor allowed the user to type in katakana, one of two variants of kana, and have the computer change it to kanji. And because many of the Japanese who had typed in the past had done so on English keyboards, the word processor could also translate Roman letters into kanji.

Nearly all the Japanese computer and office automation companies have since entered the market with variations of the kana system. Fujitsu Ltd., Japan's largest computer maker, is the market leader, followed by Toshiba, NEC, Canon and Sharp. I.B.M.-Japan entered the market last year with its 5550 Multis-



Streamlining Japanese for Word Processing

This is a Japanese word processor made by Toshiba, which has a book containing Japanese and Chinese characters. Holes in the pages fit over keys used to write or instruct the computer. The pages in the book allow the operator to refer to as many different Japanese words as possible. The possibilities are endless as there are more than 2,000 characters — which may stand for different words — in general use.

The raised keys show different syllables of the Japanese phonetic alphabet known as

katakana, which is normally used to write words imported from foreign countries and used in everyday Japanese.

The symbols below the keys are kanji, or Chinese characters. Here they may represent ideas or items in the company inventory.

The smaller print above the characters in this example is the other Japanese phonetic alphabet known as hiragana. Chinese characters may have many different pronunciations in Japanese and so the hiragana here tells the user which one applies.

The New York Times/Yuzuru Oshihara

tation, which is being built by the Matsushita Electric Company.

The 5550 is holding its own against the domestic competition in part because it functions as a personal computer as well as a word processor. Until last year it was too expensive to put extensive word-processing capability for Japanese on a multipurpose personal computer selling for under \$5,000. Thus, word processors were single-function machines.

The ability to convert kana to kanji does not solve the entire problem, however. Japanese is full of words that sound alike but are written differently. The sound "yo" for instance, can be represented by 81 different kanji, each with a different meaning. The computer does not know which kanji to pick for every kana, so it merely presents a list of choices to the operator.

Makers of word processors are trying to make the computer do more of the work by programming it to analyze the sentence or look at previous situations in which the same choice was made.

Nevertheless, the process is still tedious by American standards. The best word-processor operators in Japan can type 60 words a minute, while an expert American typist can type more than 100 words a minute.

So the drive is on to find improved solutions for entering the Japanese language into computers.

I.B.M. is working on a new system that would allow kanji to be entered directly by breaking the symbols into component parts. Such a system would be useful on Chinese language computers as well. Chinese is even less suited to typing than Japanese because it has no kana.

Another approach under development would allow information to be fed into computers by handwriting. Machines capable of recognizing handwriting are starting to appear on the market, but they are expensive and only work well when handling handwriting of near-type quality.

Speech recognition, which would allow a person to talk to the computer, is also a focus of research.

That incentive is the positive side of the Japanese language problem. In developing computers to handle their language, the Japanese have gained an advantage in certain technologies. The Japanese are strong in printers and video displays in part because of the difficulties of printing and displaying kanji.

Japanese Names

In Japanese, a person's family name or surname is written before the person's given name.

For example: Kawabata is the surname of Kawabata Yasunari, the first Japanese writer to win the Nobel Prize in literature in 1968.

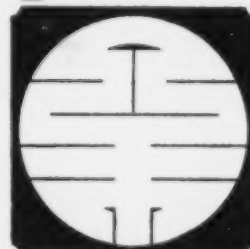
Nakasone is the surname of Nakasone Yasuhiro, the prime minister of Japan in 1984.

Before World War II, many Japanese used more than one given name or first name. You may read about the same person in two different history books and find the person referred to by a different name in each of them.

For example: the prime minister of Japan in 1918 may be called Hara Kei, Hara Takashi, or even Hara Satoshi.

Prime Minister Inukai, assassinated in 1931, is referred to either as Inukai Ki or Inukai Tsuyoshi.

Practice identifying the names of other famous Japanese you read about in this workbook.



LANGUAGE /Resources

TEACHING UNITS

- AN INTRODUCTION TO THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE, from the Project on East Asian Studies in Education (PEASE).

PEASE
University of Michigan
108 Lane Hall
Ann Arbor, MI 48109

- INTRODUCTION TO JAPANESE: HIRAGANA, by The Japan Project

This introduction to the basic Japanese syllabary and sounds of the Japanese language has a teacher's guide and student workbook. Available from:

TJP/SPICE
Room 220, Lou Henry Hoover Building
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305

Price: \$6.50 for complete unit of text and audio tapes.
(Text and tape can each be ordered separately for \$3.25 each.) Please specify whether you are ordering the 7-12 or K-6 unit.

- JAPANESE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE, by James P. Rice, from:

TEXPERA (Texas Program for Educational Resources on Asia)
Center for Asian Studies, SSR 4.126
University of Texas at Austin
Austin, TX 78712

- LIST OF JAPANESE TEACHING MATERIALS from Bonjin Sha Japanese Curriculum Project

This organization offers a number of self-study workbooks, such as one entitled Let's Learn Hiragana (\$3.95). List of materials available free of charge from:

U.S.-Japan Cross Cultural Center
JACCC Suite 305
244 South San Pedro Street
Los Angeles, CA 90012

LANGUAGE RESOURCES/2

- OMIYAGE: LANGUAGE AND CULTURE, by Marilyn Turkovich and Linda Bubolz Asida with Peggy Mueller

This self-study resource uses language activities especially common Japanese words, proverbs, games, songs, and social expressions to teach broader themes in Japanese culture. Accompanied by a tape and a set of transparencies. Appropriate for use in grades 6-12. Available from:

Available from: AMIE (Associates in Multi-Cultural and International Education)
5633 North Kenmore, #14
Chicago, IL 60660

Price: \$35.00

The Omiyage Workbook offers an additional 40 pages of Japanese language and culture activities. Available from the same address for \$7.50.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all people under the Constitution and two principal religions, Buddhism and Shintoism, exist side by side.

Buddhism came to Japan in the 6th century from India via China and Korea. It has been important both as a religion and as a means of developing the arts and of encouraging and advancing learning throughout Japanese history.

Shintoism, a kind of nature worship, has existed in Japan from the earliest beginnings of the people. It is not a religion in the usual meaning of the word since it has no special doctrine or teachings; rather, it originated among the early Japanese people, who believed that the divine was found in all aspects of nature. Shinto is so much a part of the Japanese way of life and is the basis of so many traditions that many Buddhists follow Shinto customs such as ground-breaking ceremonies or visiting local Shinto shrines on New Year's Day and other festival days.

Christianity was brought to Japan in 1549 by the Spanish Jesuit missionary, St. Francis Xavier. But the Shogunate prohibited the practice of Christianity toward the end of the 16th century because it suspected that Western nations had territorial designs against Japan and might use missionaries for such purposes and also from fear that strong groups of Chris-

tians might revolt against the newly established central Government. It remained banned for some 250 years until Japan re-opened its doors to the world in the middle of the 19th century. Protestant Christianity was introduced about 1859 and today Protestants slightly outnumber Catholics in the Japanese Christian Church.

Religious Organizations in Japan (1981)

	Shinto	Buddhism	Christianity	Others
Shrines, Temples and Churches	91,610	84,022	8,390	40,103
Priests, Clergy and Ministers	102,632	250,550	21,040	249,471
Members*	104,583,537	87,128,333	1,434,408	16,126,785

(Source: Agency for Cultural Affairs)

* The total membership of all religious organizations exceeds the total population of the nation. This results from the fact that the same person is often counted as a member by the Shinto shrine of his neighborhood and again by the Buddhist temple with which his ancestors were affiliated.

Acknowledgment: from Japan Today, published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, 1983.

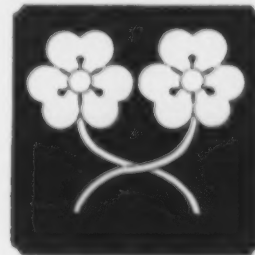
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Shinto and Buddhism

WELLSPRINGS OF JAPANESE SPIRITUALITY

The Japanese religious tradition is rich and complex, encompassing within it both complementary and contradictory trends in religious thought and practice with an ease that may occasionally puzzle the Western observer. At the very heart of the tradition stand Shinto, the indigenous religion of Japan, and Buddhism, the Indian religion that reached Japan in the sixth through eighth centuries A.D. from Korea and China. Throughout the long course of Japanese history, it has been these two religions that have contributed most to the Japanese understanding of themselves and their world.



Shinto

Shinto was the earliest Japanese religion, its obscure beginnings dating back at least to a period known as the Jōmon (8000-300 B.C.). Until approximately the sixth century A.D., when the Japanese began a period of rapid adoption of Chinese civilization, it existed as an amorphous mix of nature worship, fertility cults, divination techniques, hero worship, and shamanism. Unlike Buddhism, Christianity, or Islam, it had no founder and it did not develop sacred scriptures, an explicit religious philosophy, or a specific moral code. Indeed, so unself-conscious were the early Japanese about their religious life that they had no single term by which they could refer to it. The word Shinto, or "the Way of the kami (gods or spirits)," came into use only after the sixth century, when the Japanese sought to distinguish their own tradition from the foreign religions of Buddhism and Confucianism that they were then encountering. Thus, in its origins, Shinto was the religion of a pristine people who, above all, were sensitive to the spiritual forces that pervaded the world of nature in which they lived. As one ancient chronicle reports: in their world myriad spirits shone like fireflies and every tree and bush could speak.

Remarkably, neither Shinto's relatively primitive original character nor the introduction of more sophisticated religions, such as Buddhism and Confucianism, caused the religion to wane in importance. In part its continued existence can be explained by pointing to changes that took place within Shinto, for after the sixth century, it was gradually transformed into a religion of shrines, both grand and small, with set festivals and rituals that were overseen by a distinct priestly class. However, such developments have had little effect on basic Shinto attitudes and values. More crucial to Shinto's survival, therefore, have been its deep roots in the daily and national life of the Japanese people and a strong conservative strain in Japanese culture that has resulted in the preservation not only of their earliest religion, but also of early forms of music, dance, theater, architecture and literature. The main Shinto deity is a sun goddess; as this fact may suggest, the Shinto world view is fundamentally bright and optimistic. While it is not unaware of the darker aspects of human existence, Shinto's chief purpose is the celebration and enrichment of life.

Acknowledgment: The author of this article is Paul Watt, a faculty member in the Department of Religion at Columbia University. The article is adapted from FOCUS, issue on Asian Religions, fall 1982, published by The Asia Society, 725 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10021. Reprinted by permission. See listing of additional resources at the end of the RELIGION section for further information on this issue of FOCUS.

Much can be learned about Shinto's world view from Japanese mythology. Two eighth-century works, the Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters) and the Nihon shoki (Chronicles of Japan), include the story of the creation of the Japanese islands by the divine couple, Izanagi and his mate, Izanami; the subsequent birth of numerous gods and goddesses--the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu, chief among them; and the descent of representatives of the Sun Goddess' line to rule the islands. Two aspects of the mythology are particularly noteworthy. The first is its this-worldly orientation. Other worlds are mentioned in the mythology--the High Plain of Heaven, for example, and the Dark Land, an unclean land of the dead--yet we receive only the haziest impressions of them. Blessed with a mild climate, fertile seas, and impressive mountain landscapes, the early Japanese seem to have felt little need to look far beyond their present existence.

A second important feature of the mythology is the close link among the gods, the world they created, and human beings. The tensions present in Western religion between the Creator and the created, and the human and natural realms, are conspicuously absent. In the Shinto view, the natural state of the cosmos is one of harmony in which divine, natural, and human elements are all intimately related. Moreover, human nature is assumed to be good, and evil is thought to stem from the individual's contact with external forces or agents that pollute our pure nature and cause us to act in ways disruptive of the primordial harmony.

Shinto deities are referred to as kami. The term is frequently translated "god" or "gods," but it expresses a concept of divinity significantly different from that found in Western religion. In particular, Shinto deities do not share the characteristics of final transcendence and omnipotence often associated with the concept of god in the West. In the broadest sense, a kami may be anything that is extraordinary and that inspires awe or reverence. Consequently, a wide variety of kami exist in Shinto: there are kami related to natural objects and creatures--the spirits of mountains, seas, rivers, rocks, trees, animals, and the like; there are guardian kami of particular locales and clans; also considered kami are exceptional human beings, including all but the last in Japan's long line of emperors. Finally, the abstract, creative forces of nature are recognized as kami. Evil spirits are also known in Shinto, but few seem beyond reform. While a god may first call attention to its presence through a display of rowdy or even destructive behavior, generally speaking, the kami sustain and protect.

Worship in Shinto is carried out to express gratitude to the gods and to secure their continued favor. Worship may take the form of one of the many large communal festivals that occur at fixed times during the year, celebrating such events as spring planting, the fall harvest, or some special occasion in the history of a shrine. However, it may also be carried out privately in a much abbreviated fashion in the home or at the neighborhood shrine. Although a festival may continue for several days,

shifting at times in mood from the solemn to the lighthearted or even raucous, individual worship may require only a few moments to complete. In spite of such contrasts, both types of Shinto worship have three essential elements in common. Worship begins with the all-important act of purification, which ordinarily involves the use of water; an offering is presented to the kami, today most often money or food; and a prayer or petition is made.

Outside of the home, Shinto worship is usually performed at a shrine. These structures, which are made only of natural materials and located on sites selected for their natural beauty, serve as residences for the kami rather than as shelters for the worshipers. The torii, pictured below, represent the gateway of a Shinto shrine. They are often used to symbolize a shrine, or Shinto itself.

Since Shinto is without scriptures, dogmas, and creeds, worship has always had a central place in the religion. Rather than through sermons or study, it has been through its festivals and rituals, as well as the physical features of the shrine itself, that Shinto has transmitted its characteristic attitudes and values. Most prominent among these are a sense of gratitude and respect for life, a deep appreciation of the beauty and power of nature, a love of purity and -- by extension -- cleanliness, and a preference for the simple and unadorned in the area of aesthetics.



Questions for Discussion

1. What reasons can you give to explain why Shinto has remained a uniquely Japanese religion that has not spread to other countries?
2. List the ways in which Shinto is similar to or different from the religious traditions with which you are most familiar.

Vocabulary

obscure	myriad	raucous
amorphous	primordial	purification
divination	transcendent	aesthetics
shamanism	omnipotence	
pristine	irredeemable	

Shinto: Nature, Gods & Man

Film title: SHINTO: NATURE, GODS AND MAN
by Peter Grilli and David Westphal

Format: 16mm color, 45 minutes
3/4" videotape, color, 45 minutes

Available from: Media Resources or Outreach Program
East Asian Studies Library Council on East Asian Studies
Earlham College 85 Trumbull Street, Box 13A
Richmond, IN 47374 New Haven, CT 06520
Telephone (317)962-6561, ext. 314 (203)436-0262

Rental fee: \$15.00 (film) \$10 for postage and handling
\$7.50 (videotape) (16mm available only)



Shinto: Nature, Gods & Man

To the student

As the film you are about to see begins, there are many lovely images of the natural world in Japan. From earliest times, as you will hear, to Shinto believers "nature was whole; it was clean, and inherently good." Sin was seen as impurity, and evil as a disruption of the natural order. The word Shinto, "the way of the gods," was created to distinguish the native religion from the imported religion of Buddhism, which had more sophisticated doctrines and philosophy. Shinto was basically a religion of reverence and gratitude, an essential attitude that is still apparent today.

The kami, "gods" or "spirits," were the divine manifestations, tangible and unseen, of the beauties and goodness of the natural world. As you watch the film, keep in mind the aesthetic basis of much Shinto belief and ritual, but also note how it has dealt with change, with the challenge of Buddhism, and with the development of a modern, urban society.

Questions for Discussion



1. What kinds of natural objects and sites are seen as kami in Shinto?

What kinds of items are presented as offerings to the gods?

What do these things tell you about Shinto views concerning man's position in the natural world?

2. The narrator explains that the earliest shrine architecture was based on the form of village granaries. Each cycle in the cultivation of rice is still associated with Shinto ritual. What do these facts indicate about the form of society in which Shinto first developed?

3. The national shrine at Ise, dedicated to the sun goddess Amaterasu, dates from the seventh century. It has been periodically rebuilt ever since, and is still reconstructed, using ancient building methods, every twenty years. Discuss this achievement in relation to Shinto ideas of permanence and renewal.

4. Ordinary worshippers normally do not enter a Shinto shrine,

which is built to house the kami, or spirit of the shrine. Priests may enter, and serve as mediators between the gods and their parishioners. Compare this conception of worship with ideas about prayers, places of prayer, and the clergy in other religions.

5. In what ways, according to the film, did Shinto change in response to the influence of Buddhism?

In what ways did it stay the same?

6. How is Shinto a part of the daily lives of modern Japanese? How is this similar to--or different from--the role of religion in the daily lives of modern Americans?



The Origins of Buddhism

Buddhism, founded in the late 6th century B.C. by Siddhartha Gautama (the "Buddha"), is an important religion in most of the countries of Asia. Buddhism has assumed many different forms, but in each case there has been an attempt to draw from the life experiences of the Buddha, his teachings, and the "spirit" or "essence" of his teachings (called dhamma or dharma) as models for the religious life. However, not until the writing of the Buddha Charita (life of the Buddha) by Ashvaghosa in the 1st or 2nd century A.D. do we have a comprehensive account of his life. The Buddha was born in North India (ca. 563 B.C.) at a place called Lumbini near the Himalayan foothills, and he began teaching around Benares (at Sarnath). His era in general was one of spiritual, intellectual, and social ferment. This was the age when the Hindu ideal of renunciation of family and social life by holy persons seeking Truth first became widespread.

Siddhartha Gautama was the warrior son of a king and queen. According to legend, at his birth a soothsayer predicted that he might become a renouncer (withdrawing from the temporal life). To prevent this, his father provided him with many luxuries and pleasures. But, as a young man, he once went on a series of four chariot rides where he first saw the more severe forms of human

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suffering: old age, illness, and death (a corpse), as well as an ascetic renouncer. The contrast between his life and this human suffering made him realize that all the pleasures on earth were in fact transitory, and could only mask human suffering. Leaving his wife and new son ("Rahula"--fetter) he took on several teachers and tried severe renunciation in the forest until the point of near-starvation. Finally, realizing that this too was only adding more suffering, he ate food and sat down beneath a tree to meditate. By morning (or some say six months later!) he had attained Nirvana (Enlightenment), which provided both the true answers to the causes of suffering and permanent release from it.

Now the Buddha ("Enlightened or Awakened One") began to teach others these truths out of compassion for their suffering. The most important doctrines he taught included the Four Noble Truths and Eight-Fold Path. His first Noble Truth is that life is suffering (dukkha). Life as we normally live it is full of the pleasures and pains of the body and mind; pleasures, he said, do not represent lasting happiness. They are inevitably tied in with suffering since we suffer from wanting them, wanting them to continue, and wanting pain to go so pleasure can come. The second Noble Truth is that suffering is caused by craving--for sense pleasures and for things to be as they are not. We refuse to accept life as it is. The third Noble Truth, however, states that suffering has an end, and the fourth offers the means to that end: the Eight-Fold Path and the Middle Way. If one follows this combined path he or she will attain Nirvana, an indescribable state of all-knowing lucid awareness in which there is only peace and joy.

The Eight-Fold Path--often pictorially represented by an eight-spoked wheel (the Wheel of Dhamma) includes: Right Views (the Four Noble Truths), Right Intention, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Livelihood/Occupation, Right Endeavor, Right Mindfulness (total concentration in activity), and Right Concentration (meditation). The Eight-Fold Path is pervaded by the principle of the Middle Way, which characterizes the Buddha's life. The Middle Way represents a rejection of all extremes of thought, emotion, action, and lifestyle. Rather than either severe mortification of the body or a life of indulgence in sense pleasures the Buddha advocated a moderate or "balanced" wandering lifestyle and the cultivation of mental and emotional equanimity through meditation and morality.

After the Buddha's death, his celibate wandering followers gradually settled down into monasteries that were provided by the married laity as merit-producing gifts. The laity were in turn taught by the monks some of the Buddha's teachings. They also engaged in such practices as visiting the Buddha's birthplace; and worshiping the tree under which he became enlightened (bodhi tree), Buddha-images in temples, and the relics of his body housed in various stupas or funeral mounds. A famous king, named Ashoka, and his son helped to spread Buddhism throughout South India and into Sri Lanka (Ceylon) (3rd century B.C.).

Many monastic schools developed among the Buddha's followers. About the first century A.D. a major split occurred within the Buddhist fold--that between the Mahayana and Hinayana branches. Of the Hinayana ("the Lesser Vehicle"*) branch of schools, only the Theravada school (founded 4th century B.C.) remains; it is currently found in Sri Lanka and all Southeast Asian countries. This school stresses the historical figure of Gautama Buddha, and the centrality of the monk's lifestyle and practice (meditation). Theravada monks hold that the Buddha taught a doctrine of anatta (no-soul) when he spoke of the impermanence of the human body/form, perception, sensations/feelings, consciousness, and volition. They believe, however, that human beings continue to be "reformed" and reborn, and to collect karma (the effects of moral action on the person who is the agent of the action) until they reach Nirvana.

The Mahayana ("Greater Vehicle") branch of schools began about the 1st century A.D.; Mahayanists are found today especially in Korea, China, Japan, and Tibet. The three most prominent schools are Pure Land, Chan or Zen, and Tantra. Mahayana schools stress that lay people can also be good Buddhists. The form of the historical Buddha was, they say, only one manifestation of Buddha Nature. Mahayana thus speaks of many past and also future Buddhas, some of whom are "god-like" and preside over Buddha-worlds or heavenly paradises. Especially important are bodhi-sattvas--who are persons who have reached the point of Enlightenment, but turn back and take a vow to use their Enlightenment-compassion, -wisdom, and -power to help release others from their suffering. Mahayana canon says that finally there is no distinction between "self" and "other," nor between samsara (transmigration or the cycle of birth, death, rebirth through many lives and many bodies) and Nirvana! Because of this the bodhisattva is capable of taking on the suffering of others in samsara and of transferring his own merit to them.

Although Buddhism became virtually extinct in India (ca. 12th century A.D.)--perhaps because of the all-embracing nature of Hinduism, Muslim invasions, or too great a stress on the monk's way of life--as a religion it has more than proved its viability and practical spirituality in the countries of Asia to which it has been carried. The many forms and practices that have been developed within the Buddhist fold have also allowed many different types of people to satisfy their spiritual needs through this great religion.

*This term, invented by Mahayana adherents, was originally perjorative. Today it is less so.

Questions for Discussion

1. What is the cause of human suffering in the Buddhist view?

How does this compare with Judeo-Christian views of human suffering?

2. Make a list of the basic beliefs of the religion with which you are most familiar.

How do these compare and contrast with those of Buddhism?

Vocabulary

soothsayer

temporal

ascetic

transitory

renunciation

pervade

mortification

indulgence

cultivation

equanimity

meditation

celibate

laity

impermanence

volition

viability



Buddhism

By the time Buddhism entered Japan in the sixth century A.D., it had already become a world religion with a history of a thousand years. The form of Buddhism that from the start was dominant in Japan is known as Mahayana, the Buddhism of the Greater Vehicle, and it brought with it an enormous canon of religious literature, an elaborate body of doctrine, a well-organized priesthood, and a dazzling tradition of religious art and architecture--all of which Shinto lacked in the sixth century. Although its view of the world and mankind differed markedly from that of Shinto, it is important to understand that within the teachings of Mahayana Buddhism both differences from and similarities to the native tradition could be found. On the one hand, for example, Buddhism regarded the world as transient and saw it as a source of suffering for those who remained attached to it, a view that contrasts sharply with Shinto's ready acceptance of the world. On the other hand, however, there was an optimism in Mahayana Buddhism that meshed well with Shinto--an optimism about human nature, for it was committed to the belief that all human beings had the potential to attain the wisdom that brings an end to suffering, and an ultimate optimism about the world itself, since it taught that once human attachments are discarded, the world takes on a new and positive significance.

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It is no wonder that at first the Japanese were unable to appreciate Buddhism on its own terms. They regarded the Buddha as simply another kami and were drawn to the religion by the beauty of its art and the hope of such concrete benefits as wealth and longevity that, on the popular level, Buddhism did not disdain to promise. By the seventh century, however, individuals capable of grasping Buddhism's message began to emerge. In general, we may understand the subsequent development of Buddhism in Japan as the result of constant interaction between the foreign religion and the native religious tradition. For its part, Buddhism consciously sought to develop a positive connection with Shinto. This was eventually accomplished by identifying the Shinto kami as manifestations of various Buddhas and bodhisattvas (one who seeks enlightenment not only for himself but also for others) that had grown up within Mahayana Buddhism. By this conception, the Buddhists were able to introduce many of their own ideas into Shinto, and, in the end, argue that Shinto and Buddhism were complementary versions of the same fundamental truth--a view that gained wide acceptance in Japan.

The effect of the native religious tradition on Buddhism was to bring to the fore within it those aspects that best suited Japanese tastes. This can be illustrated by brief references to three Buddhist sects that represent uniquely Japanese developments: Kūkai's (774-835) Shingon sect; Shinran's (1173-1262) True Pure Land sect; and the sect founded by Nichiren (1222-1282) and known by his name. All of these sects are still active today.

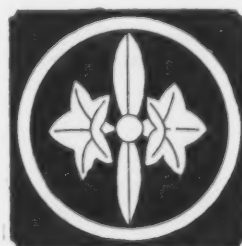
The Shingon sect stands in the mainstream of Buddhism in terms of doctrine--emphasizing the transient nature of existence and calling upon its followers to transcend the ordinary world of suffering--and in the broad outline of its practices, which stress the importance of ethical conduct, meditation, and study. However, Shingon Buddhism advocates a distinctive type of meditation. More intricate than traditional meditation, it involves the use of symbolic hand gestures (mudras) and symbolic speech (mantras), as well as a form of Buddhist art known as a mandala. The mandala represents the universe as it is seen by the enlightened and serves as the object of meditation. The sheer complexity of Shingon meditation, coupled with the rich symbolism and beauty of the mandala, give this sect an air of mystery that has proven particularly attractive to millions of Japanese from Kūkai's age to the present.

In the True Pure Land sect, we encounter a very different kind of Buddhism, one that advocates salvation by faith rather than the attainment of enlightenment through the practice of morality and meditation. Based upon the belief that as time passes human beings find it increasingly difficult to follow the example of the historical Buddha--an idea that can be traced all the way back to India--it teaches that in the present era salvation can be gained only by relying on the saving grace of the celestial Buddha Amida, who resides in a Pure Land to the West. This

belief had been embraced by other Buddhists, not only in Japan, but in China and India as well; but Shinran was the first in the history of Buddhism to draw the radical conclusion that acceptance of it must lead to the complete abandonment of monastic discipline. Consequently, from Shinran's day on, it has been common for True Pure Land priests to marry and live as lay persons, and the sect has been one of the most popular to develop in Japan.

Finally, in the Nichiren sect, we see surfacing in Buddhism, in a dramatic fashion, the strong sense of national pride that has frequently been related to religious sentiment in Japan. Nichiren was an impassioned reformer who envisioned both himself and Japan at the center of a worldwide movement to revive what he considered to be true Buddhism.

These figures and sects do not, of course, reflect all of the many ways in which Buddhism was transformed in Japan; nevertheless, in them we can glimpse some of the salient characteristics of Japanese Buddhism. In Shingon, we see a strong attraction to the mystical and mysterious, as well as to aesthetic modes of apprehension and expression. (Zen Buddhism, another popular sect in Japan, which stresses meditation and offers sudden enlightenment, could also serve as an example of the Japanese attraction to the aesthetic dimension of religion; both Zen monks and lay persons played an important role in the development of such traditional Japanese arts as landscape gardening, the tea ceremony and monochrome ink painting.) In the True Pure Land sect, we observe a preference for a kind of Buddhism that can be followed within the context of everyday life. And in the Nichiren sect, we detect an ever-present consciousness of national identity. Given Shinto's emphasis on ritual and the aesthetic features of the shrine, its this-worldly orientation, and its close connection to the myth of Japan's origins and the Imperial line, it is not difficult to discern the influence of the native religion in the background of these developments.



Vocabulary

canon
doctrine
transient
longevity
disdain
manifestation
complementary
transcend
enlightenment
aesthetic
apprehension
monochrome



Questions for Discussion

1. Explain why an individual in Japan is able to practice both Shinto and Buddhism.
2. Mahayana Buddhism talks about the world as a source of suffering, yet at the same time it is optimistic about the world and the value of life. Can you explain this in your own words?
3. It is often said that the Japanese are expert at adapting foreign ideas to fit their own needs while at the same time remaining uniquely Japanese. How does the adaptation of Buddhism in Japan confirm or deny this?

Two Traditions

RECOMMENDED FOR USE

An excellent collection of 140 slides accompanied by 32 pages of coordinated text from Japan: Shinto and Buddhism, prepared by Charles A. Kennedy for the Asian Religions Media Resources Catalogue of Yale Divinity School. The work is in two sections: "Shinto" explains and illustrates 1) The Land and the Kami, 2) The Shrine, 3) The Priesthood, 4) Two Major Shrines, 5) Some Special Festivals, and 6) The New Religions; "Buddhism" covers 1) Esoteric Schools, 2) Accommodations with Shinto, 3) Pure Land Schools, 4) Nichiren and the Lotus Sutra, 5) Zen, and 6) Nikko, the gold-plated synthesis.

The slides provide a vivid portrayal of the ways the religions function in Japanese life, as well as illustrating their arts and architectural styles. The text gives detailed and interesting background information for a deeper understanding of the subject matter.

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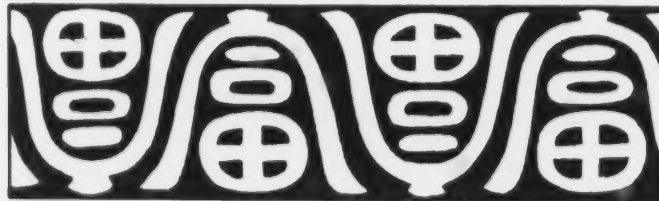
What Did Confucius Say?

TO THE TEACHER

Confucian thought was studied first by the Japanese in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., during the period when they borrowed extensively from China. The Japanese then incorporated elements of Confucian tradition into their own social, political and philosophical systems, as did other countries in East Asia.

This unit, excerpted from China: A Teaching Workbook, is included here to provide students with an introduction to Confucian thought through primary source selections. It is also designed to serve as background for the units "Early Japan Borrows from China" and "Tokugawa Thought," found in the section on TRADITIONAL HISTORY in this workbook.

Those wishing to pursue the evolution of Confucian thought in Japan should consult Sources of Japanese Tradition volumes 1 and 2, compiled by Ryusaku Tsunoda, Wm. Theodore deBary, and Donald Keene (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958 and 1964), available in paperback.



What Did Confucius Say?

If power, prestige, and wealth were taken as the standards of achievement, Confucius would hardly be considered to have been a success in his own lifetime. K'ung Ch'iu, or Master Kung, the man who later became known in the West by the Latinized name of Confucius, was born in the state of Lu in northeastern China about the middle of the sixth century B.C. This was a period when China was divided into several feudal kingdoms.

Not much is known about Confucius's personal life. Even his traditional dates, 551-479 B.C., are only approximate. It appears that his family, which probably once ranked among the aristocracy, had fallen on hard times and may even have been quite poor. While he was an educated person, Confucius never held high political office. His highest aspiration was to contribute to the cause of civilization as he knew it. For him, this meant being employed by a ruler and having the opportunity to translate his ideas into action. Though many years of his life were spent traveling from one feudal state to another trying to gain an audience for his ideas, he never was rewarded with a high post. Eventually he returned to his native state of Lu and died without knowing the impact his ideas and his example as a teacher would have for centuries to come, not only in China but in all of East Asia.

During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), Confucius came to be recognized as a great teacher. In time his teachings became the basis of the Chinese educational system, which in turn was used to select government officials throughout much of Chinese history down to the twentieth century. Equally important, the ideas of Confucius and his followers penetrated to the very core of the lives of ordinary Chinese people. These ideas became the guiding principles of Chinese life. They gave structure and focus to the Chinese sense of what it means to be human.

When we want to know what Confucius said, we turn to a small book that records some of the conversations he had with his students and their accounts of his actions of particular occasions. The Chinese name for this book is the Lun-yü, which means discussions or conversations. This title is usually translated into English as the Analects, meaning selection or choice. Since the Analects of Confucius is not a philosophical or religious treatise with a single point of view but rather a selection of words and deeds of Confucius that his followers found most impressive, this English translation is quite appropriate.

One of the distinctive features of Confucius's teaching is the confidence that he expressed that human beings are essentially alike by nature. Confucius thought that the important differences in human beings are determined by environment and education, by the habits and preferences they develop and the lives they lead. For this reason Confucius put great emphasis on learning. But because he saw people as constantly changing and growing, his teaching was not the same for everyone. Readers of the Analects are always struck by the fact that Confucius never failed to take into account the personality of each individual and his particular stage of development. Even the principles of humaneness and filial piety (devotion to one's parents and family members), which are so fundamental to Confucius's view of human relations, were not set doctrines or fixed rules of behavior. What Confucius offered was a guide to the way human beings ought to feel about themselves and others and to the way that feelings and actions

should be related.

The selections from the Analects that appear below have been grouped under five headings. In the first section you will find a number of the sayings of Confucius himself and descriptions of him by others. These reveal something of what he was like as a person and as a teacher. In the following sections you will find statements that reflect his thoughts about humaneness, filial piety, government, and religious life. Following each section are a number of questions that you may want to ask yourself. Once you have thought through your own answers to the questions, try going back and re-reading the selections so that you can give examples to support your opinions in class discussion.

Except as otherwise indicated, all translations from the Analects are taken or adapted from those of Wing-tsit Chan, trans., A Source Book of Chinese Philosophy. Copyright (c) 1963 by Princeton University Press. Excerpts reprinted with permission of Princeton University Press. The other source for the translations as noted is Sources of Chinese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960). The number of the section in the complete text of the Analects follows in parentheses.

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CONFUCIUS; THE TEACHER and PERSON

For centuries Confucius has been a source of inspiration to the people of China and East Asia, educated and illiterate. He has served as an example of how life can be well lived. This is not only because of his words and deeds but because of the total personality expressed in those words and deeds. As you read the following selections, try to imagine how Confucius's students or disciples must have felt about him, and how you might have felt about him if you had been among them.

1. Confucius said, "At fifteen my mind was set on learning. At thirty I had no more perplexities. At fifty I knew the will of Heaven. At sixty I was at ease with whatever I heard. At seventy I could follow my heart's desires without transgressing moral principles." (24)

2. Tzu-kung (one of Confucius's disciples) asked about the superior man. "He acts before he speaks and then speaks according to his action," Confucius said. (2:15)

3. Confucius said, "He who learns but does not think is lost; he who thinks but does not learn is in danger."

4. Confucius said, "Yu (another disciple, also called Tzu-lu), shall I teach you (the way to acquire) knowledge? To say that you know when you do know and say that you do not know when you do not know--that is (the way to acquire) knowledge." (2:17)

5. Confucius said, "In the morning, hear the Way; in the evening, die content!" (4:8)

6. Confucius said, "A superior man in dealing with the world is not for anything or against anything. He follows righteousness as the standard." (4:10)

7. Confucius said, "Ts'an (another name for disciple Tseng Tzu), there is one thread that runs through my doctrines." Tseng Tzu said, "Yes."

After Confucius had left, the disciples asked him, "What did he mean?" Tseng Tzu replied, "The Way of our Master is none other than loyalty and reciprocity." (4:15) (Note: reciprocity involved not treating others in a way you would not want to be treated.)

8. Confucius said, "The superior man understands righteousness; the inferior man understands profit." (4:16)

9. Tzu-kung said, "What I do not want others to do to me, I do not want to do to them." Confucius said, "Ah, Tzu! That is beyond you." (5:11)

10. Confucius said, "I transmit but do not create. I believe in and love the ancients. I venture to compare myself to our old P'eng (an official of the Shang dynasty, 1766-1122 B.C., who loved to recite old stories)." (7:1)

11. Confucius said, "There has never been anyone who came with as little a present as dried meat (for tuition) that I have refused to teach him something." (7:7)

12. Confucius said, "With coarse rice to eat, with water to drink, and with a bent arm for a pillow, there is still joy. Wealth and honor obtained through unrighteousness are but floating clouds to me." (7:15)

13. Confucius said, "I do not enlighten those who are not eager to learn, nor arouse those who are not anxious to

give an explanation themselves. If I have presented one corner of the square and they cannot come back to me with the other three, I should not go over the points again." (7:8)

14. The Duke of She asked Tzu-lu about Confucius, and Tzu-lu did not answer. Confucius said, "Why didn't you say that I am a person who forgets his food when engaged in vigorous pursuit of something, is so happy as to forget his worries, and is not aware that old age is coming on?" (7:18)

15. Confucius said, "I am not one who was born with knowledge; I love ancient (teaching) and earnestly seek it." (7:10)

16. Confucius said, "When walking in a party of three, I always have teachers. I can select the good qualities of the one for imitation, and the bad ones of the other and correct them in myself." (7:21, translation from Sources of Chinese Tradition)

17. Confucius taught four things: culture, conduct, loyalty, and faithfulness. (7:24)

18. Confucius was gently yet firm, dignified but not harsh, respectful yet well at ease. (7:37, translation from Sources of Chinese Tradition)

19. Confucius was completely free from four things: He had no arbitrariness of opinion, no dogmatism, no obstinacy, and no egotism. (9:4)

20. Yen Hui (Confucius's favorite disciple) heaved a sigh and said: "You look up to it and it seems so high. You try to drill through it and it seems so hard. You seem to see it in front of you, and all of a sudden it appears behind you. The Master is very good at gently leading a man along and teaching him. He has broadened me with culture, restrained me with ritual. I just could not stop myself. But after I have exhausted every resource, there still remains something standing distinct and

apart from me. Do what I can to reach his position, I cannot find the way." (9:10, translation from Sources of Chinese Tradition)

21. Tzu-lu asked, "Should one immediately practice what one has heard? Confucius said, "There are father and elder brother (to be consulted). Why immediately practice what one has heard?" Jan Yu (the disciple) asked, "Should one immediately practice what one has heard?" Confucius said, "One should immediately practice what one has heard." Kung-hsi Hua (another disciple, also called Tzu-hua) said, "When Yu (Tzu-lu) asked you, 'Should one immediately practice what one has heard?' you said, 'There are father and elder brother.' When Ch'iu (Jan Yu) asked you, 'Should you immediately practice what one has heard?' you said, 'One should immediately practice what one has heard.' I am perplexed, and venture to ask you for an explanation." Confucius said, "Ch'iu is retiring; therefore I urged him forward. Yu has more than one man's energy; therefore I kept him back." (11:21)

22. Confucius said, "It is man that can make the Way great, and not the Way that can make man great." (15:28)

23. Confucius said, "In education there should be no class distinction." (15:38)

24. Confucius said, "The superior man has nine wishes. In seeing, he wishes to see clearly. In hearing, he wishes to hear distinctly. In his expression, he wishes to be warm. In his appearance, he wishes to be respectful. In his speech, he wishes to be sincere. In handling affairs, he wishes to be serious. When in doubt, he wishes to ask. When he is angry, he wishes to think of the resultant difficulties. And when he sees an opportunity for gain, he wishes to think of righteousness." (16:10)

25. Ch'ang-chü and Chieh-ni were cultivating their fields together. Confucius was passing that way and told Tzu-lu to ask them where the river could be forded. Ch'ang-chü said, "Who is the one holding the reins in the carriage?" Tzu-lu said, "It is K'ung Ch'iu (Confucius)." "Is he the K'ung Ch'iu of Lu?" "Yes." "Then he already knows where the river can be forded!" Tzu-lu asked Chieh-ni. Chieh-ni said, "The whole world is swept as though by a torrential flood. Who can change it? As for you, instead of following one who flees from this man or that man, is it not better to follow those who flee the world altogether?" And with that he went on covering the seed without stopping. Tzu-lu went to Confucius and told him about their conversation. Confucius said ruefully, "One cannot herd with birds and beasts. If I do not associate with mankind, with whom shall I associate? If the Way prevailed in the world, there would be no need for me to change it." (18:6)

26. Confucius said: "By nature men are pretty much alike; it is learning and practice that set them apart."
(17:2, translation from the Sources of Chinese Tradition.)

Questions

- What qualities of Confucius do you think might have made him a good teacher? Do you think he would still be considered a good teacher if he were alive today in our own society? Why or why not? (Note: What do you learn in particular about his teaching from passage 21?)
- What qualities do you think Confucius would look for in an educated person?
- How do you think Confucius saw his own role? (See, for example, passages 10 and 25.)

HUMANITY

If we were to identify the virtue that Confucius and his followers regarded as most important, it would be that of jen (pronounced ren) or humanity. Though it is at the very heart of his teaching, Confucius never defined jen. When one of his disciples asked him if a certain person or a certain kind of conduct exemplified jen, Confucius would usually reply that the person or the conduct in question fell somewhat short of being jen. On the one hand he tells us that jen is not far away from us, and on the other he suggests that very few people are able to keep it constantly in mind. It will help you as you read the following selections to know that the Chinese word for jen is 仁. The symbol on the left, 亻, means "a human being," while the symbol on the right, 二, is the number two. So the basic idea has to do with the way in which human beings relate to one another in society. See if you can develop a feeling for jen on the basis of what follows.

1. Confucius said, "One who is not a man of humanity (jen) cannot endure adversity for very long, nor can he enjoy prosperity for long. The man of humanity is naturally at ease with humanity. The man of wisdom cultivates humanity for its advantage." (4:2)

2. Confucius said, "If you set your mind on humanity, you will be free from evil." (4:4)

3. Confucius said, "Wealth and honor are what every man desires. But if they have been obtained in violation of moral principles, they must not be kept. Poverty and humble station are what every man dislikes. But if they can be avoided only in violation of moral principles, they must not be avoided. If a superior man departs from humanity, how can he fulfill that name? A superior man never abandons humanity even for the lapse of a single meal. In moments of haste, he acts according to it. In times of difficulty and confusion, he acts according to it." (4:5)

4. Confucius said, "I have never seen one who really loves humanity or who really hates inhumanity. One who

really loves humanity will not place anything above it. One who really hates inhumanity will practice humanity in such a way that inhumanity will not have a chance to get at him. Is there anyone who has devoted his strength to humanity for as long as a single day? Perhaps there is such a case but I have never seen it." (4:6)

5. Confucius said, "The man of wisdom delights in water; the man of humanity delights in mountains. The man of wisdom is active; the man of humanity is tranquil. The man of wisdom enjoys happiness; the man of humanity enjoys long life." (6:21)

6. Tzu-kung said, "If a ruler extensively confers benefit on the people and can bring salvation to all, what do you think of him? Would you call him a man of humanity?" Confucius said, "Why only a man of humanity? He is without doubt a sage. Even (sage-emperors) Yao and Shun fell short of it. A man of humanity, wishing to establish his own character, also establishes the character of others, and wishing to be

prominent himself, also helps others to be prominent. To be able to judge others by what is near to ourselves may be called the method of realizing humanity." (6:28)

7. Confucius said, "Is humanity far away? As soon as I want it, there it is right by me." (7:29)

8. Fan Ch'ih asked about humanity. Confucius said, "It is to love men." He asked about knowledge. Confucius said, "It is to know men." (12:22)

9. Confucius said, "A resolute scholar and a man of humanity will never seek to live at the expense of injuring humanity. He would rather sacrifice his life in order to realize humanity." (15:8)

10. Tzu-chang asked Confucius about humanity. Confucius said, "One who can practice five things wherever he may be is a man of humanity." Tzu-chang asked what the five are. Confucius said, "Earnestness, liberality, truthfulness, diligence, and generosity. If one is earnest, one will not be treated with disrespect. If one is liberal, one will win the hearts of all. If one is truthful, one will be trusted. If one is diligent, one will be successful. And if one is generous, one will be able to enjoy the service of others." (17:6)

Questions

- What kind of quality or virtue is jen or humanity, and what kind of person could be called a person of humanity?
- Do you find any similarities between the humanity of Confucius and the guiding principles of another religious tradition with which you may be familiar--for example, love or charity in Christianity, social responsibility in Judaism, or compassion in Buddhism? Any differences?

FILIAL PIETY

Filial piety, devotion to one's parents and family members, has always been a central element in Chinese life and thought. It remains so to the present day. The English expression "charity begins at home," from a Chinese point of view, is quite literally true. This is because the Confucian idea is that a person learns to be loving through experiencing love in his family. Becoming a moral person depends on extending to others in an ever widening circle the love and consideration that are fostered in a natural way in the family itself. For Confucius, our being moral is grounded in the most basic human feelings.

1. Yu Tzu (a disciple named Yu Jo) said, "Few of those who are filial sons and respectful brothers will show disrespect to superiors, and there has never been a man who is not disrespectful to superiors and yet creates disorder. A superior man is devoted to the fundamental (the root). When the root is firmly established, the moral law (Tao) will grow. Filial piety and brotherly respect are the root of humanity (jen). (1:2)

2. Young men should be filial when at home and respectful to their elders when away from home. They should be earnest and faithful. They should love all extensively and be intimate with men of humanity. When they have any energy to spare after the performance of moral duties, they should use it to study literature and the arts." (1:6)

3. Tzu-yu asked about filial piety. Confucius said, "Filial piety nowadays means to be able to support one's parents. But we support even dogs and horses. If there is not feeling of reverence, wherein lies the difference? (2:7)

4. Confucius said, "In serving his parents, a son may gently remonstrate with them. When he sees that they are not inclined to listen to him, he

should resume an attitude of reverence and not abandon his effort to serve them. He may feel worried, but does not complain." (4:18)

5. The Duke of She told Confucius, "In my country there is an upright man named Kung. When his father stole a sheep, he bore witness against him." Confucius said, "The upright men in my community are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this."

Questions

- In the exchange between Confucius and the Duke of She recorded in selection 5 above, we find two very different views of what "uprightness" means. What do you think being "upright" means to the Duke of She, and what does it mean to Confucius? What advantages and disadvantages do you find in each view?

- What do you think of the suggestion that people who are deeply respectful of parents and family members are likely to act as a stabilizing influence in society?

GOVERNMENT

For Confucius, morality and government were so closely related that it was scarcely possible to think about them separately. As you read the following selections, try to form your own idea about the kind of government Confucius was advocating and its possible strengths and weaknesses.

1. Confucius said, "Lead the people with governmental measures and regulate them with laws and punishment, and they will avoid wrongdoing but will have no sense of honor and shame. Lead them with virtue and regulate them by the rules of propriety, and they will have a sense of shame and, moreover, set themselves right." (2:3)

2. Tzu-kung asked about government. Confucius said, "Sufficient food, sufficient armament, and sufficient confidence of the people." Tzu-kung said, "Forced to give up one of these, which would you abandon first?" Confucius said, "I would abandon the armament." Tzu-kung said, "Forced to give up one of the remaining two, which would you abandon first?" Confucius said, "I would abandon food. There have been deaths from time immemorial, but no state can exist without the confidence of the people." (12:7)

3. Duke Ching of Ch'i asked Confucius about government. Confucius replied, "Let the ruler be a ruler, the minister be a minister, the father be a father, and the son be a son." The duke said, "Excellent! Indeed when the ruler is not a ruler, the minister is not a minister, the father not a father, the son not a son, although I may have all the grain, shall I ever get to eat it?" (12:11)

4. Chi K'ang Tzu (a great official of Confucius's native state of Lu) asked Confucius about government. Confucius

replied, "To govern, (cheng) is to rectify (cheng). If you lead the people by being rectified yourself, who will dare not be rectified?" (12:17)

5. Chi K'ang Tzu asked Confucius about government, saying, "What do you think of killing the wicked and associating with the good?" Confucius replied, "In your government what is the need of killing? If you desire what is good, the people will be good. The character of a ruler is like wind and that of the people is like grass. In whatever direction the wind blows, the grass always bends." (12:19)

6. Confucius said, "If a ruler sets himself right, he will be followed without his command. If he does not set himself right, even his commands will not be obeyed." (13:6)

7. When Confucius was travelling to Wei, Jan Yu drove him. Confucius observed, "What a dense population!" Jan Yu said, "The people having grown so numerous, what next should be done for them?" "Enrich them," was the reply. "And when one has enriched them, what next should be done?" Confucius said, "Educate them." (13:9)

Questions

- If you were a ruler during the time of Confucius, would you have accepted his advice about government? Why?
- Do you think any of Confucius's

thoughts about government could be
useful to government leaders today?
If so, what do you think could be
helpful? If not, what are some of the
most important problems involved in
his perspective?

RELIGIOUS LIFE

If it is often said that the Chinese people are not religious. The reason given for this is that traditional Chinese society was essentially Confucian, and Confucius did not teach people to have faith in a higher being or power. As you read the following selections, try to form your own opinion about whether this view is valid or not.

As you read, you will find references to "sacrifices" and "rituals." Sacrifices were ceremonies performed before, during, and long after the time of Confucius in honor of ancestors who had died. The ceremonies took different forms at different times and places, but the unifying element was that the person performing the sacrifice felt a debt of love and gratitude to those who had gone before them. Rituals included a whole variety of practices that had to do with all aspects of life, from eating and sleeping to receiving guests and offering prayers for good crops. You might try to think about whether these practices can be considered "religious" or not, and, if so, in what sense.

1. When Confucius offered sacrifices to his ancestors, he felt as if his ancestral spirits were actually present. When he offered sacrifices to other spiritual beings, he felt as if they were actually present. He said, "If I do not participate in the sacrifice, it is as if I did not sacrifice at all." (3:12)

2. Tzu-kung said, "We can hear our Master's views on culture and its manifestation, but we cannot hear his views on human nature and the Way of Heaven (because these subjects are beyond the comprehension of most people)." (5:12)

3. Fan Ch'ih asked about wisdom. Confucius said, "Devote yourself earnestly to the duties due to men, and respect spiritual beings but keep them at a distance. This may be called wisdom." Fan Ch'ih asked about humanity. Confucius said, "The man of humanity first of all considers what is difficult in the task and then thinks of success. Such a man may be called humane." (6:20)

4. Confucius never discussed strange phenomena, physical exploits, disorder, or spiritual beings. (7:20)

5. Confucius was very ill. Tzu-lu asked that a prayer be offered. Confucius said, "Is there such a thing?" Tzu-lu replied, "A eulogy says, 'Pray to the spiritual beings above and below.'" Confucius said, "My prayer has been for along time (that is, what counts is the life that one leads)." (7:34)

6. When Confucius was in personal danger in K'uang, he said, "Since the death of King Wen, is not the course of culture (wen) in my keeping? If it had been the will of Heaven to destroy this culture, it would not have been given to a mortal like me. But if it is the will of Heaven that this culture should not perish, what can the people of K'uang do to me?" (9:5)

7. Though his food might be coarse rice and vegetable broth, Confucius invariably offered a little in

sacrifice, and always with solemnity. (10:8, translation from Sources of Chinese Tradition)

8. Chi-lu (Tzu-lu) asked about serving the spiritual beings. Confucius said, "If we are not yet able to serve man, how can we serve spiritual beings?" (Chi-lu then said), "I venture to ask about death." Confucius said, "If we do not yet know about life, how can we know about death?" (11:11)

9. Ssu-ma Niu, worrying, said, "All people have brothers but I have none." Tzu-hsia said, "I have heard (from Confucius) this saying: 'Life and death are the decree of Heaven; wealth and honor depend on Heaven. If a superior man is reverential (or serious) without fail, and is respectful in dealing with others and follows the rules of propriety, then all within the four seas (the world) are brothers.' What does the superior man have to worry about having no brothers?" (12:5)

10. Confucius said, "Alas! No one knows me!" Tzu-kung said, "Why is there no one that knows you?" Confucius said, "I do not complain against Heaven. I do not blame men. I study things on the lower level but my understanding penetrates the higher level. It is Heaven that knows me." (14:37)

11. Confucius said, "I do not wish to say anything." Tzu-kung said, "If you do not say anything, what can we little disciples ever learn to pass on to others?" Confucius said,

"Does Heaven say anything? The four seasons run their course and all things are produced. Does Heaven say anything?" (17:19)

Questions

- What do you think religion is, and what does it mean to be a religious person? Is Confucius religious? Give your reasons for thinking what you think.
- What do Confucius's statements about Heaven suggest about his idea of the relation between Heaven and man? How does this compare with your ideas about the relation between Heaven and man or God and man in Judaism or Christianity or another religious tradition with which you are familiar?
- Finally, try to write two or three of your own "analects" or selections and see if you can capture a similar feeling to the ones in the Analects of Confucius. See whether your classmates can tell the "analects" you have written from the real thing.

Religious Attitudes Today

Time Magazine, August 1, 1983. Special Issue: JAPAN.

A Bit of This, a Bit of That

The Japanese sample many faiths, but few believe fervently in any

特別号

Bundled in colorful silks, the newborn Keiko Shirato was taken by her parents to a neighborhood Shinto shrine, where a white-gowned priest pronounced blessings for a long and healthy life. On three childhood birthdays she also visited Shinto shrines, clapping her hands and clanging bells to awaken the gods so she could pray to them. In 1980 Keiko used Buddhist omens to select a propitious wedding day. But she exchanged Christian vows with her fiancé in a small chapel at one of Tokyo's elegant hotels. Keiko, now 26 and a mother, expects that some day her ashes will be interred in a Buddhist cemetery, where her descendants will annually return with a Buddhist priest to pray in her honor.

To Keiko, such religious eclecticism is perfectly natural. "I owe respect to my ancestors and show it through Buddhism," she explains. "I'm a Japanese, so I do all the little Shinto rituals. And I thought a Christian marriage would be real pretty. It's a contradiction, but so what?"

If many Japanese are searching for a deeper spiritual meaning to their lives, most are content with what they call *chuto-hanpa* (a bit of this, a bit of that) and scholars describe as *juso shinko* (multilayered faith). Blending aspects of different faiths has been the tradition in Japan since prime-

val Shinto, with its reverence for spirits in nature, began mingling with Buddhism and Confucianism. Both doctrines were imported from China via Korea 14 centuries ago.

Japan today claims a cumulative total of religious adherents well in excess of its actual population: 201 million, vs. 119 million. As in centuries past, the two dominant faiths are Shinto (98 million) and Buddhism (88 million).

Despite these impressive figures, government polls indicate that a scant 30% of the population today claim to have any real personal religious beliefs. Many scholars trace the reasons for this void to the social shocks of World War II, which left a widespread legacy of nihilism. As large numbers of people flowed from the countryside into urban centers during the 1950s, they were separated from ties with the religions in their home areas. Getting a good education and blazing a successful career became national preoccupations, supplanting traditional faiths.

Most Japanese still observe the venerable rituals; these ceremonies are part of the life of the nation. The symbols of religion are everywhere. Kyoto, the ancient capital, has more shrines and temples than cigarette shops. There are even Shinto altars in numerous offices of major cities. New skyscrapers are often decorated with red-and-white-striped sheets of Shinto cloth. Rural village homes, where traditional spirituality survives, typically have both a *kamidana* (Shinto altar) and a *butsudan* (Buddhist altar).

Formal religious observance in Japan revolves around the family's rites of passage (births, marriages, funerals and death anniversaries) and, for the community, a sequence of colorful, joyful festivals. So popular is *Hatsumode*, the New Year's visit to local sacred places, that specially installed traffic lights guide millions of worshipers along the gravel paths of the Meiji Shrine in Tokyo.

For many Japanese, however, pure ritual is not enough, nor is the attraction of the established religions. To fill this spiritual gap, the discontented have turned to so-called new religious movements, many of which were founded before World War II but grew spectacularly afterward. The groups, 170 or more claiming about 14 million adherents (about 12% of the population), all make use of traditional Japanese themes, although the rituals may vary. By concentrating on "essentially conservative values and ideals," says Ken Arai, a research associate at Tokyo University, these religions give many Japanese a "renewed feeling of self-confidence and even of relief" in the face of the vast

changes that have reshaped the nation.

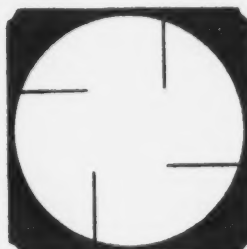
Claiming 16 million adherents, *Soka Gakkai* (Value Creation Society) is by far the most successful of the new religious movements. It has its roots in ancient Buddhism, and followers are included in the statistics for Buddhists, not in the "new religions." Unlike other new Japanese sects, *Soka Gakkai* is intolerant, going so far as to preach that "Shinto is a heretical religion that we must destroy." Contrary to Japanese custom, *Soka Gakkai* also asks its believers to proselytize, and has moved abroad: it claims 200,000 members in the U.S., mainly in California. *Soka Gakkai* teaches that continual repetition of the phrase *Namu Myoho Renge Kyo*, derived from the title of the *Lotus Sutra*, one of the Buddhist scriptures, is the key to success, happiness and the good life. The group has produced a political offshoot, *Komeito* (Clean Government Party), with the third largest number of members in Japan's leg-

islature. The growth of the new religions has slackened since the late 1960s, apparently because of increased affluence and secularization.

Christianity now has relatively fewer adherents—some 950,000, split about evenly between Protestants and Roman Catholics—than it had in the decades after Francis Xavier, a 16th century Jesuit and the pioneer Christian missionary in Japan. Says the Rev. Timothy Pietsch, a Baptist missionary: "A Japanese Christian has to give his allegiance to a 'foreign' God and say that he's not first and foremost a Japanese—an impossible task."

The Christian concept of a universal God simply does not mesh with being Japanese. Indeed, many Japanese seem less interested in defining themselves as even Buddhist or Shintoist than in finding the "spirit" of being Japanese. "The real quest is to find the seed at the bottom of your heart and bring forth a beautiful flower," says Shigenori Kameoka, director of the Shinto Moral Training Society. "To be a good person, yes. But in order to be one, to be a good Japanese." —By Richard N. Ostling.

Reported by Alan Tanaman/Tokyo



Questions for Discussion

1. On the basis of the article how would you describe religious attitudes in Japan today?
2. What are some of the similarities between religious attitudes in Japan and religious attitudes in the United States?

The differences?

Additional Resource

Japanese Religious Attitudes
Illustrated paperback
by Fernando M. Basai
Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1972



"Are the Japanese the most religious people in the world, as their government statistics would suggest, or a nation of atheists, as many Western observers have claimed?

A distinguished Jesuit sociologist takes us into the unfamiliar world of the Japanese religious consciousness with particular emphasis on university youth, the hope and future of Japan, and on the 'man in the street' who had come to maturity in the postwar years.

The result is a fascinating exploration into the soul of a people who will play a major role in the shaping of mankind's future. Not only the Western missionary, but the businessman and the diplomat could profit by this intriguing book.

It is obviously of interest to students of comparative religion and those involved in general Asian studies." (from the book jacket)

RECOMMENDED AS A LIBRARY RESOURCE FOR STUDENT REPORTS.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY / Resources

FOR FURTHER REFERENCE

TEACHING UNITS

THE BUDDHIST TRADITION (filmstrip)

Religion in Human Culture series by Argus.

The complete teacher set (\$43.00) includes a student reader (\$2.50), filmstrips on Buddhism in Burma (\$20.00) and in Japan (14 minutes; \$20.00), a teacher's guide (\$3.75), and blackline masters for reproduction (\$1.50). The growth of Buddhism, from its origins in India to its spread throughout East Asia, and its theory and practice are covered.

Argus Communications
7440 Natchez Avenue
Niles, IL 60648

AN INTRODUCTION TO BUDDHISM (class exercise with 20 slides)

This introductory unit with suggested exercises, questions for discussion, teachers guide, and slides with accompanying text was prepared by the Center for International and Area Studies at Brigham Young University. Price: \$15.00

Publications Services
Center for International and Area Studies
Box 61
Faculty Office Building
Brigham Young University
Provo, UT 84602

INTRODUCTION TO ZEN BUDDHISM by Virginia Strawn A curriculum unit distributed by:

The Midwest Center for Teaching
About Japan
Indiana University
204 Memorial Hall
Bloomington, IN 47405

Tel: (812)335-5249

SHINTO: THE TRADITIONAL RELIGION OF JAPAN by Carol S. Lehman
and Lois S. Miley

A curriculum unit distributed by:

Midwest Center for Teaching
About Japan
Indiana University
204 Memorial Hall
Bloomington, IN 47405

Tel: (812)335-5249

FOCUS Special Issue on Asian Religions (fall 1982)

Published by the Education Department of THE ASIA SOCIETY, this special issue contains class readings and exercises on all of the major religions in Asia: Confucianism, Taoism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Shinto, Islam, Christianity in the Philippines. Additional articles discuss artistic signs and symbols in the several religions, suggest a variety of classroom activities and list additional audio-visual resources. Price: inquire (c. \$3.00)

Education Department
The Asia Society
725 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Pamphlets

SHINTO Japanese Shinto Bulletin #18

International Society of Educational
Information, Inc.
Koryo Building
18 Wakaba 1-chome
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
JAPAN

BUDDHISM The Path of Buddhism Life Educational Reprint

The Path of Buddhism as it grew and spread through Asia, and as it is practiced in various Asian cultures; a section on Japanese Zen Buddhism. The conclusion is quite dated (first published in 1955), but otherwise useful for religious history. Rich color photos.

Price: \$2.00

Life Education Reprint Program
Box 834, Radio City Post Office
New York, NY 10019

Japanese Zen

A paper back booklet discussing methods of Zen training and practice, the history of Zen, and the influence Zen has had on other aspects of Japanese life and culture. Published by:

International Society for Educational
Information, Inc.
Koryo Building
18 Wakaba 1-chome
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
JAPAN

Contemporary Religious Attitudes

SOCIAL EDUCATION 45 (May 1981) 5, special issue on "Teaching About Japan Through Art and Modern Literature," edited by Charles von Loewenfeldt and Betty Bullard, contains the following article excerpt with questions for student discussion:

"From 'Attitudes Toward Religion Among Japanese Youth'," by Nobuko Morimura (from Japan Echo, Autumn 1979, vol. 6, no. 3), pp. 316-19. The issue has many articles and excerpts for teaching about Japan. Price: \$5.00

Social Education

National Council for the Social Studies
3501 Newark Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20016

Books (for teachers and advanced student reports)

de Bary, Wm. Theodore, "Japanese Religion," in Arthur E. Tiedemann, ed., An Introduction to Japanese Civilization (Lexington, Mass: D. C. Heath and Company, 1974). Available in paperback. Discusses Shinto and Buddhism along with other religions that are part of the Japanese religious tradition.

Japanese Religion: A Survey by the Agency for Cultural Affairs (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1972). Available in paperback. See "Introduction" and chapters on Shinto and Buddhism.

Picken, Stuart D. B., Shinto: Japan's Spiritual Roots (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1980). Illustrated with photographs.

Sokyo, Ono, Shinto: The Kami Way (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1962).

TRADITIONAL HISTORY / CONTENTS

OUTLINE OF HISTORY

(Outline)

offers for quick reference a timeline of Japanese history, with brief synopses of the major periods from prehistory to modern times.

Early Japan

THE LEGENDARY PAST: THE AGE OF THE GODS

(Primary Source)

includes selections from the Japanese primary source accounts of creation and the emergence of Japan--legends that have been important to Japanese religion, historical consciousness and national identity.

SHINTO AND BUDDHISM

(Reading)

refers back to the several units under these titles in the workbook section on RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY. It is recommended that some information be introduced at this time on these two major religious traditions, which were so important to early Japanese culture and historical development.

EARLY JAPAN BORROWS FROM CHINA

(Reading/Primary Source)

provides a brief introduction to this formative period in Japanese history, followed by a primary source selection, Prince Shōtoku's Seventeen-Article Constitution of 604 A.D., which students are asked to compare with Confucian teachings included at the conclusion of the section on RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE COURT AT KYOTO: JAPAN'S GOLDEN AGE

(Reading/Primary Source)

is an introductory reading on Japan's history in the period that followed cultural borrowing from China. Teachers are encouraged to expand on the historical background provided by this reading by turning to one of three selections in the LITERATURE section of the workbook. These can serve to enrich students' appreciation of the aristocratic culture, aesthetic traditions, court life, and the social structure--particularly the role of women--that characterized classical Japan prior to the advent of the samurai in the feudal period. These units are entitled The Tale of Genji, The Pillow Book, and What is Tanka? (poetry unit).

Medieval Japan

THE AGE OF THE SAMURAI

(Introductory Outline)

provides a two-page overview of the period 1185-1868 and is recommended as introductory background for students to the several units that follow.

FEUDALISM IN JAPAN AND FRANCE

(Chart)

is a chart comparing the characteristics of feudalism in

these two countries, followed by questions for discussion.

KUBLAI KHAN'S LOST FLEET FOUND IN JAPAN (Primary Source)
includes a recent article from the New York Times on the recovery of treasures from the Mongol expeditions that failed to conquer Japan in 1274 and 1281 and provides a timely basis for discussion of Japan's position in this period of world history.

ESSAYS IN IDLENESS (Reading/Primary Source)
is a one-page historical introduction to a literary selection by the same title in the LITERATURE section. Essays in Idleness provides students with a glimpse of the social upheaval accompanying the transition from the aristocratic culture of the Heian court to the samurai-dominated culture and society of medieval Japan.

Tokugawa Japan

SELF-IMPOSED ISOLATION FROM THE WORLD, 1639-1853 (Reading)
describes in a concluding reading why and how the Tokugawa government isolated itself from the world during the last two centuries of Japan's feudal period.

CASTLE TOWNS: AN INTRODUCTION TO TOKUGAWA JAPAN (Resource Reference)
provides information on a highly recommended, multi-faceted unit available from Teaching Japan in Schools (TJS) at Stanford University.

TOKUGAWA THOUGHT (Reading)
provides brief background on an important but often neglected aspect of the Tokugawa period.

SHOGUN (Resource Reference)
is a list of resources that provide background to and allow teachers to expand upon the best-selling novel Shogun, by James Clavell, which has proved to be popular reading among high school students.

BUSHIDO: THE WAY OF THE SAMURAI (Primary Source)
presents primary source excerpts from a samurai code of behavior, the Hagakure, again allowing students a firsthand glimpse of the ideals of personal sacrifice and service that were part of the tradition of medieval Japan.

THE TALE OF THE 47 RONIN (Reading/Film/Primary Source)
describes the historical event on which this extremely popular story is based--a story that has been continually retold in books, plays, movies, and television shows in Japan. This unit, like the preceding unit on Bushido, exposes students to some of the ideals of personal and group behavior, reflected

in Tokugawa society, with which modern Japanese still have sympathy. Students are encouraged to compare and contrast these ideals with those expressed in popular American legends such as those of Jesse James or Robin Hood.

FORMS OF DRAMA (Readings)

Noh

Kyogen

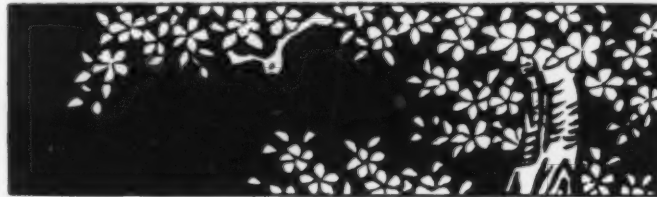
Kabuki

Bunraku

All of these well-known Japanese dramatic forms developed during the feudal period. Teachers are referred to the DRAMA section of the workbook for units under these titles which provide students with another perspective on Japanese culture and history during feudal times.

RESOURCE LIST

provides information on a number of general introductions to the history of Japan available in print, slides, and film.



JAPANESE HISTORY / Chronological Outline

10000 1000	JŌMON culture	Prehistoric culture characterized by hand-made pottery with rope-pattern design.
500 ca.300	YAYOI culture	More advanced agricultural society, using metals and wheel-turned pottery.
BC/AD 100 200 ca.300 400	Tomb period	Great earthen grave mounds and their funerary objects, such as clay <u>haniwa</u> --terra cotta figurines of people and animals, models of buildings and boats--attest to emergence of powerful clan rulers. Among these was the Yamato clan, whose rulers began the imperial dynasty that has continued to the present.
500 600	Introduction of Buddhism 552 Taika Reform 645	Reorganization and reform based largely on imported learning--Buddhism, writing system, bureaucratic organization, legal theories--from China.
700	NARA 710-784	Establishment of first permanent capital, Nara; emergence of Japanese patterns of administration and institutions. Beginning of classical period.
800 900 1000 1100	HEIAN 794-1185 late Heian (FUJIWARA)	Great flowering of classical Japanese culture, in new capital of Heian-kyō (Kyoto). Court aristocracy, especially women, produced great body of literature--poetry, diaries, the novel <u>The Tale of Genji</u> --and made refined aesthetic sensibility their society's hallmark.
1200	KAMAKURA 1185-1333	Beginning of military rule, as samurai (warriors) replaced nobles as real rulers of Japan. Imperial court remained in Kyoto but shōgun's governing organization based in Kamakura, south of modern Tokyo.
1300 1400 1500	Kemmu Restoration 1333-1336 ASHIKAGA (MUROMACHI) 1336-1573	New warrior government in Kyoto retained weak control of the country, but from its base in Kyoto's Muromachi district became patron of newly flourishing artistic tradition, influenced by Zen Buddhist culture as well as samurai and court society.
1600 1700 1800	Country at war Age of Unification 1568-1598 TOKUGAWA (EDO) 1600-1867	Warring factions engaged in lengthy, destructive civil wars. Country unified under military government which maintained 250 years of secluded peace, leading to development of vibrant urban, "middle-class" culture with innovations in economic organization, literature, and the arts.
1868 1900	MEIJI restoration Taishō (1912-1925) Shōwa (1925-)	Emergence, with Western stimulus, into modern, international world, marked by dramatic alterations in institutions, traditional social organization, and culture.
	CONTEMPORARY JAPAN	Japan as a world power in the twentieth century.

Early Japan

PREHISTORY THROUGH THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

THE LEGENDARY PAST: THE AGE OF THE GODS (Primary Source)

includes selections from the Japanese primary source accounts of creation and the emergence of Japan--legends that have been important to Japanese religion, historical consciousness and national identity.

SHINTO AND BUDDHISM (Reading)

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The Legendary Past

INTRODUCTION

Although many questions about the origins and early development of the Japanese people remain unanswered, archaeologists have done particularly impressive work since World War II in tracing the existence of human habitation in Japan to a vastly earlier time--perhaps hundreds of thousands of years B.C.--than previously thought.

Among the sources for our present knowledge of prehistoric Japan are chronicles written by Chinese scholars in the first few centuries A.D. The Chinese knew of the islands and their people from a very early date, and although their historians deal with Japan only briefly and as a distant and rather insignificant tributary area, their accounts give many clues to the growth and culture of the early Japanese state.

The accounts show that during the first five centuries A.D. the central and southern areas of "Wa," as the Chinese called Japan, were occupied by numerous communities of fairly closely related people who kept some contact with the mainland. Later accounts point to the rise of the kingdom of Yamato in central Honshu, and by at least the fifth century the Yamato ruler was called "King of Wa" by the Chinese. Yamato was securely established, and the stage was set for the true foundation of the historic Japanese state.

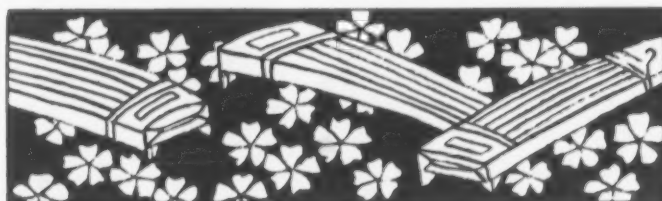
The Japanese did not begin to write histories until the seventh century. Inspired by the higher civilization of great China, scholars worked for years assembling information, most of it oral, on the myths, legends, and true stories of the Japanese past. The oldest extant "histories" are the Kojiki (Records of Ancient Matters) of 712 and the Nihon Shoki (or Nihongi; Chronicles of Japan), which was completed in 720.

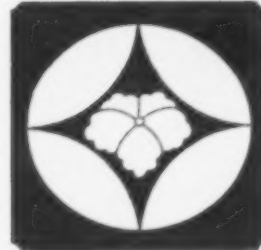
LEGENDARY PAST: AGE OF THE GODS/2

Since the authors of Kojiki and Nihon Shoki made no sharp distinction between myth and history, here are set forth the early Japanese beliefs about the creation of the universe and the Japanese islands. Here too we are introduced to the first beings, the gods of the Japanese who are called Kami.

The myths recounted in the following selection are the sources of two important traditions: belief in the divine origin of Japan and in the divine descent of her emperors. These beliefs persisted among the Japanese people until recently and have not yet been entirely discarded.

Acknowledgment: Adapted from Japan: Selected Readings by Hyman Kublin, pp. 25 and 34. Copyright (c) 1968 Houghton Mifflin Company. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.





The Age of the Gods

THE CREATION OF JAPAN

Out of a mass of vague and contradictory details emerged a mythical picture of the creation of Japan and its people. For generations the story was transmitted orally and finally written down. It begins thus:

Now when Chaos had begun to condense, but force and form were not yet manifest, and there was naught named, naught done, who could know its shape? Nevertheless, Heaven and Earth first parted and the Three Deities performed the commencement of Creation; the Passive-Active Essences then developed and the Two Spirits became the ancestors of all things. (1)

(These) last two were Izanagi, the Male-Who-Invites, and his younger sister, Izanami, the Female Who-Invites. Upon Izanagi and Izanami the command was laid:

to make, consolidate, and give birth to this drifting land. So the two deities standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven pushed down the jeweled spear and stirred with it; whereupon when they had stirred the brine until it (curdled) and drew the spear up, the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear piled up and became an island. (2)

Fourteen islands the pair created--eight great islands and six lesser ones. The island with one body and four faces was called

1. *Kojiki: Records of Ancient Matters*, translated by B. H. Chamberlain (Kobe: J. L. Thompson and Company, Ltd., 1932, with permission of The Asia Society of Japan), p. 4.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

the Lovely-Princess. Others were called by such names as Prince-Good-Boiled-Rice, Brave-Good-Youth, Luxuriant-Sun-Youth. Last born was Great-Yamato, the Luxuriant-Island-of-the-Dragonfly.

Having given birth to the islands of Japan, the creative pair produced numerous gods and goddesses. . . . The last of these was known as the Deity of Fire. After his birth, Izanami retired to Hades, leaving the process of creation to be carried on by Izanagi alone. From his sword, (belt), and other articles of clothing were born various deities. The three most illustrious among them were...the Sun Goddess, the Moon Goddess, and the God of Force, or Impetuous Male. . . . Little more is written of the moon Goddess, but the Sun Goddess and her brother, Impetuous Male, carried on the task of creation by biting off and crunching parts of the jewels and swords which they wore and blowing them away. From the fragments were formed numerous gods and goddesses who became the heads of various clans. Thus was man created to inhabit the islands.

Finally, the Sun Goddess and her brother quarreled violently. The climax of the quarrel came when Impetuous Male broke a hole in the roof of heaven, over the place where his sister and her celestial weaving maidens were sitting at work. Through the hole he let fall a piebald (black and white) horse. The Sun Goddess, infuriated, retired into a cave, and darkness prevailed over all the universe. "The Plain-of-High-Heaven was obscured, and all the Central-Land-of-Reed-Plains darkened."

The eight hundred deities, terrified at the darkness, undertook to placate the Sun Goddess. For this purpose they met in assembly. They ordered iron to be taken from the Heavenly-Metal-Mountains. Then they called in the smith, charged the Again-Forging-Old-Woman to make a mirror, and commanded His-Augustness-Grand-Jewel-Ancestor to produce a string eight feet long of five hundred curved jewels. They hung the newly wrought mirror and the jewels, together with white . . . and blue . . . offerings, upon the branches of a tree. His-Augustness-Grand-Jewel-Ancestor recited (rituals) concerning Her Highness, the Sun Goddess, and danced wildly. Amused at his antics, the eight hundred deities shook the Plain-of-High-Heaven with laughter. The Sun Goddess was thus surprised out of her seclusion, and came forth asking how it was that, with all heaven and earth darkened, the deities could indulge in laughter. They answered that they rejoiced because there was a deity more beautiful than Her Augustness; but, while they were speaking, the mirror was brought forward for her to see this most beautiful one. When she looked, she was so surprised at the beauty of the goddess mirrored there that she came forth from the cave. . . . The-Plain-of-High-Heaven and the Central-Land-of-Reed-Plains (Japan) were again light. Thus were light and darkness created.

For his misdeeds, Impetuous Male was banished from heaven. He wandered on the earth and begged food of the Deity-Princess-of-

Great-Food, who took all sorts of things from her nose, her mouth, and other parts of her body, and turned them into food for him. Thinking she was offering him filth, however, he killed her. After her death the Deity-Producing-Wondrous-Ancestor commanded that these useful things born from her body be used to propagate food and clothing--silkworms from her head, rice seeds from her eyes, millet from her ears, beans from her nose, barley from her torso.

Besides looking for food, the Impetuous-Male-Deity performed many wondrous deeds while wandering about on earth. . . . At one time he came upon an old man and an old woman who were crying. Inquiring the cause of their sorrow, he found that the eight-forked serpent of Hoshi had been visiting them each year, and on each visit had devoured one of their eight daughters, until now only one was left, and they were full of apprehension about the fate of their last daughter.

When Impetuous Male heard the story, he asked for the hand of this last daughter in marriage. Having been granted his request, he turned the girl into a comb which he stuck in his hair. He then lay in wait for the coming of the eight-forked serpent whom he overpowered and cut in pieces; but when he cut into the middle tail, the edge of his sword broke. When he looked to see the cause of this accident, he found concealed in the serpent a sharp great sword, over which he marveled, and then presented it to the gods of heaven. This became known as the Herb-Quelling-Great-Sword, which still serves as one of the emblems in the regalia of Japanese emperors.

Thus do the myths account for the symbols of the imperial (power)--the mirror, the jewels, and the sword.

Finally, Impetuous Male sought a permanent (home) upon the earth. It is said that he "sought in the land of Izumo for a place where he might build a palace. Then he arrived at a place (called) Suga, and said: 'On coming to this palace, my august heart is pure,' and in that place he built a palace to dwell in. So that place is now called Suga." His descendants continued to live in Izumo until the descendant of the sixth generation was vested with the sovereignty of Japan.

This position he was not allowed to hold, however, for the Sun Goddess, who had never forgiven her brother for his pranks and (misbehavior), felt that none of his children should rule the Central-Land-of-Reed-Plains, in spite of the fact that they had so long been wandering in them. She therefore decided to send a grandson of her own who should rule the earth. For this task she chose (a) prince..., giving him as parting gifts the eight feet of curved jewels and the mirror which had lured her from the cave, and, also, the Herb-Quelling-Great-Sword which her brother had presented to the gods of heaven.

After receiving (these, the) prince . . . left the heavenly rock seat...and descended to the peak of (a) mountain . . .

on the island of Kyushu. Then began the struggles between the grandson of the Sun Goddess and the descendants of Impetuous Male. The conflict ended when the god, . . . retaining spiritual power only, gave up his temporal power to the Sun Goddess' grandson. From the latter descended a prince who is known as the first emperor of Japan--Jimmu--whose reign the Japanese have fixed as beginning in 660 B.C. Thus was created a divine sovereign who is still worshipped as the first in a "lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal."

Acknowledgment: With the exception of the footnoted passages, the text is from Kodo: The Way of the Emperor by Mary A. Nourse, pp. 14-18. (c) 1940 by The Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc. The text is copied as it appears in Japan: Selected Readings by Hyman Kublin, pp. 34-38. Copyright (c) 1968 by Houghton Mifflin Company.

Questions for Discussion

1. What country wrote the oldest records about Japan?
2. Can you name any Greek deities who are similar to the deities of Japanese legends?
3. At what point were the two oldest extant books that tell about Japan's deities written?

Can you describe the two oldest deities?

How was the Sun Goddess related to them?

Who was Jimmu?

3. What function(s) do myths serve in a particular culture? Discuss.
4. In the introduction, the author refers to the Japanese maintaining contact with "the mainland." What was "the mainland"?

Who lived there?

Vocabulary

mythical

manifest

naught

consolidate

brine

infuriate

placate

wrought

antics

seclusion

indulge

propagate

regalia

sovereignty

lineal succession



Shinto and Buddhism

See section on RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY for units related to early Japanese culture and historical development:

SHINTO (reading exercise)

SHINTO: MAN, NATURE, AND THE GODS (film exercise)

THE ORIGINS OF BUDDHISM (reading)

BUDDHISM AND SHINTO (reading)

TWO TRADITIONS (slide exercise)

TRADITIONAL HISTORY
Primary Source
Reading

TO THE TEACHER

What Did Confucius Say?, which appears in the section on RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY, is recommended as background to this reading.

Students can then seek to identify the influence of the Confucian tradition in the constitution written by Prince Shōtoku, which appears below as a primary source reading in this exercise.

Other units related to Japanese borrowing from China during this period are Speaking and Writing and 50 Chinese Characters in the workbook section on LANGUAGE and the articles on The Origins of Buddhism and Shinto and Buddhism in the section on RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY.

Early Japan Borrows from China

In the late sixth century Prince Shōtoku, a member of the ruling family of Yamato, rose to prominence in the kingdom. A man of unusual vision and ambition, he was eager to win political leadership over the many tribal communities in the archipelago for his own state. To attain his goal he turned to the mighty Chinese empire for inspiration and example.

Previous influences from China had come by way of Korea, brought from the peninsula by immigrants or by returning members of Japanese military expeditions against the Korean kingdoms. Rather than seek such second-hand knowledge of Chinese civilization, Prince Shōtoku determined to go directly to the source. Able young men were therefore sent to the mainland on missions of study that sometimes lasted for years.

The Prince himself set an example for his fellow aristocrats at the court of Yamato. He became an enthusiastic student of things Chinese. He learned to read and write the Chinese language and

pored over the great Chinese works of philosophy, history, and literature. In time he became well versed in Buddhist thought and the teachings of Confucius. This learning he used as the basis for a philosophy of statecraft and society.

One of Prince Shōtoku's most notable pieces of work was the Seventeen-Article Constitution which he completed in 604. (Although called a constitution, it should actually be regarded as a series of precepts of social behavior which he hoped his countrymen would follow. They are strongly influenced by Confucian ideals of society.)* The text of this document is presented below.

*Acknowledgment: From Japan: Selected Readings by Hyman Kublin, pp. 30-31. Copyright (c) 1968 Houghton Mifflin Company. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.



(Primary Source Reading)

PRINCE SHŌTOKU'S SEVENTEEN-ARTICLE CONSTITUTION

A.D. 604, Summer, 4th Month, 3rd day.
The Prince Imperial Shōtoku in person
prepared laws for the first time. There
were seventeen clauses, as follows:

- I. Harmony should be valued and quarrels should be avoided. Everyone has his biases, and few men are far-sighted. Therefore some disobey their lords and fathers and keep up feuds with their neighbors. But when the superiors are in harmony with each other and the inferiors are friendly, then affairs are discussed quietly and the right view of matters prevails.
- II. The three treasures, which are Buddha, the (Buddhist) Law, and the (Buddhist) Priesthood, should be given sincere reverence, for they are the final refuge of all living things. Few men are so bad that they cannot be taught their truth.
- III. Do not fail to obey the commands of your Sovereign. He is like Heaven, which is above the Earth, and the vassal is like the Earth, which bears up Heaven. When Heaven and Earth are properly in place, the four seasons follow their course and all is well in Nature. But if the Earth attempts to take the place of Heaven, Heaven would simply fall in ruin. That is why the vassal listens when the lord speaks, and the inferior obeys when the superior acts. Consequently when you receive the commands of your Sovereign, do not fail to carry them out or ruin will be the natural result.
- IV. The Ministers and officials of the state should make proper behavior their first principle, for if the superiors do not behave properly, the inferiors are disorderly; if inferiors behave improperly, offenses will naturally result. Therefore when lord and vassal behave with propriety, the distinctions of rank are not confused: when the people behave properly the Government will be in good order.
- V. Deal impartially with the legal complaints which are submitted to you. If the man who is to decide suits at law makes gain his motive, and hears cases with a view to receiving bribes, then the suits of the rich man will be like a stone flung into water, meeting no resistance, while the complaints of the poor will be like water thrown upon a stone. In these circumstances the poor man will not know where to go, nor will he behave as he should.
- VI. Punish the evil and reward the good. This was the excellent rule of antiquity. Therefore do not hide the good qualities of others or fail to correct what is wrong when

you see it. Flatterers and deceivers are a sharp weapon for the overthrow of the state, and a sharp sword for the destruction of the people. Men of this kind are never loyal to their lord, or to the people. All this is a source of serious civil disturbances.

- VII. Every man has his own work. Do not let the spheres of duty be confused. When wise men are entrusted with office, the sound of praise arises. If corrupt men hold office, disasters and tumult multiply. In all things, whether great or small, find the right man and they will be well managed. Therefore the wise sovereigns of antiquity sought the man to fill the office, and not the office to suit the man. If this is done the state will be lasting and the realm will be free from danger.
- VIII. Ministers and officials should attend the Court early in the morning and retire late, for the whole day is hardly enough for the accomplishment of state business. If one is late in attending Court, emergencies cannot be met; if officials retire early, the work cannot be completed.
- IX. Good faith is the foundation of right. In everything let there be good faith, for if the lord and the vassal keep faith with one another, what cannot be accomplished? If the lord and the vassal do not keep faith with each other, everything will end in failure.
- X. Let us control ourselves and not be resentful when others disagree with us, for all men have hearts and each heart has its own leanings. The right of others is our wrong, and our right is their wrong. We are not unquestionably sages, nor are they unquestionably fools. Both of us are simply ordinary men. How can anyone lay down a rule by which to distinguish right from wrong? For we are all wise sometimes and foolish at others. Therefore, though others give way to anger, let us on the contrary dread our own faults, and though we may think we alone are in the right, let us follow the majority and act like them.
- XI. Know the difference between merit and demerit, and deal out to each its reward and punishment. In these days, reward does not always follow merit, or punishment follow crime. You high officials who have charge of public affairs, make it your business to give clear rewards and punishments.
- XII. Do not let the local nobility levy taxes on the people. There cannot be two lords in a country; the people cannot have two masters. The sovereign is the sole master of the people of the whole realm, and the officials that he appoints are all his subjects. How can they presume to levy taxes on the people?

- XIII. All people entrusted with office should attend equally to their duties. Their work may sometimes be interrupted due to illness or their being sent on missions. But whenever they are able to attend to business they should do so as if they knew what it was about and not obstruct public affairs on the grounds they are not personally familiar with them.
- XIV. Do not be envious! For if we envy others, then they in turn will envy us. The evils of envy know no limit. If others surpass us in intelligence, we are not pleased; if they are more able, we are envious. But if we do not find wise men and sages, how shall the realm be governed?
- XV. To subordinate private interests to the public good--that is the path of a vassal. Now if a man is influenced by private motives, he will be resentful, and if he is influenced by resentment he will fail to act harmoniously with others. If he fails to act harmoniously with others, the public interest will suffer. Resentment interferes with order and is subversive of law.
- XVI. Employ the people in forced labor at seasonable times. This is an ancient and excellent rule. Employ them in the winter months when they are at leisure, but not from Spring to Autumn, when they are busy with agriculture or with the mulberry trees (the leaves of which are fed to silkworms). For if they do not attend to agriculture, what will there be to eat? If they do not attend to the mulberry trees, what will there be for clothing?
- XVII. Decisions on important matters should not be made by one person alone. They should be discussed with many people. Small matters are of less consequence and it is unnecessary to consult a number of people. It is only in the case of important affairs, when there is a suspicion that they may miscarry, that one should consult with others, so as to arrive at the right conclusion.

Acknowledgment: Freely adapted for modern readers from W. G. Aston, "Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697," (2 vols.), in The Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society of London, Supplement 1 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1896), vol. 2, pp. 128-33.

The text is copied as it appears in Japan: Selected Readings by Hyman Kublin, pp. 31-34. Copyright (c) 1968 by Houghton Mifflin Company.



Vocabulary

statecraft	feud	civil disturbance
precepts	sovereign	tumult
bias	propriety	subversive
	impartial	miscarry

Questions for Discussion

1. Prince Shōtoku is famous among historians because he issued an important legal code. Choose three articles of the document that are most interesting to you and explain why.

2. Prince Shōtoku is also famous among Japanese for a different reason. Until January 1985, his picture appeared on yen bills. Who appears on U.S. dollar bills?

3. Turn to the exercise What Did Confucius Say?

Choose five (5) of the sayings of Confucius that remind you of passages in Shōtoku's law.

Match the selections and explain where you see the Confucian influence in the passages from Shōtoku's law.

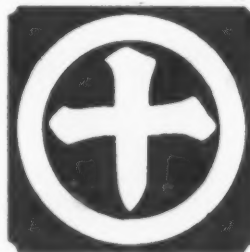
4. Prince Shōtoku's constitution refers to another philosophic tradition that is not Confucian. What is it?

What was China's role in introducing this tradition to Japan?

5. Prince Shōtoku's law was written in the period when Japan was borrowing from Chinese culture. If you are familiar with Chinese history, do you remember in which century the Chinese went to Japan to study and borrow from Japanese achievements?

When was this?

Why did the Chinese do this?



Resource

For further discussion of Chinese influence on Japan see John W. Hall, "The Historical Dimension," in John W. Hall and Richard K. Beardsley, Twelve Doors to Japan (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), pp. 160-66.

The Court at Kyoto: Japan's Golden Age

The following reading is designed to provide students with a brief introduction to Japan's classical period, which followed the period of cultural borrowing from China. Although the reading can stand on its own, we recommend that you use it as the historical introduction to one of three literary selections that can best convey to students the flavor of classical Japan.

- * THE TALE OF GENJI
- * THE PILLOW BOOK
- * WHAT IS TANKA? (poetry)

A more detailed, literary introduction to each of these selections is included in the LITERATURE section of the workbook. The primary source selections from The Tale of Genji and The Pillow Book are then found in Donald Keene, Anthology of Japanese Literature (Grove Press, 1955) in paperback. A copy of the Keene volume should be in your school library.

Procedure

Assign the class the Student Reading that appears immediately below to set the historical context. Then consult the Teacher Background that follows, provided for your reference. After choosing the literary selection(s), assign students the appropriate exercise(s) from the LITERATURE section of the workbook.

STUDENT READING

THE COURT AT KYOTO: JAPAN'S GOLDEN AGE

Toward the end of the eighth century, the Emperor and his court chose a new site for the capital in central Japan and built a city surrounded by beautiful mountains. The new city was called Heian-kyō, "the capital of tranquility." (It has become the modern city of Kyoto.) During the Heian period (794-1185), named after this city, the country really was at peace, and the aristocrats of the Imperial Court spent much of their time creating a classical culture that still lives today.



The Japanese had imported many things from China in the few preceding centuries--Buddhism, Confucianism, poetry (and the language, Chinese, in which poems were recorded), art techniques, methods of organizing government, even the plan for the city of Heian-kyō itself. But as the Heian period progressed, the Japanese took less and less from China, concentrating instead on integrating what they had learned so that it fit their country, their values, and their attitudes. Just as the symmetrical grid arrangement of the streets of the new city gave way to an asymmetrical form, Chinese imports were altered and grew in particularly Japanese ways. The culture that flourished in the tenth and eleventh centuries was dominated by aesthetic concerns and produced art and literature that continues to influence Japanese society and the way Japanese perceive the world.

The aristocrats who lived in Kyoto considered poetry, music, and indeed all the arts to be the most important human accomplishments. They included aesthetic skills we rarely think of now, such as mixing incense to make the most beautiful fragrances. Lovers courted each other with poetry, often written in the form of waka or tanka, and affairs succeeded or failed according to the sensitivity of the poems and the beauty of the writer's handwriting (calligraphy). Men often gained favor at court more for their abilities in the arts than for their bureaucratic skills. The tales, romances, and diaries of women became the classics of the literature, and the favored poetic form of this age lasted for the next thousand years.

The Pillow Book by the court lady Sei Shōnagon seems to take us right into the court, as she records her opinions about the small world around her and her experiences with the events of her day. The greatest work of fiction, The Tale of Genji, by the lady-in-waiting Murasaki Shikibu, gives a clear and moving image of the ideals and sentiments of the age. It tells of the life of "the shining Genji," his loves and his troubles, and of the melancholy and sense of decline in the generation after his death.

By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the courtiers' neglect of the more practical matters of government began to tell. The military rulers of the provinces became more and more powerful, until in 1185 power passed out of the hands of the Imperial Court and into the hands of the warriors, the samurai. But even the samurai of later ages owed a debt to the Heian aristocrats, inheriting and developing their Buddhism, their poetry, and their appreciation of beauty.

Vocabulary

tranquility

aristocrat

import

integrate

symmetrical grid

asymmetrical

flourish

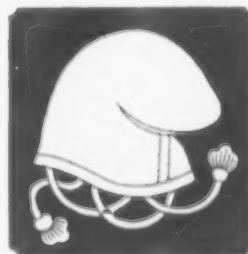
aesthetic

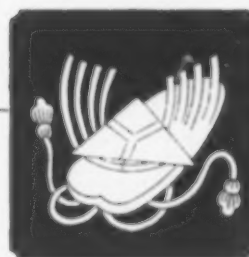
incense

calligraphy

bureaucratic

melancholy





TEACHER BACKGROUND

The selections from The Tale of Genji by Murasaki Shikibu and The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon combine to give a balanced picture of life among the aristocracy in Japan at the height of the Heian period. Sei Shōnagon's sharp and witty descriptions of court life offer an astringent account of the manners of the age, while Murasaki's fiction expands on its ideals and attitudes with striking psychological insight. They are an important corrective to the warrior-dominated image we often have of premodern Japan, reflecting instead an earlier age when gentler arts were the most highly valued. The very fact that these two works, acknowledged as the greatest prose writing of a very rich period, were written by women is an important indication of the varieties of social organization in Japanese history. It was not until the later feudal period that women's status declined to the position of docile subservience familiar to us from samurai movies and modern stereotypes. At the height of the classical era, women had considerable freedom socially, economically, and artistically, and their creative accomplishments, especially in literature, set the standards for the age.

The Japanese have drawn upon the sensibilities of the characters and the author of The Tale of Genji for nearly a millennium in defining and extolling the national character. Later literature, from medieval Noh drama to modern novels, has reworked and reexamined themes and events until the novel has become as much a part of Japanese thinking as Shakespeare's plays are in our own tradition. More than a few modern writers--from the poet Yosano Akiko to novelists Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and Enchi Fumiko--have spent years in the labor of love of translating the lengthy novel from its difficult classical language into modern Japanese.

On the other hand, Sei Shōnagon's prose style is still studied as a model of classical literary style. High school students memorize passages for their college entrance exams, and with the words absorb her views and aesthetic pronouncements. The miscellany, or collection of random thoughts, observations, and emotions, has since her day become a widely used genre in Japanese literature.

As is clear from these prose selections, the short poem (or waka, called tanka in modern times) was an important medium of both communication and expression in Heian times and thereafter into the twentieth century. While it is no longer in the mainstream of high literature, it remains a popular amateur form and is held in high esteem by the Japanese as a unique cultural achievement.

Medieval Japan

Common Terms

shogun--supreme military ruler

daimyo--feudal lord

samurai--warrior administrators

rōnin--masterless samurai

UNITS

THE AGE OF THE SAMURAI (Introductory Outline)

provides a two-page overview of the period 1185-1868 and is recommended as introductory background for students to the several units that follow.

FEUDALISM IN JAPAN AND FRANCE (Chart)

is a chart comparing the characteristics of feudalism in these two countries, followed by questions for discussion.

KUBLAI KHAN'S LOST FLEET FOUND IN JAPAN (Primary Source)

includes a recent article from the New York Times on the recovery of treasures from the Mongol expeditions that failed to conquer Japan in 1274 and 1281 and provides a timely basis for discussion of Japan's position in this period of world history.

ESSAYS IN IDLENESS (Reading/Primary Source)

is a one-page historical introduction to a literary selection by the same title in the LITERATURE section. Essays in Idleness provides students with a glimpse of the social upheaval accompanying the transition from the aristocratic culture of the Heian court to the samurai-dominated culture and society of medieval Japan.



The Age of the Samurai

INTRODUCTORY OUTLINE

Pre-Samurai

794-1185
Heian Civil Government

The government was bureaucratic in theory, but was actually aristocratic (i.e., people held certain positions because they were born to families entitled to hold those jobs). Even after 1185, civil government at the Emperor's court continued and the law and the state were not changed, but a new samurai class came to power and increasingly became the real rulers of the country.

Samurai Governments

1185-1333
Kamakura Government

The most important feature of the medieval period is that the samurai (warrior-administrators) replaced the central government in managing local government, because the central government had no police force. Bands of samurai gained power when the Heian government neglected the administration of the provinces. Samurai strength rested on strong group loyalty and discipline. These bands managed large areas of rice land in eastern Japan, around modern Tokyo.

In 1185 a new government was founded by a samurai chief in Kamakura, south of modern Tokyo. While it followed the laws of the Heian government, its administration was run by a network of samurai throughout the country, pledged to keep the peace. Since they exercised real power on the spot, they were able to take over land from rich aristocratic land proprietors and thus caused

the Heian government in Kyoto to become even weaker. Gradually the samurai took the lead in developing the law of the nation.

The Mongol invasions, the only military invasion of Japan before World War II, occurred during this period. Kubilai, Great Khan of the Mongols, invaded China and in 1263 became Emperor of China. He pressed his conquest on to Japan. In 1274 and 1281 Mongols and Chinese led great expeditions across the seas to southwest Japan. Samurai in Kyushu were greatly outnumbered and technically disadvantaged. In 1274, a great storm arose that destroyed or set to sea the whole invasion fleet. In 1281, after 50 days of fierce struggle, the Japanese were again saved by a great storm. These storms became known as kamikaze, divine winds. (More than 650 years later, during the second invasion of Japan, by America, the suicide pilots protecting the islands were called kamikaze, too.) The Mongolian invasion attempts united the Japanese against an outside force for the first time in history. Shinto priests, invoking the country's deities for protection, were richly rewarded.

1336-1573

Muromachi Government

As the samurai leaders became wealthy, they began to copy the style of the aristocratic class. When the new Muromachi government was established, the samurai chiefs moved to the old capital at Kyoto. In the surrounding countryside, daimyos (territorial barons) ruled the people under the protection of the military government in Kyoto. The daimyos built bureaucratic governments in each province and attempted to bring all elements of society under their military rule.

1600-1868

Tokugawa Government

In 1600 a much stronger bureaucratic military government was established in eastern Japan. It controlled--either directly or indirectly--all elements of society, such as the agrarian and commercial sectors. The government legally differentiated four classes of society--samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants. Since it only had to worry about the possibilities of samurai rebellion (it had taken away the weapons of all other classes), the Tokugawa government made the daimyos live part of the time in Edo, the new military capital, and leave their families in Edo as hostages when they returned to their domains. Edo (the future Tokyo) became a giant urban center because so many people came to make a living by supplying the huge samurai population. By 1700 there were about one million people living in Edo. After the city grew up around the samurai, the merchants who supplied the military grew richer, while many samurai lived in poverty. When Commodore Perry came to Japan from the United States in 1853 seeking commercial relations, many groups in society were ready for changes in the old legal and economic systems. Japan's feudal period ended shortly thereafter with the Meiji Restoration in 1868.



Exercises

1. The capital of the Heian period and the Muromachi period was Kyoto. Find that city on the map of Japan.

Is it still a major city?

Where is the city of Kamakura?

The capital of the Tokugawa government was Edo. Today that city is called Tokyo. Where is it?

What do you think the population of New York was in 1700?

Los Angeles?

2. Who were the Mongols?

Show on the world map their original homeland, how far west they expanded, and how far east they came.

Why were the Mongols famous?

3. Analyze the different features of government at different periods in Japan's history.

For instance, during the early Heian period the Chinese bureaucratic state structure was introduced into Japan. In China, the government officials who ran the bureaucracy were selected by state examination and promoted on the basis of fitness reports. But in Japan the ranks and titles became hereditary, and an aristocratic elite class held the top government offices. The Chinese system would be called a _____ and the Japanese system a _____.

Give an example from your own government of how the method of selection and opportunity for office is one of the most important features of government.

4. The martial arts we know today--judo, jujitsu, aikido, and karate--were not developed by samurai. These arts were used by people who were not allowed to own swords, because the government allowed only samurai to have such weapons. What did the weaponless people use instead?

Feudalism in Japan & France

TRADITIONAL HISTORY Chart

JAPAN	FRANCE
<u>Background</u>	
--History of tribal loyalties	--same
--Decline of Heian power brings warfare	--Decline of Roman power brings warfare
<u>Development of Feudalism</u>	
--Groups of professional warriors fight for large landowners; vassals proclaim allegiance in return for protection	--Same
--Hierarchy of lord-vassal relationship	--Same
--Yoritomo makes Shogun most powerful position; Emperor remains figurehead	--Charlemagne conquers lands and becomes first king; creates new state
--Shogun controls land ownership	--King controls land ownership
--Little pressure from outside	--Constantly changing boundaries; conflicts with other countries
<u>Code</u>	
--Loyalty to feudal lord	--Same
--Bravery on the battlefield	--Same
--Buddhist salvationism	--Christian fervor
--High regard for Japanese culture	--Disregard for much of classical culture
<u>Disintegration</u>	
--Period of weak Ashikaga Shogunate and strong lords; warfare	--Period of weak kings and strong lords competing for power
--Sudden resurgence of Shogunate power and centralization by Tokugawa	--Centralization accomplished by Capetian kings
--Checks on daimyos limit their power	--Kings work to transfer loyalty to themselves
--Rise of unified state from centralized feudalism	--French abandon feudal loyalties for national loyalties
--Towns grow; more independent craftsmen, guilds, merchants, money economy	--Same
--Intermediate period of centralized, isolated feudalism, followed by symbolic return to Emperor's rule	--Development of absolute monarchy

Source: Adapted from Hyman Kublin, Japan (revised edition: Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), p. 65. Reprinted by permission.

Questions for Discussion

1. "Feudal" means a classed system of agricultural society with military dominance. What facts on the chart would you choose to prove that Japan matched this description and had a "feudal" period in its history? Explain.

What facts would you choose to demonstrate the same about France?

2. If you were a farmer's son or daughter in medieval Japan, could you become a samurai? Explain.

If you were a merchant in France, could you become a duke? Explain.

3. The chart does not give the dates of the feudal periods in Japan or France. Look them up (consult your outline for the Japanese dates; consult a world history book in your school library for France).

Do the time periods correspond with one another?

How are they different?

4. Make a list of all the factors that are similar to feudalism in France and in Japan.

Now make a list of all the factors that are different.

Put the two lists side by side:

Similarities Differences

What do you think is important about the similarities?

About the differences?



Kublai Khan's Fleet Reported Found by Japanese

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1980

TOKYO, Dec. 13 (AP) — Japanese divers say they have found the wreckage of Kublai Khan's Mongol invasion fleet 700 years after it was driven from Japan's shores by what the Japanese called a kamikaze — a divine wind.

Terming the find one of the most important in Japanese waters, Torao Mozai, a professor emeritus at Tokyo University, said he hoped that salvage work could begin in the spring with a \$60,000 grant from the Education Ministry.

"We found the warships," he said in a telephone interview. "They are there, but it's hard to say what condition they are in."

He said the wooden hulks, more than 70 in all, were submerged in mud over six feet below the seabed in waters 80 feet or more deep in an inlet off Nagasaki, in the south. The wrecks were detected by sonar during a search in August after fishermen started hauling up earthenware and porcelain cups in their nets, he said.

Divers retrieved a Mongol sword, stone implements used for pounding rice cakes and a bronze statue of Buddha that Professor Mozai said might have been cast in

Korea or China early in the 12th century.

He said he was convinced he had stumbled on the wreckage of the attempted invasion of Japan by Chinese and Korean forces in 1281. Kublai Khan, fifth emperor of Mongolia and grandson of Genghis Khan, was forced to retreat with heavy losses after a typhoon destroyed most of the invading fleet. An attempt in 1274 had failed for the same reason. The Japanese, thanking Providence, called the storms kamikaze. The name was later applied by World War II leaders to the pilots who attacked American ships in suicide dives.

Everything that Professor Mozai and his team manage to salvage will be donated to the museum at Imari Bay, he said. "I don't want anybody else to get to it — it's part of our national heritage," he added.

So far no one else has laid claim to the treasure. The Mongolian Embassy said it was unaware of the find, but a spokesman for the South Korean Embassy, Cha Yun, said his Government was interested. "It sounds like a significant discovery," he said. "First, I think, the two countries should conduct a joint survey. We can discuss the legal matters afterward."

Questions for Discussion

1. Who were the Mongols?

Find a world map and show their original homeland.

Show how far they expanded to the west.

Show how far they expanded to the east.

2. What was Kubilai (or Kublai) Khan's position at the time of the Mongol attacks on Japan?

3. Can you explain the meaning of the word "kamikaze"?

4. Look back at your outline on THE AGE OF THE SAMURAI and explain what effect the Mongol attacks may have had on the development of feudal Japan.

5. The Mongols were able to conquer China but unable to conquer Japan. Looking at a map, can you explain how geography aided the Mongols in their conquest of China but hindered their conquest of Japan?

Additional Resources

National Geographic Magazine, vol. 162, no. 5 (November 1982) contains a feature article, "The Lost Fleet of Kublai Khan," on the expedition to locate the ships. Complete with historical background, maps, and reproductions of an artist's rendition of the invasion.



TO THE TEACHER

This one-page historical introduction refers you to a unit in the LITERATURE SECTION that will provide students with a glimpse of the social upheaval taking place at this time through a primary source reading drawn from the era. It will aid their understanding of the many changes that accompanied the development of a feudal system in Japan and also remind them that premodern Japanese history was not all of one piece nor always dominated by samurai.

Essays in Idleness

THE EARLY AND MID-FEUDAL PERIOD

Yoshida Kenkō (1283-1350) wrote his Essays in Idleness about 1330. This was a period characterized by almost constant warfare, as various groups of warriors outside the court sought to extend their control over greater areas of Japan. The days of the aristocratic culture of the Heian Court were over. Yoshida Kenkō, himself a former courtier, fled the poverty of the court and became a Buddhist monk in 1324. Many of his fellow courtiers did the same.

The social change that took place in Japan during this period was at times very dramatic, and Kenkō* offers an important example of individual response to enormous social upheaval. The period of transition from court-dominated to warrior-dominated society saw a loss of one set of values as primary, and the gain of a new set. Kenkō is trying to salvage what he can from the old with an awareness that its time has passed; what he made from that still informs Japanese sensibility.

Kenkō's aesthetic was never lost, but it was overlaid by more confident, optimistic forms. The later periods of feudalism come to us in their cultural expressions as more robust and exuberant, as in the woodblock prints of the Tokugawa era.

Turn to the page on "Essays in Idleness" in the LITERATURE section and then read the primary source selection from your reader. See if you can feel and understand Kenkō's mood.

*In Japan, it is often customary for famous people to be referred to by their individual name or "first name"--in this case Kenkō--not their family name or surname. Remember that the individual name follows the family name in Japanese word order. This writer's family name is Yoshida.

Vocabulary

aristocratic

sensibility

courtier

aesthetic

upheaval

overlay

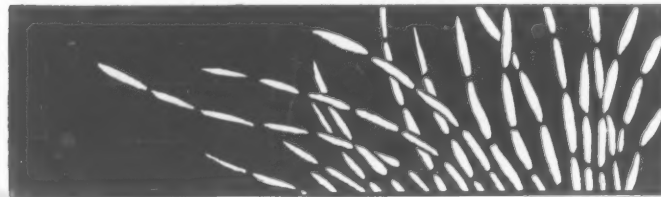
transition

optimistic

salvage

robust

exuberant



Tokugawa Japan

SELF-IMPOSED ISOLATION FROM THE WORLD, 1639-1853 (Reading)
describes in a concluding reading why and how the Tokugawa government isolated itself from the world during the last two centuries of Japan's feudal period.

CASTLE TOWNS: AN INTRODUCTION TO TOKUGAWA JAPAN (Resource Reference)
provides information on a highly recommended, multi-faceted unit available from Teaching Japan in Schools (TJS) at Stanford University.

TOKUGAWA THOUGHT (Reading)
provides brief background on an important but often neglected aspect of the Tokugawa period.

SHOGUN (Resource Reference)
is a list of resources that provide background to and allow teachers to expand upon the best-selling novel Shogun, by James Clavell, which has proved to be popular reading among high school students.

BUSHIDŌ: THE WAY OF THE SAMURAI (Primary Source)
presents primary source excerpts from a samurai code of behavior, the Hagakure, again allowing students a firsthand glimpse of the ideals of personal sacrifice and service that were part of the tradition of medieval Japan.

THE TALE OF THE 47 RŌNIN (Reading/Film/Primary Source)
describes the historical event on which this extremely popular story is based--a story that has been continually retold in books, plays, movies, and television shows in Japan. This unit, like the preceding unit on Bushidō, exposes students to some of the ideals of personal and group behavior, reflected in Tokugawa society, with which modern Japanese still have sympathy. Students are encouraged to compare and contrast these ideals with those expressed in popular American legends such as those of Jesse James or Robin Hood.

FORMS OF DRAMA (Readings)

Noh
Kyōgen
Kabuki
Bunraku

All of these well-known Japanese dramatic forms developed during the feudal period. Teachers are referred to the DRAMA

section of the workbook for units under these titles which provide students with another perspective on Japanese culture and history during feudal times.

RESOURCE LIST (Resources)

provides information on a number of general introductions to the history of Japan available in print, slides, and film.



Self-Imposed Isolation from the World

During the late sixteenth century, following a hundred years and more of intermittent civil wars, three great military leaders succeeded in reunifying Japan under one central authority. In the second half of the sixteenth century, European missionaries and merchants were well received, as the vying factions sought the wealth of trade and the advantages of new ideas and techniques--from Christianity to eyeglasses and tobacco--that the foreigners could offer.

But by 1600, when the third of these leaders, Tokugawa Ieyasu, achieved more total centralized control with his victory at the Battle of Sekigahara, the priorities had changed. The Europeans began to be seen as a threat rather than a resource. The most important goal of the new centralized military authorities was to stabilize the society and legitimize the regime. Trade had been sought as a source of wealth to support strength and power, but the close links between merchants and Catholic missionaries began to be suspected. Catholic Christianity, with its spiritual leader in the Pope in Rome, presented a problem of divided loyalties. Moreover, the doctrines of Christianity, so different from traditional Japanese ways of thinking, presented a problem of social disruption. This was demonstrated by the rivalry among the missionaries themselves, as the Jesuits concentrated their efforts on the leaders and the Franciscans and Dominicans began to proselytize among the poor.

Eventually, Protestant merchants from Holland and England brought home to the Japanese the reality of wider European rivalries and power struggles. The missionaries themselves also became linked in the Japanese mind with colonialism. With the example of the Spanish conquest of the Philippines before them, the Japanese

SELF-IMPOSED ISOLATION/2

leaders decided that the Europeans on the whole were more dangerous than beneficial.

Christianity was forbidden: foreign missionaries were expelled from the country, or executed. Japanese Christians were forced to recant or submit to torture and execution. By 1640, Christianity was almost completely suppressed. All Japanese were required to register with Buddhist temples, for the purpose of social control rather than religious commitment. Western books were outlawed to prevent the spread of subversive ideas.

Trade, which was so closely linked with missionary activity, was severely limited. Among the Europeans, only the Protestant Dutch were allowed to remain, but were restricted to a tiny artificial island in Nagasaki harbor (the English chose to abandon entirely an unprofitable trade). Mercantile and political links remained with China and Korea, but even those were restricted. Japanese were forbidden to travel abroad, and those already overseas were forbidden, on pain of death, to return. Large ships, capable of ocean voyages, could not be built, in reinforcement of the ban on foreign travel.

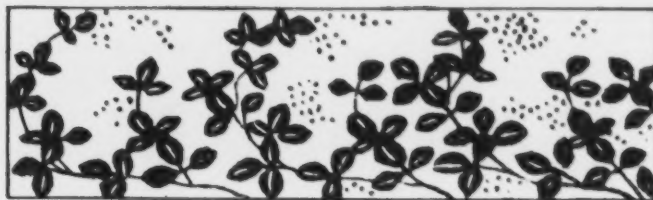
In other words, Japan closed its ranks for a lengthy period of consolidation and stabilization. In spite of its isolation, however, the society was not stagnant. In the course of more than two centuries of undisturbed peace, the country changed in many ways.

In the absence of warfare, samurai lost the military function that had set them apart as an elite class. Bushido, the way of the samurai, gave the samurai class an elite status based on its code of ethics rather than its military prowess. Samurai were forbidden to live on the land collecting income from the peasants. Instead, they moved into the towns where they served as administrative officials receiving an annual stipend from their lords. By the end of the Tokugawa period, they had become impoverished. The declining of the samurai class was one important change in Tokugawa society.

During the Tokugawa period, Japan developed a vigorous commercial economy. It became urbanized: Edo (Tokyo) was by the eighteenth century probably the largest city in the world. Commerce also gave rise to a wealthy merchant class. Merchants, however, had no right to participate in government, and they had the lowest social status of Japan's feudal classes. The gap between the economic power of the merchant class and its social and political status was another crack in the foundation of Tokugawa feudalism. Commerce even extended into agriculture. Peasants were able to market their surplus produce and to supplement their income with part-time employment in cottage industries. Combined with the fact that Japan's population stabilized in the early eighteenth century, rising productivity in both commerce and agriculture increased Japan's per capita income level significantly.

Education, once the prerogative of the samurai class, had been extended to many commoners by the end of the Tokugawa period. Not only did Japan achieve a literacy rate which compared favorably to that of Western Europe, schools provided an opportunity for commoners to meet and mix with members of the samurai class. Consequently, the social barriers dividing Japan's feudal classes had begun to break down even before the feudal government fell in 1868. Moreover, the Japanese people had developed a rational, progressive outlook on life that we think of as modern in contrast to the superstitious, ritualistic attitudes that we associate with traditional cultures.

When the West showed renewed interest in East Asia in the mid-nineteenth century, it could no longer be kept away, and the Japanese had to abandon their relative isolation. However, they had achieved a national cohesion and strength that stood them in good stead as they confronted the wider world in modern times. They were also ready to accept and take advantage of the economic, political, and scientific technology that the West had developed during Japan's period of self-imposed isolation.



Vocabulary

intermittent

vying

priority

legitimize

social disruption

proselytize

colonialism

recant

subversive

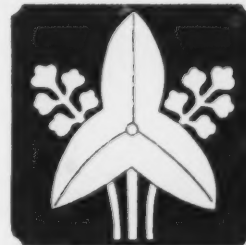
mercantile

consolidation

stabilization

stagnant

cohesion



Questions for Discussion

1. What factors do you think allowed Japan to isolate itself successfully at this time? List as many as you can but explain each reason you give.
2. Can you give examples of other countries that have tried to isolate themselves during certain periods of their history?

What were the reasons?

How successful were they?

Castle Towns

This excellent, broad-ranging unit complete with class activities and slides was produced in 1981 by Teaching Japan in Schools (TJS) at Stanford University.

The statement of purpose, introduction list of objectives, and table of contents of the unit are reproduced below for your reference.

The unit can be ordered from:

The Japan Project/SPICE
Room 200, Lou Henry Hoover Building
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305
tel: (415)723-1114

Price: Text \$29.95 (includes slides and text)

PURPOSE

The purpose of this unit is to introduce students to the historical tradition of a non-Western nation seen within the comparative concept of feudalism. This will be done partly through a look at Tokugawa Japan itself, and partly through a comparative examination of the concept of feudalism. Although the unit deals mainly with a specific time span in Japanese history, it will nevertheless prepare students to make broad generalizations regarding the history and development of other world areas.

INTRODUCTION

Edwin Reischauer theorizes that Japan's ability to move easily into the modern world is due to her having had a feudal period similar to Western feudalism. This theory is still generating controversy, but the castle, the towns that grew up around castles, and the people who lived in these towns and castles are accepted as key elements in Japan's modernization by people on either side of Reischauer's thesis. This unit focuses on these three elements and can be used in secondary school classes of world geography, history or culture. Though the unit primarily concerns Japan, there are points where comparisons can be made to similar phenomena in the West. How far such comparative studies can be taken is left to the individual instructor.

The unit is a slide-based introduction to life in Japan during the late feudal period (16th-19th centuries, known as either the Tokugawa or Edo Period). The slides focus on architecture and defense features of the castle, the rise of castle towns as nascent urban centers, and those who lived in the castle towns. Students interpret the slides in a closed-inquiry fashion to derive some basic features of location geography (that is, the relationship between topography and human activity).

A castle town maze, an activity designed especially for 7th-9th grade students, adds a first-hand sense of how towns were established to protect the castle from opposing forces. Older students will deal more with the daily life of the four classes in Japanese society during the Tokugawa Period. Supplementary materials for both student and teacher can be used to extend the unit.

OBJECTIVES

Knowledge

Students will

- learn basic features of Japanese history during the late feudal period;
- understand the physical structure and functions of Japanese castles which can be used as a basis for comparison with European castles;
 - understand the relationship between castle activities and the resultant creation of castle towns;
 - learn the definition of feudalism;
 - learn the four classes of feudal Tokugawa society, which may then be compared with Europe under feudalism or contemporary class structure in Europe, Japan, or the United States;
- discuss the transformation from an agricultural economy to a mercantile economy;
- define and differentiate between the concepts of status and power; nobility, emperor, and samurai.

Attitude

Students will

- appreciate the importance and relevance of another country's historical tradition;
- begin to understand and thus demystify the concept of "samurai";
- realize the fluidity of life in the Tokugawa Period, thus reexamining the idea that the class structure was rigidly adhered to.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

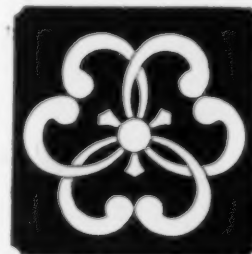
SLIDE CREDITS

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Tokugawa Thought

The establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1600 brought a state of peace to Japan that lasted almost uninterruptedly for more than two and a half centuries. For the first time Confucianism, a philosophy of ethical cultivation imported many centuries earlier from China that is most meaningful when applied to the rule of an already stabilized society, became more than just a subject of private interest to Japanese intellectuals and was adopted by a government (the Shogunate) as an orthodox political and social creed. The "Pax Tokugawa" (Tokugawa Peace) stimulated the development of education, which in turn promoted the study not only of Confucianism but also of other philosophies and schools of thought. As a result, the Tokugawa period witnessed the greatest flourishing of philosophy and philosophic speculation in premodern Japanese history. Whereas the Chinese have been known from earliest times as philosophers, the Japanese had devoted their cultural lives mostly to other pursuits, such as the quest for beauty (aestheticism) in the arts. Not until the Tokugawa period did the Japanese turn their attention importantly to the world of philosophy.

This major historical subject of Tokugawa period philosophy and thought can be researched most conveniently in the widely used text Sources of Japanese Tradition,* containing primary source selections with introductions.

*Ryusaku Tsunoda et al., Sources of Japanese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), Part Four, pp. 305-588.

Shogun

Shogun, the best selling novel by James Clavell, has proved to be very popular reading among secondary level students. From the story we learn a great deal about the cultural differences between Japanese and Westerners in samurai times. Some of these differences are still present today.

Students who are interested in feudal history might be assigned an independent project to read and report on the novel.

Related Teaching Units:

SHOGUN: A GUIDE FOR CLASSROOM USE by TJS

Designed to accompany either the novel or the television mini-series, the booklet includes, "in addition to synopses of episodes from the TV version, a glossary of Japanese terms, comparative chronology (1400-1600 A.D.), bibliography, an introductory essay and three classroom activities which may be used independently of the mini-series. Classroom lessons focus on geography, trade, and ethnocentrism, and include both historical and contemporary applications."

TJS/SPICE
Room 200, Lou Henry Hoover Building
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305
PRICE: \$2.25

SHOGUN/2

SHOGUN: A LEARNING PACKAGE, by Art Worlds, Inc.

Essays by prominent scholars, focussing on the TV series, could be used with the novel as well. Illustrated, 16 pp.

Acamedia

450 Briar Place, Suite 4-M

Chicago, IL 60657

VIEWERS GUIDE TO JAMES CLAVELL'S SHOGUN by Frederic and Mary Ann Brussat. 8 pp.

CIStems, Inc.

Cultural Information Service

P.O. Box 92

New York, NY 10156

CASTLE TOWNS: AN INTRODUCTION TO TOKUGAWA JAPAN, by Teaching Japan in the Schools.

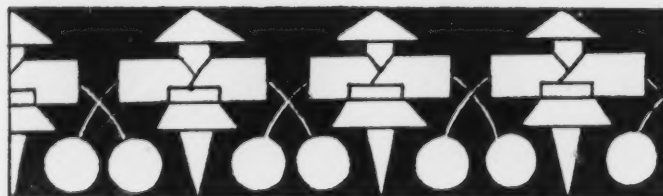
See description under unit of this title above in the TRADITIONAL HISTORY section.

Other Books about Samurai

Mishima Yukio, THE WAY OF THE SAMURAI, New York: Basic Books, 1977.

Turnbull, S.R., THE SAMURAI: A MILITARY HISTORY, New York: MacMillan, 1977.

Yamamoto Tsunetomo, THE BOOK OF THE SAMURAI: HAGAKURE, Kodansha International, 1979.



Bushidō: The Way of the Samurai

INTRODUCTION

After the unification of Japan in 1590 and the establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1600, the samurai (warriors) remained at the top of the social scale but had fewer and fewer chances to prove their valor in battle. As opportunities to fight decreased, and samurai were employed in peacetime government positions, more attention was given to the values that defined their class. One of the most important was the loyalty samurai owed to the lord they served. In fact, the word samurai itself comes from a verb that means "to serve."

The lord or other high-ranking members of a clan often wrote out codes of behavior for the clan retainers. Among them, a work called Hagakure, or "hidden leaves", has come to be seen as the one which best describes bushidō, the "way of the samurai." It was written down in the early eighteenth century by a young samurai named Tashirō Tsuramoto, who was recording the wisdom he had learned over seven years of talks with an older, retired samurai of the Nabeshima clan named Yamamoto Tsunetomo. His ideas were expressed in conversations with his young disciple and so the resulting book is not a systematic code of rules. But some ideas are repeated often enough to be seen as essential to his thought.

TO THE TEACHER

The selections below are grouped by theme. If you intend to choose only a few of the selections for class use, it is recommended that you choose at least one selection from each of the groupings. The groupings are separated by a solid line.



HAGAKURE: THE BOOK OF THE SAMURAI

(Student Selections)

* The Way of the Samurai is found in death. When it comes to either/or, there is only the quick choice of death. It is not particularly difficult. Be determined and advance. To say that dying without reaching one's aim is to die a dog's death is the frivolous way of sophisticates. When pressed with the choice of life or death, it is not necessary to gain one's aim.

We all want to live. And in large part we make our logic according to what we like. But not having attained our aim and continuing to live is cowardice. This is a thin dangerous line. To die without gaining one's aim is a dog's death and fanaticism. But there is no shame in this. This is the substance of the Way of the Samurai. If by setting one's heart right every morning and evening, one is able to live as though his body were already dead, he gains freedom in the Way. His whole life will be without blame, and he will succeed in his calling.

* There is surely nothing other than the single purpose of the present moment. A man's whole life is a succession of moment after moment. If one fully understands the present moment, there will be nothing else to do, and nothing else to pursue. Live being true to the single purpose of the moment.

Everyone lets the present moment slip by, then looks for it as though he thought it were somewhere else. No one seems to notice this fact. But grasping this firmly, one must pile experience upon experience. And once one has come to this understanding he will be a different person from that point on, though he may not always bear it in mind.

When one understands this settling into single-mindedness well, his affairs will thin out. Loyalty is also contained within this single-mindedness.

Acknowledgment: These selections are all taken from Hagakure: The Book of the Samurai by Yamamoto Tsunetomo, translated by William Scott Wilson. Reprinted by permission of Kodansha International.

* Meditation on inevitable death should be performed daily. Every day when one's body and mind are at peace, one should meditate upon being ripped apart by arrows, rifles, spears and swords, being carried away by surging waves, being thrown into the midst of a great fire, being struck by lightning, being shaken to death by a great earthquake, falling from thousand-foot cliffs, dying of disease or committing seppuku [ritual suicide] at the death of one's master. And every day without fail one should consider himself as dead.

There is a saying of the elders that goes, "Step from under the eaves and you're a dead man. Leave the gate and the enemy is waiting." This is not a matter of being careful. It is to consider oneself as dead beforehand.

* Nakano Jin'emon constantly said, "A person who serves when treated kindly by the master is not a retainer. But one who serves when the master is being heartless and unreasonable is a retainer. You should understand this principle well."

* When Hotta Kaga no kami Masamori was a page to the shogun, he was so headstrong that the shogun wished to test what was at the bottom of his heart. To do this, the shogun heated a pair of tongs and placed them in the hearth. Masamori's custom was to go to the other side of the hearth, take the tongs, and greet the master. This time, when he unsuspectingly picked up the tongs, his hands were immediately burned. As he did obeisance in his usual manner, however, the shogun quickly got up and took the tongs from him.

* A man is a good retainer to the extent that he earnestly places importance in his master. This is the highest sort of retainer. If one is born into a prominent family that goes back for generations, it is sufficient to deeply consider the matter of obligation to one's ancestors, to lay down one's body and mind, and to earnestly esteem one's master. It is further good fortune if, more than this, one had wisdom and talent and can use them appropriately. But even a person who is good for nothing and exceedingly clumsy will be a reliable retainer if only he has the determination to think earnestly of his master. Having only wisdom and talent is the lowest tier of usefulness.



* A certain general said, "For soldiers other than officers, if they would test their armor, they should test only the front. Furthermore, while ornamentation on armor is unnecessary, one should be very careful about the appearance of his helmet. It is something that accompanies his head to the enemy's camp."

* At times of great trouble or disaster, one word will suffice. At times of happiness, too, one word will be enough. And when meeting or talking with others, one word will do. One should think well and then speak. This is clear and firm, and one should learn it with no doubts. It is a matter of pouring forth one's whole effort and having the correct attitude previously. This is very difficult to explain but is something that everyone should work on in his heart. If a person has not learned this in his heart, it is not likely that he will understand it.

* The essentials of speaking are in not speaking at all. If you think that you can finish something without speaking, finish it without saying a single word. If there is something that cannot be accomplished without speaking, one should speak with few words, in a way that will accord well with reason.

To open one's mouth indiscriminately brings shame, and there are many times when people will turn their backs on such a person.

* These are the teachings of Yamamoto Jin'emon:

Singlemindedness is all-powerful.

Tether even a roasted chicken.

Continue to spur a running horse.

A man who will criticize you openly carries no connivance.

A man exists for a generation, but his name lasts to the end of time.

Money is a thing that will be there when asked for. A good man is not so easily found.

Walk with a real man one hundred years and he'll tell you at least seven lies.

To ask when you already know is politeness. To ask when you don't know is the rule.

Wrap your intentions in needles of pine.

One should not open his mouth wide or yawn in front of another.

Do this behind your fan or sleeve.

A straw hat or helmet should be worn tilted toward the front.

Vocabulary

code

frivolous

sophisticates

fanaticism



Questions for Discussion

1. What did it mean to a samurai to live as though already dead?

How does it relate to "being true to the single purpose of the moment"?

How would it help make a man brave?
loyal?

2. How does this samurai attitude toward death compare to the Buddhist doctrine of nonattachment? (See unit on "The Origins of Buddhism" in the RELIGION section of the workbook.)

How do the ultimate goals of the two ways of thinking differ?

3. Why is "a person who serves when treated kindly by the master . . . not a retainer"?

What does this attitude tell you about the value of loyalty as practiced by a retainer?

As received by a master?

How does the story of Hotta Masamori illustrate this?

Why are wisdom and talent the "lowest tier of usefulness"?

4. Why should soldiers test only the front of their armor?

Why does it matter how the helmet looks when a dead warrior's head is brought back to the enemy's camp?

5. Does the emphasis on speaking seldom and using few words relate to the attitude toward death?

Toward singlemindedness?

6. How is shame experienced?

What connection does it have to loyalty?

7. How do you explain the inclusion of matters of etiquette ("One should not open his mouth wide . . . etc.") in the way of the samurai?

Similarly, how would you explain the inclusion of matters of dress?

Supplementary Exercise



Read and discuss the unit that follows on The Forty-Seven Rōnin. Compare the attitude toward loyalty in that fictionalized version of an historical event with this commentary on the event from the Hagakure:

A certain person was brought to shame because he did not take revenge. The way of revenge lies in simply forcing one's way into a place and being cut down. There is no shame in this. By thinking that you must complete the job you will run out of time. By considering things like how many men the enemy has, time piles up; in the end you will give up.

No matter if the enemy has thousands of men, there is fulfillment in simply standing them off and being determined to cut them all down, starting from one end. You will finish the greater part of it.

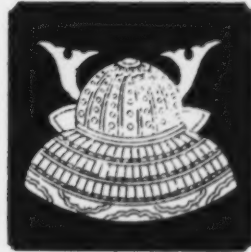
Concerning the night assault of Lord Asano's rōnin, the fact that they did not commit seppuku at the Sengakuji was an error, for there was a long delay between the time their lord was struck down and the time when they struck down the enemy. If Lord Kira had died of illness within that period, it would have been extremely regrettable. Because the men of the Kamigata area have a very clever sort of wisdom, they do well at praiseworthy acts but cannot do things indiscriminately, as was done in the Nagasaki fight.*

Although all things are not to be judged in this manner, I mention it in the investigation of the Way of the Samurai. When the time comes, there is no moment for reasoning. And if you have not done your inquiring beforehand, there is most often shame. Reading books and listening to people's talk are for the purpose of prior resolution.

Above all, the Way of the Samurai should be in being aware that you do not know what is going to happen next, and in querying every item day and night. Victory and defeat are matters of the temporary force of circumstances. The way of avoiding shame is different. It is simply in death.

Even if it seems certain that you will lose, retaliate. Neither wisdom nor technique has a place in this. A real man does not think of victory or defeat. He plunges recklessly towards an irrational death. By doing this, you will awaken from your dreams.

* "... The Nagasaki fight resulted from a man's accidentally splashing mud on a samurai of another clan. [Yamamoto] Tsunetomo feels that the men involved acted properly, because they took revenge immediately, without pausing to consider the cause or the consequences of what they were doing."



Note: The translation of the Hagakure: The Book of the Samurai used in this unit is by William Scott Wilson, published by Kodansha International, 1979. Another translation, by Takao Mukoh, The Hagakure: A Code to the Way of the Samurai, is available from the Hokuseido Press, 1980. Both have introductions and notes. They can be obtained from:

Kinokuniya Bookstore
10 West 49th Street
New York, NY
(212)765-1461

The main office of the publisher of the Wilson translation used in this unit is Kodansha International/USA, 10 East 53rd Street, New York, NY, 10022.

TRADITIONAL HISTORY

Reading

Film

Primary Source

The Tale of 47 Rōnin

TO THE TEACHER

After the class has read this introduction to "The Tale of the 47 Rōnin" you may wish to have them read and/or dramatize the play Chūshingura: The Treasury of Loyal Retainers, which was written in 1748 for puppet theater based on this historical event. The play is available, as translated by Donald Keene, from Columbia University Press, 136 South Broadway, Irvington, NY, 10533; price: \$10.00 paperback; \$25.00 hardcover; add \$2.00 for postage and handling.

THE TALE OF THE FORTY-SEVEN RŌNIN (Masterless Samurai)

The Event

During the stillness of the night of January 30, 1703, forty-six masterless samurai (rōnin) burst into the Edo mansion of a government official, Lord Kira, killed him, and took his head to the grave of their former master Lord Asano in proof that they had avenged his death. Lord Kira had, nearly two years earlier, goaded their young Lord Asano into misbehavior for which he had been condemned to die. His loyal former retainers secretly plotted and finally successfully executed their revenge. As a mark of respect for their loyalty, the government allowed the rōnin--sentenced to death for the killing--to commit suicide rather than submit to execution.

Their story has been a favorite among Japanese since. Many books, plays, movies, and TV shows have been based on their story, which has as much meaning as legends of Jesse James or Robin Hood have for Americans.

The Significance

In the Tokugawa period (1600-1868), samurai ideals were refined and codified even as the warriors no longer had cause to do battle. The ideal of selfless commitment, even the glorification of dying to express one's honor as a samurai, served as a mark of class as much as the swords that only samurai could wear.

In a rigidly structured class society, each class (samurai, peasants, merchants, artisans) had its own particular standards and values. For a member of a class that defined its worth by ideals of loyalty and service, to be masterless was to be in a kind of limbo. Rōnin were samurai who had fallen from a high social position to a place outside the social scale entirely. Most often men became rōnin because of defeat in battle, dereliction of duty, or because their masters suffered some disgrace. By contrast, in the American tradition of romanticizing outlaws, independence of spirit is idealized rather than specific loyalties, and to be unconnected to a respected position in society does not invariably imply disgrace.

The motives and actions of the rōnin, however, reflect ideals of Tokugawa society with which modern Japanese still have sympathy. Contemporary Japanese still value loyalty highly and identify closely with the groups to which they belong. For example, a businessman will introduce himself by saying his company's name before his own; the ties a student forms with his classmates in a school or university last throughout his career. A reading of the play will provide not only its own drama (and melodrama), but many examples of the ideal of loyalty and devotion to something outside oneself that account for the continuing popularity of the story.

The Play

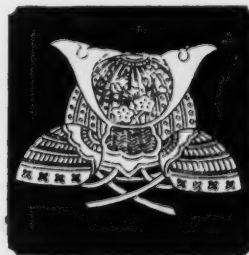
The version of the story that has influenced all later retellings was a play written in 1748 for the puppet theater: Chūshingura: The Treasury of Loyal Retainers. Its main plot is based on the 1703 incident, but it is set in 1338 in order to avoid government censorship. Lord Asano becomes Lord Enya, and Kira is called Kō no Moronao. Various subplots are added, and we see the rōnin in all aspects of life--in love and in conflict as well as in conspiracy.

In one subplot, the leader of the conspiracy, Yuranosuke, pretends to have sunk into chronic drunkenness. He flirts with Okaru, who was sold into prostitution so that her husband, Kampei, could join the conspiracy. Kampei proves his worthiness

only as he dies, and becomes the forty-seventh member of the conspiracy posthumously. In another subplot, Yuranosuke's son Rikiya refuses to marry the woman he loves knowing he will soon die, although he cannot reveal his reason. Her father, who has acted prudently and without a true samurai disregard of death, restores his own honor by serving the conspirators and by finally dying well. These acts reunite his daughter with her love, if only for a night. There are more subplots as well as additions in later versions.

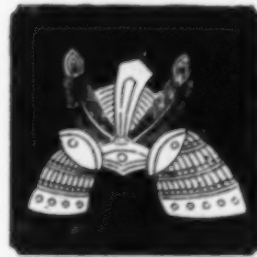
Involved as the rōnin were over the many months between the death of their lord and their act of revenge with finding means to live (since rōnin lost their livelihoods when dismissed from service), with loves, greed and generosity, secrecy and fellowship, they were committed to this final act that they all knew would end in their own deaths. So while the emotions the people in the play Chūshingura feel--the love between parents and children, or husband and wife--are universal, they are expressed very differently, are directed toward different ends, and expressed in different actions. The story provides many examples of the classic tension the Japanese see existing between giri (duty) and ninjō (human feeling), a tension that should always be resolved in favor of giri.*

* Note that the character who fails to make this commitment to duty is dropped from the group, and only regains his honor through a very complicated process after his death.



Vocabulary

goad
revenge
legend
refine
codify
selfless



Questions for Discussion

1. A rōnin was a samurai with no master, and had something of the image of an outlaw or bandit in the American West. The word samurai itself came from a word meaning "to serve." How do you think it felt to be a samurai, but to have no master?

How do you think you would be viewed by the rest of society?

2. Today, a student who fails the entrance exam to a particular college, and takes a year off after high school to study in order to take the exam again, is called a rōnin. What does such a student have in common with a rōnin of premodern times?

3. Why was it a mark of respect for the government to allow the rōnin to commit suicide rather than be executed?

4. The suicide ritual was called seppuku--what we sometimes call hara-kiri, or "stomach cutting"--and required the warrior to slit open his own belly with a knife. A second person, or assistant, would then end his pain by swiftly decapitating him with a sword. Why was ritual suicide performed in such a painful way?

What does it all tell about samurai values?

5. What values in contemporary, postindustrial Japan would account for the continued popularity of this story?

What values in our own society have made figures such as Jesse James and Robin Hood or even Mr. T, popular heroes?

How do the values of the two modern societies compare in these heroes?

Forms of Drama

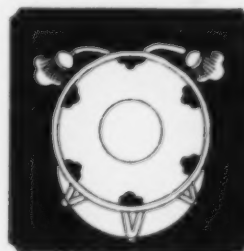
NOH

KYŌGEN

KABUKI

BUNRAKU (PUPPET THEATRE)

All of the above, well-known Japanese dramatic forms developed during the feudal period. Refer to the units in the DRAMA section of the workbook to provide students with another perspective on Japanese history during this period.



TRADITIONAL HISTORY / Resources

GENERAL INTRODUCTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF JAPAN

I. CULTURAL MAP OF JAPAN NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY

This 3-foot, plastic coated, double-sided map has on one side a topographical map of the Japanese islands, showing places of major interest and briefly describing their historical significance. On the reverse side there is a time line and four small maps of Japan covering the periods A.D. 552-710, 710-1185, 1185-1868, modern Japan to 1945. Highly recommended.

Available from: The National Geographic Society
Washington, DC 20036
Price: \$4.00

II. Audio-visual resources available from the International Society for Educational Information (ISEI), Inc., Tokyo

(Film) THE SCROLL OF TIME: A VISUAL HISTORY OF JAPAN, by ISEI, Inc.

Although the film was designed for a college-level audience, it is a visually beautiful overview of Japanese history from the prehistoric period to modern times, and useful for showing the continuity of cultural development. 33 minutes, color.

Price: 16mm, \$750.00, 8mm/video cassette tape, \$500.00.*

(Slides) THE HISTORY OF JAPAN, by the ISEI, Inc.

One hundred slides trace the history of the country from ancient times to the present, with an accompanying cassette-taped narration and script.

Price: \$49.00*

All available from:

International Society for Educational
Information, Inc. (ISEI)
Koryo Building
18 Wakaba 1-chome
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
JAPAN

*Many of the resources are also available for free rental from Asian studies outreach centers around the country. See the list of the centers in the INTRODUCTION section of the workbook. Contact in particular the centers at the University of Washington, the University of Michigan, Stanford University, or Yale University.

III. Print resources available from the Japan Information Service

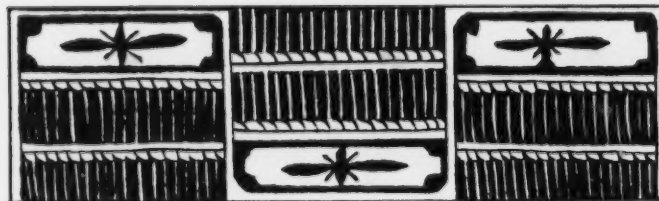
(Booklet) AN INTRODUCTION TO JAPANESE HISTORY, by Scott F. Rinkle (Tokyo: ISEI Press & Mainichi Newspapers, 1974), 52 pp.

An illustrated history with an emphasis on modern Japan. Bibliography. Available free from the Japanese Consulate. In New York:

Japan Information Center
Consulate General of Japan*
299 Park Avenue, 18th Floor
New York, NY 10171-0025

Price: free

*Offices also in: Anchorage, Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Guam, Honolulu, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Portland (Oregon), San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.



MODERN HISTORY / CONTENTS

The units in this section are designed to highlight important events in Japan's history from the Meiji Restoration in 1868 through the postwar era.

HISTORY: OUTLINE OF PERIODS (Reading)

divides Japanese history from 1868 to the present into three periods, providing teachers with a synopsis of major events placed in the context of overall historical developments.

COMMODORE PERRY AND JAPAN (Reading/Primary Source Selections)

explores Japan's decision to open itself to the West: Japan's response to the forced "opening" of Yokohama by Commodore Matthew Perry of the U.S. Navy in 1853. What changes were already underway in Japan in 1853? How were they accelerated? Why did Western powers, and particularly the United States, want to establish trade and diplomatic relations with Japan?

The letter of United States President Millard Fillmore to His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, along with two letters from Commodore Perry to the Emperor, accompany the unit as primary source selections.

JAPAN MEETS THE WEST: A CASE STUDY OF PERCEPTIONS (Resource)

provides information on a highly recommended unit including slides, primary source selections, and class activities that is produced by The Japan Project at Stanford University.

THE MEIJI RESTORATION AND MODERNIZATION (1868-1930) (Reading)

examines the deliberate plan by Japan's new leaders to strengthen and modernize the nation so that Japan could deal with the outside world as an equal. In the international context of the period:

- What did it mean for a nation to be "equal?"
- What did it mean to be "modern?"
- How did Japan's leaders view "modernization" and "Westernization?"
- What factors made it possible for Japan to transform itself into a major power so rapidly?
- How far-reaching was the transformation?
- Was Japanese imperialism different from Western imperialism?

JAPAN'S QUEST FOR POWER AND WORLD WAR II IN ASIA

(Film Guide/Map Exercise/Reading)

examines Japan's expansion into Asia and its challenge to Western positions there; the roots of militarism; the provocations and the justifications of Japan's gamble of war against the United States; Pearl Harbor from the Japanese and the American points of view.

- What developments led to the war? what opportunities were missed which might have avoided it?
- What roles did the Japanese military, government leaders, businessmen, and the people themselves play in the road to war?

THE ATOMIC BOMB (Film Guide/Reading/Primary Source Selections)

based on one student reading and three films, examines the decision by the United States to drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 and the decision by the Japanese leadership to surrender; the historical, physical, and psychological impact of the atomic attack on the Japanese.

Three documents accompany this unit as primary source selections: Report of the Interim Committee on Military Use of the Atomic Bomb (May 1945); Report of the Franck Committee on a Non-Combat Demonstration of the Atomic Bomb (June 1945); Potsdam Declaration (July 26, 1945).

THE OCCUPATION: DEMOCRATIC REFORM UNDER THE ALLIES (Reading)

outlines Japan's second transformation of its political and economic system under the American Occupation (1945-1952) and continuing to the present.

- What psychological effects has the atomic bomb had on the Japanese people?
- What was the rationale for making Japan democratic?
- What elements did American architects of Japan's postwar reforms think were essential to democracy?
- Why did some reforms made under the Occupation last when others did not?

THE JAPANESE: CREATIVE CULTURAL BORROWERS (Reading)

concludes the history section, discussing how Japan has been able to repeatedly, throughout its history, change itself and its institutions without losing its cultural cohesion.

Japan's political, economic, and social history since 1950 is treated in more detail in the sections on GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, ECONOMY AND TRADE, and SOCIETY.

TO THE TEACHER

Scholars at one time spoke of the "miracle" of Japan's modernization after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. More recently, it has been abundantly shown that in many ways Japan was already "modern" by the time of the Restoration. For example, Japan had a literacy rate comparable to those of many Western countries in the late nineteenth century, it had a high degree of urbanization and a large pool of skilled labor, it had extensive educational channels and facilities that could be utilized for modern, mass training of citizens, and its people had a generally secular (as distinct from a restrictively religious) outlook that enabled them quite readily to accept the scientific and related views of the modern world.

Teachers of modern Japan should be prepared to point out to their students and direct them to the readings that will demonstrate how much of the ingredients for modernization Japan already had at the time of the Meiji Restoration.

For student background on Japan at the time of Commodore Perry's arrival in 1853 and the Meiji Restoration of 1868, turn to the several units on feudal Japan in the TRADITIONAL HISTORY section of the workbook. See in particular the units on "Castle Towns," "Tokugawa Thought," and "Self-Imposed Isolation."

Modern History/ Outline of Periods

Modern Japanese history can be divided into four periods:

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 1600-1868: | The period of the Tokugawa shoguns; feudal political order with economic and social change occurring in a gradual manner; the traditional society from which modern Japan developed. |
| 1868-1890 | The early Meiji period; rapid modernization and dramatic change of political, social, and economic institutions, meeting the challenge of the West by following its model. |
| 1890-1945: | Imperial Japan; constitutional polity with the emperor as reigning monarch; industrialization, urbanization, and an increasingly mobile society; drive for international status and world power, including imperialism in Asia and finally war with the United States. |
| 1945-present: | Contemporary Japan; democratic reform under the allied occupation; stable political democracy, high economic growth, flourishing middle-class society, and new status as an economic and cultural world power. |

BACKGROUND TO THE MEIJI RESTORATION

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Japan's ruling Shogunate was a weak, feudal order, unable to control all its own domains, much less defend the nation against a threat from the Western powers. This threat materialized in 1853 with the arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry and a squadron of the U.S. Navy demanding that Japan open commerce with the West. The result was a series of "unequal" treaties in which Japan was forced to concede special economic and legal privileges to the Western powers. Beside Japan lay China--weak and humiliated, an example of what could befall a great Asian nation unable to defend itself against Western imperialism. Determined that Japan should not share China's fate, and convinced that modernization depended on abolishing the feudal order, a group of middle-ranking samurai overthrew the military government of the Shogun in 1868 and set Japan peaceably on a course of radical modernization perhaps unparalleled in history. Carried out in the name of restoring rule to the emperor, who then took the reign name "Meiji" meaning "enlightened rule," the Meiji Restoration was in many ways a profound revolution.

THE MEIJI RESTORATION AND MODERNIZATION (1868-1890)

The new leaders studied the political, economic, and social institutions of the Western powers and selectively adopted those suited to their purpose. A constitution was promulgated which established a parliamentary government but left it accountable to the emperor rather than to the people. Administrative power was centralized in a national bureaucracy which also ruled in the name of the emperor. The classes were declared equal, so that samurai and their lords lost their feudal privileges, while merchants--formerly despised as unproductive--came to play an important role in the life of the nation.

The enthusiastic adoption of new Western technologies caused an explosion of industrial productivity and diversification. A national military and universal conscription were established. Compulsory public education was introduced both to teach the skills needed for the new nation and to inculcate values of citizenship in all Japanese.

Related units: Commodore Perry and Japan; The Meiji Restoration

IMPERIAL JAPAN: INDUSTRIALIZATION AND EXPANSION (1890-1930)

This was a period of social and economic change within the constitutional monarchy established in 1890. As the original architects of the Restoration died, the various branches of the government began competing for power. An oligarchy bound closely

OUTLINE OF PERIODS/3

by its members' shared conception of national purpose was replaced by an aggregate of interest groups--the Parliament, civil bureaucracy, military, and Imperial Household--all vying for the ear of the Emperor in whose name they administered the government.

Japanese industry expanded, both in light export industries like textiles, which were necessary to pay for the raw materials needed from abroad, and also in heavy industries like steel and shipbuilding. Cities grew, as more Japanese moved from farming into jobs in factories and offices. In the countryside larger landlords came to own more and more land, and the number of poor tenants increased. Always dependent on foreign trade, Japan was hard hit by the world depression that began in 1929. The farmers who had grown the silk that was exported to the United States found no market for their product once the roaring twenties and the craze for silk stockings collapsed with the stock market crash. Japan's dramatic economic growth slowed, and social problems increased, especially in the countryside.

At the same time that the leaders of imperial Japan pursued modernization and economic growth, they continued to address the issue of Japan's unequal status in the international order. In 1894, more than forty years after Commodore Perry pried Japan open to the outside world, Japan finally succeeded in revising the unequal treaties so that it regained its legal parity with the Western powers. Japan fought a war against China in 1894-95 over the control of Korea and gained Taiwan, Japan's first colony. In 1902 Japan signed an alliance with Great Britain, which signified a dramatic increase in international status, and in 1904-5, Japan won a war against Russia, one of the major Western powers. In the process Japan expanded its empire, annexing Korea in 1910. Japan was allied with the United States and Britain in World War I, and expected territorial gains at the Versailles peace conference in 1919. Instead Japan met with strong opposition from the United States and learned again the lesson that the West regarded imperialism very differently if it was the imperialism of an Asian rather than a European power. The failure of the Japanese to get a clause on racial equality inserted into the covenant of the League of Nations was an insult that was compounded in 1924 when the U.S. barred all Japanese from immigration.

The setbacks and insults from abroad, against a background of economic depression, sowed public frustration with the political leadership at home. Even more, military units under the field commands in Manchuria grew impatient with the politicians' apparent inability to translate any of their military victories into political gains. Increasingly, Japanese were persuaded by the militarists' contention that Japan's security lay in consolidating her access to markets and resources in Asia.

Related units: The Meiji Restoration; Japanese Expansion and World War II in East Asia

JAPAN'S QUEST FOR POWER AND WORLD WAR II IN ASIA

The impatience of field commanders in Manchuria finally came to a head in 1931, when they used a local provocation as an excuse to put all the Japanese territory in Manchuria under control of the military. The move presented Japan's civilian government at home with an accomplished fact which it could scarcely afford to reject. The military-industrial machine went into high gear, pulling Japan out of its depression as it continued to expand Japanese hegemony across the Far East. As Holland, France, and Germany were enveloped in the turmoil in Europe, Japan looked to replace them in Asia. Japanese troops invaded China in 1937, and French Indochina in 1940, setting up puppet governments to administer areas too vast to be controlled by the Japanese armies.

Alarmed by Japan's increasing usurpation of Western prerogatives in the Far East--and disregard for the rights of the local populations--the United States delivered an ultimatum to Japan--steel and oil exports to Japan would be cut off unless Japan got out of China. In the context of rapidly worsening relations, Japan decided to make a daring surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, where 90 percent of the U.S. Navy was deployed. The preemptive strike bought Japan time--it took the United States, many times its superior in industrial strength, a full year to gain the offensive on Japan. Japan's string of early successes--the Philippines, Hong Kong, British Malaya and Singapore, and the Dutch East Indies--left its navy scattered across the Pacific while its army was bogged down in China. When the United States recovered its forces lost in Pearl Harbor, its navy and army were able to conduct an "island-hopping strategy" of cutting off the Japanese commands one by one from their supply routes.

By 1945, the U.S. forces were close enough to launch damaging bombing attacks from nearby islands against Japan itself. Its cities devastated by fire bombing, its economy barely functioning, and its people on the brink of starvation, the Japanese government still held out hope that with the assistance of the Russians, Swiss, or Swedes they would be able to negotiate an end to the war. Unaware of the secret agreement among the allies at Yalta, Japan was shocked when Russia too entered the war against Japan. Two days earlier, the United States had dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, a medium-size industrial city. The day after the Russian declaration of war, the second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, the port city where Japan had first opened itself to Westerners. Japan agreed to unconditional surrender and the Emperor himself went on the radio to make the announcement of surrender to the Japanese people.

Related units: Japanese Expansion and World War II in East Asia; The Atom Bomb

CONTEMPORARY JAPAN (1945-PRESENT)

For the next seven years, the allied powers occupied Japan. After Japan's military forces were demobilized and repatriated, the Occupation, led by General Douglas MacArthur of the U.S. army, turned to the problem of making Japan democratic with the hope that its people would never again be led to fight a war of aggression. To that end, a new constitution was adopted with two key provisions: sovereignty was transferred from the Emperor to the people, and Japan as a nation renounced war and even the right to build up a military force capable of it.

Under land reform, tenant farmers were given the land they worked and industrial workers were allowed to form trade unions. "Zai-batsu" or large business-combines which had been part of the military-industrial machine were partially dismantled. Democracy was popularized in the media and schools, and the "moral training" that had fostered extreme nationalism was abolished.

Most of the reforms made under the Occupation have been retained by Japan. The United States changed some of the more liberal provisions it had encouraged early in the Occupation as it grew more fearful of Communism in the Cold War. With American support, Japan rebuilt many of its wartime industries to supply U.S. forces in the Korean War and entered into a security treaty with the United States which established Japan in an important role in America's Asian defense strategy. By 1955 the Japanese economy had regained its highest prewar production levels, and a stable political system was established with the conservative and pro-American Liberal Democratic Party's control of the government, which has not been seriously challenged to this day.

Related units: The American Occupation, 1945-1952; Article 9 and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty in the section on FOREIGN RELATIONS

1955-present. Domestic politics entered a stable period, as the Liberal Democratic Party maintained a solid majority in the Diet (parliament) and emphasized close relations with the United States as well as economic growth. Japan achieved record economic growth--averaging 10 percent a year until this decade. Its economy grew from one less productive than Italy to the third largest in the world, behind only the United States and the Soviet Union. Growth has been especially strong in heavy industry, such as steel, chemicals and machinery, and in high technology. Almost totally dependent on imports of food and energy, Japan began to face increasing protectionism abroad and serious pollution problems at home. Although Japan has brought pollution under control, trade frictions continue. As one of the most advanced postindustrial societies in the world, the Japanese people enjoy increasing prosperity and the benefits of a thriving middle-class society. Now Japan is contributing its talents in art, music, and fashion to the mainstream of world culture.

Related units: all units included in the sections on GOVERNMENT, ECONOMY AND TRADE, FOREIGN POLICY and SOCIETY.

Commodore Perry and Japan

"THE BLACK SHIPS OF EVIL MIEN**"

For over two centuries under the rule of the shoguns, Japan was isolated from much of the rest of the world. On July 8, 1853, Commodore Matthew Perry of the United States Navy, commanding a squadron of two steamers and two sailing vessels, sailed into Tokyo harbor aboard the frigate "Susquehanna" and forced Japan to deal with the world outside its borders. To meet this challenge, Japan changed its feudal political structure under the shogun, creating a modern government administration nominally headed by the emperor, and then it changed its feudal society and economy to model itself after the powerful Western nations.

What Did the American Fleet Demand?

On behalf of the U.S. government, Commodore Perry demanded a treaty permitting trade and opening Japanese ports to U.S. merchant ships. This was the era when all Western powers were seeking to open new markets for their manufactured goods abroad, and new countries to supply raw materials for industry. It was clear that Commodore Perry could impose his demands by force. The Japanese had no navy with which to defend themselves, and thus they had to agree to the demands.

* "mien" means appearance

** By "the West," we mean here the nations of Europe and the United States, which were the first to industrialize and go abroad in search of markets and materials for their industries.

Perry's small squadron itself was not enough to force the massive changes that then took place in Japan, but the Japanese knew that his ships were just the tip of the Western** sword aimed at their islands. Russia, Britain, France, and Holland all followed Perry's example and used their fleets to force Japan to sign treaties that promised regular relations and trade. They did not just threaten Japan--they used their navies in combination on several occasions to defeat and disarm any of the Japanese feudal domains that defied them.

Tokugawa Japan into which Perry Sailed

Japan at this time was ruled by the shogun ("great general") from the Tokugawa family. The Tokugawa shogunate had been founded about 250 years earlier, in 1603, when Tokugawa Ieyasu (his surname is Tokugawa) and his allies defeated an opposing coalition of feudal lords to establish dominance over the many contending warlords. But while Tokugawa became dominant, receiving the title of shogun from the politically powerless emperor, he did not establish a completely centralized state. Instead, he replaced opposing feudal lords with relatives and allies, who were free to rule within their domains with only a few restrictions. The Tokugawa shoguns prevented alliances against them by forbidding marriages among the other feudal lords and forcing them to spend every other year under the shogun's eye in Edo (now Tokyo), the shogunal capital--in a kind of organized hostage system.

It was the third shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu, who enforced isolation from much of the rest of the world in the seventeenth century, believing that influences from abroad (meaning trade, Christianity, and guns) could shift the balance that existed between the shogun and the feudal lords. He was proven right two centuries later, when change came in the form of Perry's ships.

Japan's Response: Rapid Change under Samurai Leadership

Upon seeing Perry's fleet sailing into their harbor, the Japanese called them the "black ships of evil mien (appearance)." But Japan's resistance to the West soon gave way to a different approach: the defeated samurai did not despair; instead, they were anxious to examine and copy the ships and guns that had overwhelmed them.

The first change in response to Perry's challenge was political. The feudal government of the Tokugawa shogun fell when samurai, who were discontented with its failure to expel the Western nations, allied with others, who were simply ambitious, to rally around the emperor in opposition. At this time the emperor was essentially powerless--Western visitors thought that he was a kind of Japanese pope. But in 1868, by defeating the shogun's government and transferring his lands, wealth, and authority to the emperor, the coalition of powerful feudal lords and lower-

level samurai and court officials "restored" the emperor as the head of a much more centralized, efficient, and powerful political structure. The emperor took the reign title of Meiji ("enlightened rule"), and hence began the period known as the Meiji Restoration.

The Meiji emperor was not in direct control of the government. Rather he had provided a rallying symbol for the different groups and individuals who had united in opposition to the shogun. There soon emerged a small number of ambitious and talented samurai who became the emperor's advisers and established and controlled the new government.

These advisers skillfully used the moment of political change to reduce the power and privileges of the feudal lords and their own samurai class. They established a centralized, bureaucratic state, which the shoguns had never been able to create. Behind their success was the threat of Western domination, the same danger that had stimulated them to ally in overthrowing the shogun.

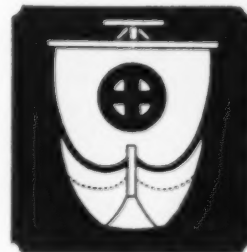
The revolutionaries' original motto, sonnō jōi (revere the emperor and expel the barbarians), was replaced with the pragmatic fukoku kyōhei (enrich the country, strengthen the army). Under this motto they carried out the transformation of Japan. You will read more about this in the exercise on Meiji Restoration.

Recommended Resource

For further reading and student reports:
Newbury Honor Book

COMMODORE PERRY IN THE
LAND OF THE SHOGUN
by Rhoda Blumberg
(New York: Lothrop, Lee
and Shepard Books, 1985)

Full description provided in workbook
unit MODERN HISTORY/RESOURCES.



Discussion

1. How did the reform-minded Japanese samurai react to the challenge of the Western nations? How do you react when another group or person is better at something than you are? What if it is another sports team that is better?
2. Does the United States as a country study what other countries in the world are doing to learn from them? Keep this question in mind for discussion when you read later exercises on "Secrets of Japan's Economic Success" and "Is Japan Number One?."

Questions

1. Why did the United States government send Commodore Perry to Japan?
2. What was Japan like when Perry arrived?
3. Why was Japan isolated from most of the rest of the world at that time?
4. Why did the Japanese call Perry's fleet "black ships of evil mien"?
5. Who was the shogun?
6. Why did reform-minded samurai restore the emperor? What type of state did they establish under the emperor?

Exercise

Pretend you are a newspaper reporter for a New York paper at the time of Perry's arrival in Japan. Write an article describing his arrival and the Japanese reaction.

Then pretend you are a reporter for a Japanese newspaper in 1853. Write an article on Perry's arrival for your paper.

Vocabulary

shogun

isolate

squadron

nominally

domain

hostage

pragmatic



Primary Source Selections

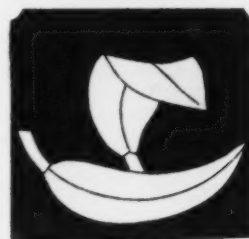
PRESIDENT MILLARD FILLMORE ADDRESSES THE JAPANESE EMPEROR

Document 1. Letter of Millard Fillmore, President of the United States of America to His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan (November 13, 1852)

Document 2. Letter of Commodore Perry to the Emperor (July 7, 1853)

Document 3. Letter of Commodore Perry in Connection with the Delivery of a White Flag (July 14, 1853)

Acknowledgment: Documents 1 and 2 were taken from Francis L. Hawks, compiler, Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China and Japan, performed in the years 1852, 1853, and 1854, under the Command of Commodore M. C. Perry, United States Navy, by Order of the Government of the United States, I. Washington, D.C., A.O.P. Nicholson, Printer, 1856, pp. 256-59. Document 3 is from Meiji Japan through Contemporary Sources, Volume Two: 1844-1882, compiled and published by the Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, c/o The Toyo Bunko, Honkomagome 2-chome 28-21, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo, 113 Japan. Reprinted by permission.



DOCUMENT 1

Letter of Millard Fillmore, President of the United States of America, to His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan,* November 13, 1852.

GREAT and Good Friend: I send you this public letter by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, an officer of the highest rank in the navy of the United States, and commander of the squadron now visiting your imperial majesty's dominions.

I have directed Commodore Perry to assure your imperial majesty that I entertain the kindest feelings towards your majesty's person and government, and that I have no other object in sending him to Japan but to propose to your imperial majesty that the United States and Japan should live in friendship and have commercial intercourse with each other.

The Constitution and laws of the United States forbid all interference with the religious or political concerns of other nations. I have particularly charged Commodore Perry to abstain from every act which could possibly disturb the tranquility of your imperial majesty's dominions.

The United States of America reach from ocean to ocean, and our Territory of Oregon and State of California lie directly opposite to the dominions of your imperial majesty. Our steamships can go from California to Japan in eighteen days.

Our great State of California produces about sixty millions of dollars in gold every year, besides silver, quicksilver, precious stones, and many other valuable articles. Japan is also a rich and fertile country, and produces many very valuable articles. Your imperial majesty's subjects are skilled in many of the arts. I am desirous that our two countries should trade with each other, for the benefit both of Japan and the United States.

We know that the ancient laws of your imperial majesty's government do not allow of foreign trade, except with the Chinese and the Dutch; but as the state of the world changes and new governments are formed, it seems to be wise, from time to time, to make new laws. There was a time when the ancient laws of your imperial majesty's government were first made.

About the same time America, which is sometimes called the New World, was first discovered and settled by the Europeans. For a long time there were but a few people, and they were poor. They have now become quite numerous; their commerce is very extensive; and they think that if your imperial majesty were so far to change the ancient laws as to allow a free trade between the two countries it would be extremely beneficial to both.

If your imperial majesty is not satisfied that it would be safe altogether to abrogate the ancient laws which forbid foreign trade, they might be suspended for five or ten years, so as to try the experiment. If it does not prove as beneficial

* In fact it was addressed to the *Shogun*.

as was hoped, the ancient laws can be restored. The United States often limit their treaties with foreign states to a few years, and then renew them or not, as they please.

I have directed Commodore Perry to mention another thing to your imperial majesty. Many of our ships pass every year from California to China; and great numbers of our people pursue the whale fishery near the shores of Japan. It sometimes happens, in stormy weather, that one of our ships is wrecked on your imperial majesty's shores. In all such cases we ask, and expect, that our unfortunate people should be treated with kindness, and that their property should be protected, till we can send a vessel and bring them away. We are very much in earnest in this.

Commodore Perry is also directed by me to represent to your imperial majesty that we understand there is a great abundance of coal and provisions in the Empire of Japan. Our steamships, in crossing the great ocean, burn a great deal of coal, and it is not convenient to bring it all the way from America. We wish that our steamships and other vessels should be allowed to stop in Japan and supply themselves with coal, provisions, and water. They will pay for them in money, or anything else your imperial majesty's subjects may prefer; and we request your imperial majesty to appoint a convenient port, in the southern part of the empire, where our vessels may stop for this purpose. We are very desirous of this.

These are the only objects for which I have sent Commodore Perry, with a powerful squadron, to pay a visit to your imperial majesty's renowned city of Edo: friendship, commerce, a supply of coal and provisions, and protection for our shipwrecked people.

We have directed Commodore Perry to beg your imperial majesty's acceptance of a few presents. They are of no great value in themselves; but some of them may serve as specimens of the articles manufactured in the United States, and they are intended as tokens of our sincere and respectful friendship.

May the Almighty have your imperial majesty in His great and holy keeping!

In witness whereof, I have caused the great seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, and have subscribed the same with my name, at the city of Washington, in America, the seat of my government, on the thirteenth day of the month of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two.

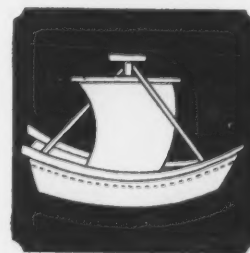
[Seal attached.]

Your good friend,

Millard Fillmore.

By the President:

Edward Everett, Secretary of State.



DOCUMENT 2

**Letter of Commodore Perry to the Emperor,
July 7, 1853.**

*United States Steam Frigate Susquehanna,
Off the Coast of Japan.*

THE undersigned, commander-in-chief of all the naval forces of the United States of America stationed in the East India, China and Japan seas, has been sent by his government of this country, on a friendly mission, with ample powers to negotiate with the government of Japan, touching certain matters which have been fully set forth in the letter of the President of the United States, copies of which, together with copies of the letter of credence of the undersigned, in the English, Dutch, and Chinese languages, are herewith transmitted.

The original of the President's letter, and of the letter of credence, prepared in a manner suited to the exalted station of your imperial majesty, will be presented by the undersigned in person, when it may please your majesty to appoint a day for his reception.

The undersigned has been commanded to state that the President entertains the most friendly feelings towards Japan, but has been surprised and grieved to learn that when any of the people of the United States go, of their own accord, or are thrown by the perils of the sea, within the dominations of your imperial majesty, they are treated as if they were your worst enemies.

The undersigned refers to the cases of the American ships *Morrison*, *Lagoda*, and *Lawrence*.

With the Americans, as indeed with all Christian people, it is considered a sacred duty to receive with kindness, and to succour and protect all, of whatever nation, who may be cast upon their shores, and such has been the course of the Americans with respect to all Japanese subjects who have fallen under their protection.

The government of the United States desires to obtain from that of Japan some positive assurance that persons who may hereafter be shipwrecked on the coast of Japan, or driven by stress of weather into her ports, shall be treated with humanity.

The undersigned is commanded to explain to the Japanese that the United States are connected with no government in Europe, and that their laws do not interfere with the religion of their own citizens, much less with that of other nations.

That they inhabit a great country which lies directly between Japan and Europe, and which was discovered by the nations of Europe about the same time that Japan herself was first visited by Europeans; that the portion of the American continent lying nearest to Europe was first settled by emigrants from that part of the world; that its population has rapidly spread through the country, until it has reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean; that we have now large

cities, from which, with the aid of steamvessels, we can reach Japan in eighteen or twenty days; that our commerce with all this region of the globe is rapidly increasing, and the Japan seas will soon be covered with our vessels.

Therefore, as the United States and Japan are becoming every day nearer and nearer to each other, the President desires to live in peace and friendship with your imperial majesty, but no friendship can long exist, unless Japan ceases to act towards Americans as if they were her enemies.

However wise this policy may originally have been, it is unwise and impracticable now that the intercourse between the two countries is so much more easy and rapid than it formerly was.

The undersigned holds out all these arguments in the hope that the Japanese government will see the necessity of averting unfriendly collision between the two nations, by responding favourably to the propositions of amity, which are now made in all sincerity.

Many of the large ships-of-war destined to visit Japan have not yet arrived in these seas, though they are hourly expected; and the undersigned, as an evidence of his friendly intentions, has brought but four of the smaller ones, designing, should it become necessary, to return to Edo in the ensuing spring with a much larger force.

But it is expected that the government of your imperial majesty will render such return unnecessary, by acceding at once to the very reasonable and pacific overtures contained in the President's letter, and which will be further explained by the undersigned on the first fitting occasion.

With the most profound respect for your imperial majesty, and entertaining a sincere hope that you may long live to enjoy health and happiness, the undersigned subscribes himself,

M. C. Perry,

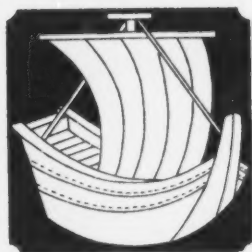
*Commander-in-chief of the United States Naval Forces
in the East India, China, and Japan seas.*

To His Imperial Majesty,
the Emperor of Japan.



DOCUMENT 3**Perry's Letter in Connection with the Delivery of
a White Flag, [July 14,] 1853.**

For years several countries have applied for trade, but you have opposed them on account of a national law. You have thus acted against divine principles and your sin cannot be greater than it is. What we say thus does not necessarily mean, as has already been communicated by the Dutch boat, that we expect mutual trade by all means. If you are still to disagree we would then take up arms and inquire into the sin against the divine principles, and you would also make sure of your law and fight in defence. When one considers such an occasion, however, one will realize the victory will naturally be ours and you shall by no means overcome us. If in such a situation you seek for a reconciliation, you should put up the white flag that we have recently presented to you, and we would accordingly stop firing and conclude peace with you, turning our battleships aside.



Questions for Discussion

1. If you were the Japanese officials receiving these letters, what would you think the American intentions were?

What if any difference would you see between President Fillmore's letter and those of Commodore Perry?

2. Imagine that you are the Shogun and write a reply to President Fillmore.



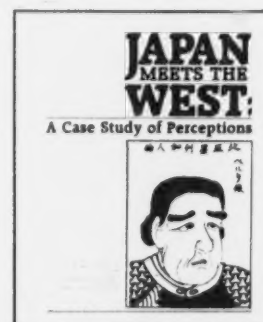
Japan Meets the West

A CASE STUDY OF PERCEPTIONS

This engaging and effective unit includes a slide show of Japanese artists' impressions of Westerners from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries, primary source readings regarding Westerners' impressions of the Japanese, and activities that examine contemporary mutual images held by Japanese and Americans. Activities include "The Shape of the World," "Viewing Contemporary Japan," "East and West in the 20th Century," "Visit with a Japanese Student," "Japanese Friends," and "How We Present Ourselves to the World."

Available from: Center for Teaching International Relations
(CTIR)
Publications
University of Denver
Denver, CO 80208

Price: \$19.75 including slides



Additional Resources

COMMODORE PERRY IN THE LAND OF THE SHOGUN
by Rhoda Blumberg (c 1985, 129 pp.)

Available from: Lothrop, Lee and Shepard Books (a division
of William Morrow Books)
105 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10016

Price: \$13.00

This Newberry Honor Book is an excellent library resource for further reading and student reports. Beautifully illustrated, it includes information on the negotiations between Japanese and Americans and a list of gifts exchanged by both sides.

(Slides) THE MODERN HISTORY OF JAPAN, prepared by the ISEI, Inc.

Sixty excellent slides of contemporary photographs and prints, an accompanying cassette-taped narration and script, and a 26-page booklet of historical background and discussion questions. A good visual introduction to modern (1868 to postwar) Japanese history.

Available from: International Society for Educational
Information (ISEI)
Koryo Building
18 Wakaba 1-chome
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
JAPAN

To the teacher: It is recommended that you distribute the Questions for Discussion to students prior to assigning the reading in order to focus their attention on important aspects of this period in Japanese history.

The Meiji Restoration and Modernization

By this oath we set up as our aim the establishment of the national weal on a broad basis and the framing of a constitution and laws.

1. Deliberative assemblies shall be widely established and all matters decided by public discussion.
2. All classes, high and low, shall unite in vigorously carrying out the administration of affairs of state.
3. The common people, no less than the civil and military officials, shall each be allowed to pursue his own calling so that there may be no discontent.
4. Evil customs of the past shall be broken off and everything based upon the just laws of Nature.
5. Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule.

The Charter Oath of 1868
drawn up by young samurai
reformers*

*Source: Sources of Japanese Tradition, volume II, compiled by Ryusaku Tsunoda, Wm. Theodore deBary and Donald Keene (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 137.

JAPAN ANSWERS THE CHALLENGE OF THE WESTERN WORLD

In 1868 the Tokugawa shogun ("great general"), who ruled Japan in the feudal period, lost his power and the emperor was restored to the supreme position. The emperor took the name Meiji ("enlightened rule") as his reign name; this event was known as the Meiji Restoration.

The Reign of the Meiji Emperor

When the Meiji Emperor was restored as head of Japan in 1868, the nation was a militarily weak country, technologically backward and primarily agricultural. It was controlled by hundreds of independent feudal lords. The Western powers--Europe and the United States--had forced Japan to sign treaties that limited its control over its own foreign trade and required that crimes concerning foreigners in Japan were to be tried not in Japanese but in Western courts. When the Meiji period ended, with the death of the emperor in 1912, Japan had

- a highly centralized, bureaucratic government;
- a constitution establishing an elected parliament;
- a well-developed transport and communication system;
- a highly educated population free of feudal class restrictions;
- an established and rapidly growing industrial sector based on the latest technology;
- a powerful army and navy.

It had regained complete control of its foreign trade and legal system, and, by fighting and winning two wars (one of them against a major European power, Russia), it had established full independence and equality in international affairs. In a little more than a generation, Japan had exceeded its goals, and in the process had changed its whole society. Japan's success in modernization has created great interest in why and how it was able to adopt Western political, social, and economic institutions in so short a time.

One answer is found in the Meiji Restoration itself. This political revolution "restored" the emperor to power, but he did not rule directly. He was expected to accept the advice of the group that had overthrown the shogun, and it was from this group that a small number of ambitious, able, and patriotic young men from the lower ranks of the samurai emerged to take control and establish the new political system. At first, their only strength was that the emperor accepted their advice and several powerful feudal

domains provided military support. They moved quickly, however, to build their own military and economic control. By July 1869 the feudal lords had been requested to give up their domains, and in 1871 these domains were abolished and transformed into prefectures of a unified central state.

The feudal lords and the samurai class were offered a yearly stipend, which was later changed to a one-time payment in government bonds. The samurai lost their class privileges, when the government declared all classes to be equal. By 1876 the government banned the wearing of the samurai's swords; the former samurai cut off their top knots in favor of Western-style haircuts and took up jobs in business and the professions.

The armies of each domain were disbanded, and a national army based on universal conscription was created in 1872, requiring three years' military service from all men, samurai and commoner alike. A national land tax system was established that required payment in money instead of rice, which allowed the government to stabilize the national budget. This gave the government money to spend to build up the strength of the nation.

Resistance and Rebellion Defeated

Although these changes were made in the name of the emperor and national defense, the loss of privileges brought some resentment and rebellion. When the top leadership left to travel in Europe and the United States to study Western ways in 1872, conservative groups argued that Japan should reply to an insulting Korean statement with an invasion. This would help patriotic samurai to regain their importance. But the new leaders quickly returned from Europe and reestablished their control, arguing that Japan should concentrate on its own modernization and not engage in such foreign adventures.

For the next twenty years, in the 1870s and 1880s, the top priority remained domestic reform aimed at changing Japan's social and economic institutions along the lines of the model provided by the powerful Western nations. The final blow to conservative samurai came in the 1877 Satsuma rebellion, when the government's newly drafted army, trained in European infantry techniques and armed with modern Western guns, defeated the last resistance of the traditional samurai warriors. With the exception of these few samurai outbreaks, Japan's domestic transformation proceeded with remarkable speed, energy, and the cooperation of the people. This phenomenon is one of the major characteristics of Japan's modern history.

Ideology

In an effort to unite the Japanese nation in response to the Western challenge, the Meiji leaders created civic ideology centered around the emperor. Although the emperor wielded no political power, he had long been viewed as a symbol of Japanese culture and historical continuity. He was the head of the Shinto religion, Japan's native religion. Among other beliefs, Shinto holds that the emperor is descended from the sun goddess and the gods who created Japan and therefore is semidivine. Westerners of that time knew him primarily as a ceremonial figure. The Meiji reformers brought the emperor and Shintoism to national prominence, replacing Buddhism as the national religion, for political and ideological reasons. By associating Shinto with the imperial line, which reached back into legendary times, Japan had not only the oldest ruling house in the world, but a powerful symbol of age-old national unity.

The people seldom saw the emperor, yet they were to carry out his orders without question, in honor to him and to the unity of the Japanese people, which he represented. In fact, the emperor did not rule. It was his "advisers," the small group of men who exercised political control, that devised and carried out the reform program in the name of the emperor.

Social and Economic Changes

The abolition of feudalism made possible tremendous social and political changes. Millions of people were suddenly free to choose their occupation and move about without restrictions. By providing a new environment of political and financial security, the government made possible investment in new industries and technologies.

The government led the way in this, building railway and shipping lines, telegraph and telephone systems, three shipyards, ten mines, five munitions works, and fifty-three consumer industries (making sugar, glass, textiles, cement, chemicals, and other important products). This was very expensive, however, and strained government finances, so in 1880 the government decided to sell most of these industries to private investors, thereafter encouraging such activity through subsidies and other incentives. Some of the samurai and merchants who built these industries established major corporate conglomerates called zaibatsu, which controlled much of Japan's modern industrial sector.

The government also introduced a national educational system and a constitution, creating an elected parliament called the Diet. They did this to provide a good environment for national growth, win the respect of the Westerners, and build support for the modern state. Under the shogun, primarily the samurai class

was educated, but in 1872 the government established a system to educate the entire population. By the end of the Meiji period, almost everyone attended the free public schools for at least six years. The government closely controlled the schools, making sure that in addition to skills like mathematics and reading, all students studied "moral training," which stressed the importance of their duty to the emperor, the country and their families.

The 1889 constitution was "given" to the people by the emperor, and only he (or his advisers) could change it. A parliament was elected beginning in 1890, but it was forced to share power with the government. Only the wealthiest 1 percent of the population could vote in elections. In 1925 this was changed to allow all men (but not yet women) to vote.

To win the recognition of the Western powers and convince them to change the unequal treaties the Japanese had been forced to sign in the 1850s, Japan changed its entire legal system, adopting a new criminal and civil code modeled after those of France and Germany. The Western nations finally agreed to revise the treaties in 1894, acknowledging Japan as an equal in principle, although not in international power.

The International Climate: Colonialism and Expansion

In 1894 Japan fought a war against China over its interest in Korea, which China claimed as a vassal state. The Korean peninsula is the closest part of Asia to Japan, less than 100 miles by sea, and the Japanese were worried that the Russians might gain control of that weak nation. Their sudden, decisive victory over China surprised the world and worried some European powers.

At this time the European nations were beginning to claim special rights in China--the French, with their colony in Indochina (today's Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia), were involved in South China; the British also claimed special rights in South China, near Hong Kong, and later the whole Yangtze valley; and the Russians, who were building a railway through Siberia and Manchuria, were interested in North China. After Japan's victory and the signing of the peace treaty, which gave Japan special rights on China's Liaotung peninsula, France, Russia, and Germany combined to pressure Japan to give up those rights. In addition, each of these nations began to force China to give it ports, naval bases, and special economic rights, with Russia taking the same Liaotung peninsula that Japan had been forced to return.

The Japanese government was angered by this incident and drew the lesson that for Japan to maintain its independence and receive equal treatment in international affairs, it was necessary to strengthen its military even further. By 1904, when the Russians

were again threatening to establish control over Korea, Japan was much stronger. It declared war on Russia and, using all its strength, won victory (beginning with a surprise naval attack on Port Arthur, which gained control of the China Sea). Japan thus achieved dominance over Korea and established itself a colonial power in East Asia.

The Speed of Japan's Transformation

When the Meiji Emperor died in 1912, the Japanese people and government could be proud of their success in transforming a weak feudal society into a unified nation with an increasingly advanced economy, a powerful military, and legal, political, education, and social systems modeled after those of the powerful Western nations. Japan had established its position as an important world power.

Why was Japan, in contrast to China, India, and other major Asian countries, able to change and build quickly the military and economic strength necessary to regain independence from Western pressure? There are many explanations:

Japan's position as an isolated island chain away from the center of Asia, coupled with its lack of valuable natural resources, made it less desirable as a colony than other Asian countries.

Its knowledge of Western nations' conquests in other parts of Asia, especially in China, and the competition among the various imperialist powers made it difficult for one power to dominate Japan.

Japan also had a well-educated, and highly motivated samurai class, a dynamic entrepreneurial sector, and efficient and productive agriculture.

Finally, Japan's long history as a nation with relatively little ethnic or regional conflict made unified national action easier.

These factors all helped Japan to change quickly and meet the Western challenge.

It appears that Japan was able to accomplish in a little over 50 years (1853-1912) changes that had taken 300 years to evolve in the West--the creation of a unified state, establishment of parliamentary government, the rise of manufacturing and industry.

MEIJI RESTORATION AND MODERNIZATION/7

The speed with which the changes took place in Japan is deceiving, however. There were many developments in Japan before 1850 which had laid the basis for the changes that took place. Economic growth was already underway, and the feudal classes were beginning to perform different roles in society; the castle towns served as the beginning of an urban network; and there was educational and intellectual ferment.

The challenge of the West in the 1850s provided the spark that ignited and focused these various developments which were already taking place in Japan. The will and ability to exploit these strengths, however, seems rooted in the self-confidence, pragmatism, and resilience of the samurai leadership and the Japanese people.

The Period 1912-1945

The patterns established in the Meiji period continued and developed for the next forty years, until Japan's defeat and occupation by the allied military forces. At the same time, however, Japanese society witnessed profound changes tending to undermine the values and the political system of the late nineteenth century. Not until the 1930s did it become clear that the emperor-based political system would prevail, strengthened by its continued success and by ideological appeals to the people's loyalty and obedience.

During the Taisho period (1912-1945), both Japanese society and the Japanese political system were significantly more open than they were either before or after that decade. The period has often been called the period of "Taisho democracy." One explanation is that, until World War I, Japan enjoyed record breaking economic prosperity. The Japanese people had more money to spend, more leisure, and better education, supplemented by the development of mass media. Increasingly they lived in cities where they came into contact with influences from abroad and where traditional authority of the extended family was less influential. Industrialization in itself undermined traditional values, emphasizing instead efficiency, independence, materialism, and individualism. During these years Japan saw the emergence of a "mass society" very similar to the "Roaring 20s" in the United States. During these years also, the Japanese people began to demand universal manhood suffrage which they won in 1925. Political parties increased their influence, becoming powerful enough to appoint their own prime ministers between 1918 and 1931.

At the end of World War I, however, Japan entered a severe economic depression. The bright, optimistic atmosphere of the Taisho period gradually disappeared. Political party government was marred by corruption. The government and military, consequently, grew stronger, the parliament weaker. The advanced industrial sector became increasingly controlled by a few giant businesses, the zaibatsu. Moreover, Japan's international

relations were disrupted by trade tensions and by growing international disapproval of Japan's activities in China. But, success in competing with the European powers in East Asia strengthened the idea that Japan could, and should, further expand its influence on the Asian mainland by military force.

Japan's need for natural resources and the repeated rebuffs from the West to Japan's attempts to expand its power in Asia paved the way for militarists to rise to power. Insecurity in international relations allowed a right-wing militaristic faction to control first foreign, then domestic, policy.

Summary

The most important feature of the Meiji period was Japan's struggle for recognition of its considerable achievement and for equality with Western nations. Japan was highly successful in organizing an industrial, capitalist state on Western models. But when Japan also began to apply the lessons it learned from European imperialism, the West reacted negatively. In a sense Japan's chief handicap was that it entered into the Western dominated world order at a late stage. Colonialism and the racist ideology that accompanied it, were too entrenched in Western countries to allow an "upstart," nonwhite nation to enter the race for natural resources and markets as an equal. Many of the misunderstandings between the West and Japan stemmed from Japan's sense of alienation from the West, which seemed to use a different standard in dealing with European nations than it did with a rising Asian power like Japan.



Primary Source Selection

THE MEIJI CONSTITUTION*

Preamble

Having, by virtue of the glories of Our Ancestors, ascended the Throne of a lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal; desiring to promote the welfare of, and to give development to the moral and intellectual faculties of Our beloved subjects, the very same that have been favored with the benevolent care and affectionate vigilance of Our Ancestors; and hoping to maintain the prosperity of the State, in concert with Our people and with their support, We hereby promulgate, in pursuance of Our Imperial Rescript of the 12th day of the 10th month of the 14th year of Meiji, a fundamental law of State, to exhibit the principles, by which We are to be guided in

Our conduct, and to point out to what Our descendants and Our subjects and their descendants are forever to conform.

The rights of sovereignty of the State, We have inherited from Our Ancestors, and We shall bequeath them to Our descendants. Neither We nor they shall in future fail to wield them, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution hereby granted.

We now declare to respect and protect the security of the rights and of the property of Our people, and to secure to them the complete enjoyment of the same, within the extent of the provisions of the present Constitution and of the law.

The Imperial Diet shall first be convoked for the 23rd year of Meiji and the time of its opening shall be the date when the present Constitution comes into force.

When in the future it may become necessary to amend any of the provisions of the present Constitution, We or Our successors shall assume the initiative right, and submit a project for the same to the Imperial Diet. The Imperial Diet shall pass its vote upon it, according to the conditions imposed by the present Constitution, and in no otherwise shall Our descendants or Our subjects be permitted to attempt any alteration thereof.

Our Ministers of State, on Our behalf, shall be held responsible for the carrying out of the present Constitution, and Our present and future subjects shall forever assume the duty of allegiance to the present Constitution.

Chapter I

The Emperor

ARTICLE I. The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.

ARTICLE II. The Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by Imperial male descendants, according to the provisions of the Imperial House Law.

ARTICLE III. The Emperor is sacred and inviolable.

ARTICLE IV. The Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining in Himself the rights of sovereignty, and exer-

*Source: Arthur E. Tiedemann, *Modern Japan: A Brief History*, (New York: D. Van Nostrand, Co.), 1962 as taken from Ito Hirobumi, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the Empire of Japan*, translated by Ito Myoji (Tokyo, 1889), *passim*.

cises them, according to the provisions of the present Constitution.

ARTICLE V. The Emperor exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Imperial Diet.

ARTICLE VI. The Emperor gives sanction to laws and orders them to be promulgated and executed.

ARTICLE VII. The Emperor convokes the Imperial Diet, opens, closes and prorogues it, and dissolves the House of Representatives.

ARTICLE VIII. The Emperor, in consequence of an urgent necessity to maintain public safety or to avert public calamities, issues, when the Imperial Diet is not sitting, Imperial Ordinances in the place of law.

Such Imperial Ordinances are to be laid before the Imperial Diet at its next session, and when the Diet does not approve the said Ordinances, the Government shall declare them to be invalid for the future.

ARTICLE IX. The Emperor issues or causes to be issued, the Ordinances necessary for the carrying out of the laws, or for the maintenance of the public peace and order, and for the promotion of the welfare of the subjects. But no Ordinance shall in any way alter any of the existing laws.

ARTICLE X. The Emperor determines the organization of the different branches of the administration, and salaries of all civil and military officers, and appoints and dismisses the same. Exceptions especially provided for in the present Constitution or in other laws, shall be in accordance with the respective provisions (bearing thereon).

ARTICLE XI. The Emperor has the supreme command of the Army and Navy.

ARTICLE XII. The Emperor determines the organization and peace standing of the Army and Navy.

ARTICLE XIII. The Emperor declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties.

ARTICLE XIV. The Emperor declares a state of siege. The conditions and effects of a state of siege shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE XV. The Emperor confers titles of nobility, rank, orders and other marks of honor.

ARTICLE XVI. The Emperor orders amnesty, pardon, commutation of punishments and rehabilitation.

ARTICLE XVII. A Regency shall be instituted in conformity with the provisions of the Imperial House Law. The Regent shall exercise the powers appertaining to the Emperor in His name.

Chapter II

Rights and Duties of Subjects

ARTICLE XVIII. The conditions necessary for being a Japanese subject shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE XIX. Japanese subjects may, according to qualifications determined in laws or ordinances, be appointed to civil or military or any other public offices equally.

ARTICLE XX. Japanese subjects are amenable to service in the Army or Navy, according to the provisions of law.

ARTICLE XXI. Japanese subjects are amenable to the duty of paying taxes, according to the provisions of law.

ARTICLE XXII. Japanese subjects shall have the liberty of abode and of changing the same within the limits of law.

ARTICLE XXIII. No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried or punished, unless according to law.

ARTICLE XXIV. No Japanese subject shall be deprived of his right of being tried by the judges determined by law.

ARTICLE XXV. Except in the cases provided for in the law, the house of no Japanese subject shall be entered or searched without his consent.

ARTICLE XXVI. Except in the cases mentioned in the law, the secrecy of the letters of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate.

ARTICLE XXVII. The right of property of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate.

Measures necessary to be taken for the public benefit shall be provided for by law.

ARTICLE XXVIII. Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.

ARTICLE XXIX. Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of law, enjoy the liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings and associations.

ARTICLE XXX. Japanese subjects may present petitions, by observing the proper forms of respect, and by complying with the rules specially provided for the same.

ARTICLE XXXI. The provisions contained in the present Chapter shall not affect the exercise of the powers appertaining to the Emperor, in times of war or in cases of a national emergency.

ARTICLE XXXII. Each and every one of the provisions contained in the preceding Articles of the present Chapter, that are not in conflict with the laws or the rules and discipline of the Army and Navy, shall apply to the officers and men of the Army and of the Navy.

Chapter III

The Imperial Diet

ARTICLE XXXIII. The Imperial Diet shall consist of two Houses, a House of Peers and a House of Representatives.

ARTICLE XXXIV. The House of Peers shall, in accordance with the Ordinance concerning the House of Peers, be composed of the members of the Imperial Family, of the orders of nobility, and of those persons who have been nominated thereto by the Emperor.

ARTICLE XXXV. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members elected by the people, according to the provisions of the Law of Election.

ARTICLE XXXVI. No one can at one and the same time be a Member of both Houses.

ARTICLE XXXVII. Every law requires the consent of the Imperial Diet.

ARTICLE XXXVIII. Both Houses shall vote upon projects of law submitted to it by the Government, and may respectively initiate projects of law.

ARTICLE XXXIX. A bill, which has been rejected by either the one or the other of the two Houses, shall not be again brought in during the same session.

ARTICLE XL. Both Houses can make representations to the Government, as to laws or upon any other subject. When, however, such representations are not accepted, they cannot be made a second time during the same session.

ARTICLE XLI. The Imperial Diet shall be convoked every year.

ARTICLE XLII. A session of the Imperial Diet shall last during three months. In case of necessity, the duration of a session may be prolonged by Imperial Order.

ARTICLE XLIII. When urgent necessity arises, an extraordinary session may be convoked, in addition to the ordinary one.

The duration of an extraordinary session shall be determined by Imperial Order.

ARTICLE XLIV. The opening, closing, prolongation of session and prorogation of the Imperial Diet, shall be effected simultaneously for both Houses.

In case the House of Representatives has been ordered to dissolve, the House of Peers shall at the same time be prorogued.

ARTICLE XLV. When the House of Representatives has been ordered to dissolve, Members shall be caused by Imperial Order to be newly elected, and the new House shall be convoked within five months from the day of dissolution.

ARTICLE XLVI. No debate can be opened and no vote can be taken in either House of the Imperial Diet, unless not less than one third of the whole number of the Members thereof is present.

ARTICLE XLVII. Votes shall be taken in both Houses by absolute majority. In the case of a tie vote, the President shall have the casting vote.

ARTICLE XLVIII. The deliberations of both Houses shall be held in public. The deliberations may, however, upon demand of the Government or by resolution of the House, be held in secret sitting.

ARTICLE XLIX. Both Houses of the Imperial Diet may respectively present addresses to the Emperor.

ARTICLE L. Both Houses may receive petitions presented by subjects.

ARTICLE LI. Both Houses may enact, besides what is provided for in the present Constitution and in the Law of the Houses, rules necessary for the management of their internal affairs.

ARTICLE LII. No Member of either House shall be held responsible outside the respective Houses, for any opinion uttered or for any vote given in the House. When, however, a Member himself has given publicity to his opinions

by public speech, by documents in print or in writing, or by any other similar means, he shall, in the matter, be amenable to the general law.

ARTICLE LIII. The Members of both Houses shall, during the session, be free from arrest, unless with the consent of the House, except in cases of flagrant delicts, or of offences connected with a state of internal commotion or with a foreign trouble.

ARTICLE LIV. The Ministers of State and the Delegates of the Government may, at any time, take seats and speak in either House.

Chapter IV

The Ministers of State and the Privy Council

ARTICLE LV. The respective Ministers of State shall give their advice to the Emperor, and be responsible for it.

All Laws, Imperial Ordinances and Imperial Rescripts of whatever kind, that relate to the affairs of the State, require the countersignature of a Minister of State.

ARTICLE LVI. The Privy Councillors shall, in accordance with the provisions for the organization of the Privy Council, deliberate upon important matters of State, when they have been consulted by the Emperor.

Chapter V

The Judicature

ARTICLE LVII. The Judicature shall be exercised by the Courts of Law according to law, in the name of the Emperor.

The organization of the Courts of Law shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE LVIII. The judges shall be appointed from among those who possess proper qualifications according to law.

No judge shall be deprived of his position, unless by way of criminal sentence or disciplinary punishment.

Rules for disciplinary punishment shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE LIX. Trials and judgments of a Court shall be conducted publicly. When, however, there exists any fear that such publicity may be prejudicial to peace and order, or to the maintenance of public morality, the public trial may be suspended by provision of law or by the decision of the Court of Law.

ARTICLE LX. All matters that fall within the competency of a special Court shall be specially provided for by law.

ARTICLE LXI. No suit at law, which relates to rights alleged to have been infringed by the illegal measures of the administrative authorities and which shall come within the competency of the Court of Administrative Litigation specially established by law, shall be taken cognizance of by a Court of Law.

Chapter VI

Finance

ARTICLE LXII. The imposition of a new tax or the modification of the rates (of an existing one) shall be determined by law.

However, all such administrative fees or other revenue having the nature of compensation shall not fall within the category of the above clause.

The raising of national loans and the contracting of other liabilities to the charge of the National Treasury, except those that are provided in the Budget, shall require the consent of the Imperial Diet.

ARTICLE LXIII. The taxes levied at present shall, in so far as they are not remodelled by a new law, be collected according to the old system.

ARTICLE LXIV. The expenditure and revenue of the State require the consent of the Imperial Diet by means of an annual Budget.

Any and all expenditures overpassing the appropriations set forth in the Titles and Paragraphs of the Budget, or that are not provided for in the Budget, shall subsequently require the approbation of the Imperial Diet.

ARTICLE LXV. The Budget shall be first laid before the House of Representatives.

ARTICLE LXVI. The expenditures of the Imperial House shall be defrayed every year out of the National Treasury, according to the present fixed amount for the same, and

shall not require the consent thereto of the Imperial Diet, except in case an increase thereof is found necessary.

ARTICLE LXVII. Those already fixed expenditures based by the Constitution upon the powers appertaining to the Emperor, and such expenditures as may have arisen by the effect of law, or that appertain to the legal obligations of the Government, shall be neither rejected nor reduced by the Imperial Diet, without the concurrence of the Government.

ARTICLE LXVIII. In order to meet special requirements, the Government may ask the consent of the Imperial Diet to a certain amount as a Continuing Expenditure Fund, for a previously fixed number of years.

ARTICLE LXIX. In order to supply deficiencies, which are unavoidable, in the Budget, and to meet requirements unprovided for in the same, a Reserve Fund shall be provided in the Budget.

ARTICLE LXX. When the Imperial Diet cannot be convoked, owing to the external or internal condition of the country, in case of urgent need for the maintenance of public safety, the Government may take all necessary financial measures, by means of an Imperial Ordinance.

In the case mentioned in the preceding clause, the matter shall be submitted to the Imperial Diet at its next session, and its approbation shall be obtained thereto.

ARTICLE LXXI. When the Imperial Diet has not voted on the Budget, or when the Budget has not been brought into actual existence, the Government shall carry out the Budget of the preceding year.

ARTICLE LXXII. The final account of the expenditures and revenue of the State shall be verified and confirmed by the Board of Audit, and it shall be submitted by the Government to the Imperial Diet, together with the report of verification of the said Board.

The organization and competency of the Board of Audit shall be determined by law separately.

Chapter VII

Supplementary Rules

ARTICLE LXXIII. When it has become necessary in future to amend the provisions of the present Constitution, a project to the effect shall be submitted to the Imperial Diet by Imperial Order.

In the above case, neither House can open the debate, unless not less than two-thirds of the whole number of Members are present, and no amendment can be passed, unless a majority of not less than two-thirds of the Members present is obtained.

ARTICLE LXXIV. No modification of the Imperial House Law shall be required to be submitted to the deliberation of the Imperial Diet.

No provision of the present Constitution can be modified by the Imperial House Law.

ARTICLE LXXV. No modification can be introduced into the Constitution, or into the Imperial House Law, during the time of a Regency.

ARTICLE LXXVI. Existing legal enactments, such as laws, regulations, Ordinances, or by whatever names they may be called, shall, so far as they do not conflict with the present Constitution, continue in force.

All existing contracts or orders, that entail obligations upon the Government, and that are connected with expenditure, shall come within the scope of ARTICLE LXVII.

Questions for Discussion



Teacher's Note: Answers to some of the questions are provided. You may wish to remove these answers before duplicating the questions for students.

1. What was the "Meiji Restoration"?

What was restored?

For what purpose?

2. Who were the Meiji reformers and what were they trying to accomplish?

3. Describe the changes that took place in Japan in the Meiji period, from 1868 to 1912. List the changes in chart form for reference.

- Politically? (unification of the state under the emperor; creation of nationalism using the emperor-based ideology; creation of a parliament; adoption of a constitution; creation of a legal system)

- Economically? (industrial development and growth of better transportation and communications systems)

- Socially? (social mobility)

- In education? (universal, free education for four, then six years)

- In foreign relations? (Japan gained its equality by revising treaties; it became a colonial power in Asia)

4. In what ways did these changes make Japan more "modern"? More "Western"? Why have the terms "modernization" and "Westernization" been confused and used to mean the same thing?

5. What is nationalism?

Why in history was the development of national identity seen as an important part of the growth of a unified nation?

6. What role does ideology play in fostering nationalism?

What ideology did the Meiji reformers put forth in Japan?

Why?

7. Would you say that the Western nations should take credit for fostering the development of Japan?

In what sense yes?

In what sense no?

8. Can you recall some of the reasons given to explain why Japan's reaction to the Western challenge and the speed with which it was able to meet this challenge were both so different from those of other Asian countries? Explain each reason you give.

9. Do you think that Japan really accomplished in just over 50 years what it took Europe 300 years to accomplish, or did the Meiji Restoration just give form to developments that had already been taking place in Japan over many years? Give reasons for your answer.

10. What was a major characteristic of international relations at the time Japan ended its isolation and began to interact with other countries? (imperialism)

If Japan was trying to be like the Western powers, what did it have to do? (establish its own colonies and spheres of influence)

Were the Western nations anxious to include Japan in the international system? In what ways yes, in what ways no?

11. From the Japanese perspective, do you think that "Westernization," "modernization," and colonial expansion (or "imperialism") were synonymous at this time? Explain.

12. Some historians contend that Japan first tried to behave like the West in Asia. Then, when Japan was thwarted by the West, its only alternative was to push the Western powers out of Asia. Can you explain this view?

Vocabulary



reign name	prefecture	phenomenon	resilience
feudal	samurai	munitions	rebuff
exceed	stipend	subsidy	alienation
domain	disband	incentive	
patriotic	conscription	conglomerates	
	stabilize	pragmatism	

MODERN HISTORY
Film Exercise
Film Guide
Map Exercises
Reading

Japan's Quest for Power and World War II in Asia

Film Exercise--Highly Recommended

Film Guide--Economic Background, Domestic Politics, Ideology

Map Exercises

Reading--Pearl Harbor, 1941

TO THE TEACHER

For students to understand the evolution of Japan's policy of expansion in East Asia, it is highly recommended that they first read the unit on Meiji Japan. You can then use the material in the film guide in this unit (irrespective of whether the films are shown) to guide students through the map exercises and reading.

Film Exercise

Film Title: The World at War Series, narrated by Laurence Olivier, produced by Thames Television International.
BANZAI! JAPAN 1931-1942 and
JAPAN: 1941-1945

Format: 16 mm, color, 60 minutes each (2 reels each)

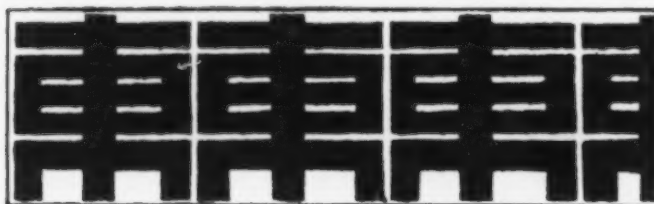
Available from: Extension Media Center
University of California
2176 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, CA 94704

Tel. (415) 642-0460

Rental fee: \$49.00 each, plus \$6.00 each, postage and handling

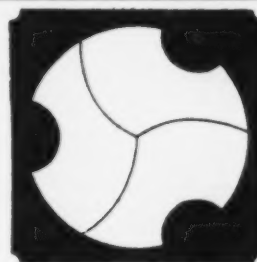
Two highly recommended documentary films examine the factors in Japan's expansion, the growing hostility between the United States and Japan leading to Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, and Japan's sweep through Southeast Asia. They then turn to portray the effects of the war effort on the Japanese people, as victories turned to defeat and military expansion resulted in economic blockage and shortages of food and other materials.

The action is fast, the commentary lively; there are excellent map diagrams and interviews with Japanese of all walks of life involved in the war--cabinet members, housewives, students, soldiers, and the commander of a kamikaze squadron.



Film Guide

THE WORLD AT WAR: 1931-1941; 1942-1945



The following selection provides background and clarifies certain points in these two one-hour films dealing with the war in the Pacific. It is suggested that you consult this background material to guide student discussion of subsequent reading and map exercises.

Economic Background

While the United States was still struggling to emerge from the Great Depression at the end of the 1930s, and would do so partly because of the war, Japan had emerged from its own period of depression, which had begun in 1926, by the mid-1930s. Many of the young soldiers mobilized into the Japanese army by the early 1930s came from the rural areas, where the effects of the depression were devastating and poverty was widespread. Their commitment to the military effort to expand Japanese territory to achieve economic security can be understood partly in these terms. The depression ended in the mid-1930s in Japan partly because of government deficits used to expand greatly heavy industry and the military.

Internationally, this was a time when "free trade" was in disrepute. The great powers not only jealously protected their special economic rights within their colonies and spheres of influence, but sought to bolster their sagging economies through high tariffs, dumping of goods, and other trade manipulation. The Japanese, with few natural resources, sought to copy this pattern. They used cutthroat trade practices to sell textiles and other light industrial goods in the East Asian and U.S. markets, severely undercutting British and European manufacturers. They also developed sources of raw materials and heavy industry in the colonies they established in Korea, Taiwan and Manchuria. Japan used high tariffs to limit imports of American and European industrial products.

The Japanese military faced a particular tactical problem in that certain critical raw materials--especially oil and rubber--were not available within the Japanese sphere of influence. Instead, Japan received most of its oil from the United States and rubber from British Malaya, the very two Western nations trying to restrict Japan's expansion. U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's embargo of oil exports to Japan pressured the Japanese navy, which had stocks for only about six months of operations.

The Japanese army, for its part, was originally concerned with fighting the Soviet Union, because of the army's preoccupation with Manchuria and China. The Japanese army governed Manchuria indirectly through the "puppet" state of Manchuria and developed heavy industry there under its favorite agencies, disliking and distrusting the zaibatsu, large Japanese corporations. But the Soviet army's resistance to Japanese attacks was sufficient to discourage northern expansion, although the Japanese did not entirely "receive a drubbing," as the film claims.

Meanwhile in 1937, the intensification of Chinese resistance to the pressure of the Japanese military drew Japan into a draining war in the vast reaches of China Proper, and in 1940 into operations in French Indochina, far to the south. Thus, when the navy pressed for a "southern" strategy of attacking Dutch Indonesia to get its oil and British Malaya to control its rubber, the army agreed.

While it seems that economic factors were important in Japanese expansion in East Asia, however, it would be too much to say that colonialism, trade protection, and the American embargo compelled Japan to take this course. Domestic politics, ideology and racism also played a role.

Domestic Politics

The political structure of Japan at this time was inherited from the Meiji era and was increasingly dominated by the military. During the Meiji period, the entire government was controlled by a small ruling group of elder statesmen who had overthrown the shogun and established the new centralized Japanese state. These men used their position to coordinate the bureaucracy, the military, the parliament, the Imperial Household, and other branches of government. Following their deaths in the early 1920s, no single governmental institution was able to establish full control, until the 1931 Manchurian Incident, when Japan took control of Manchuria. This began a process in which the military behaved autonomously on the Asian mainland and with increasing authority in politics at home.

From 1937 on, Japan was at war with China. By the time General Hideki Tojo became prime minister and the war against the U.S. began in 1941, the nation was in a state of "total war" and the military and their supporters were able to force their policies on the government and the people. The wartime regime used existing government controls on public opinion, including schools and textbooks, the media, and the police, but Japan continued to have more of an authoritarian government than a totalitarian one like Hitler's Germany. In particular, the government was never able to gain real control of the economy and the great zaibatsu, which were more interested in the economic opportunities provided by the military's policies than in submitting loyally to a patriotic mission.

The emperor has been criticized for not taking more forceful action to restrain his government, especially in light of his own known preference for peace, but Japanese emperors after the Meiji Restoration had, as the film puts it, "reigned but not ruled." One wonders if a more forceful emperor in fact could have controlled the army and navy at this late date. The doubts are strengthened in light of the difficulty the emperor had in forcing the military to accept surrender after the atomic bombings. The emperor's decision at that point to bring agreement among his advisers was an extraordinary event in Japanese history.

Ideology

The emperor-based ideology of Japan during World War II was a relatively new creation, dating from the efforts of Meiji oligarchs to unite the nation in response to the Western challenge. Before the Meiji Restoration, the emperor wielded no political power and was viewed simply as a symbol of the Japanese culture. He was the head of the Shinto religion, Japan's native religion, which holds, among other beliefs, that the emperor is descended from gods who created Japan and is therefore semidivine. Westerners of that time knew him only as a shadowy figure somewhat like a pope.

The Meiji oligarchs brought the emperor and Shintoism to national prominence, replacing Buddhism as the national religion, for political and ideological reasons--since Buddhism had originated in India and come to Japan via China. The people were not allowed to look at the emperor, or even to speak his name; patriotism had been raised to the unassailable level of sacredness.

Students may have difficulty comprehending the extreme sacrifices Japanese made in the name of the emperor. This can perhaps best be viewed, however, as extreme patriotism--Japanese were taught to give their lives, if necessary, for their emperor. But this was not entirely different from the Americans who gave their lives in the same war for their country and the "American" way. The kamikaze pilots, who were named for the "divine wind" (kami-kaze) that destroyed the Mongol fleet in the thirteenth century and saved Japan from invasion, might be compared to the young Iranian soldiers fighting in suicide squadrons in the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s, or even to fanatical Shiites responsible for the truck bombing of the U.S. Lebanese embassy in 1983.

Racism

The Japanese were proud of their many accomplishments and resented racial slurs they met with in some Western nations. Their attempt to establish a statement of racial equality in the Covenant of the League of Nations was vetoed by the United States (because of opposition in California) and Great Britain (Austrian resistance). The Japanese greatly resented this.

The Japanese military was convinced of the willingness of its

people to go to any sacrifice for their nation, and it was contemptuous of the "softness" of the U.S. and European democracies, where loyalty and patriotism were tempered by the rights and well-being of the individual. The military's overconfidence in its own abilities and underestimation of the will of these other nations were thus rooted in its own misleading ethnic and racial stereotypes. While Asians, the Japanese saw themselves as less representatives of Asia than Asia's champion. They sought to liberate Asian colonies from the Westerners, whom they disdained. But although the Japanese were initially welcomed in some Asian colonies by the indigenous populations whom they "liberated" from European domination, the arrogance and racial prejudice displayed by the Japanese military governments in these nations created great resentment. This resentment is still evident in some Southeast Asian nations.



Questions for Discussion

1. What was the economic situation in Japan around 1930?

Why was this?

2. Who dominated the government in Japan at this time?

What was their ambition?

3. Describe the international economic situation that fueled military conflict among nations.

How did Japan fit into this situation?

4. Who was General Hideki Tojo?

5. Explain what an "ideology" is?

What ideology was propagated by the Japanese leaders to unite the country behind the war?

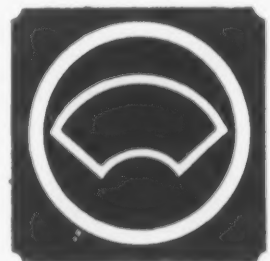
Explain what role belief in the emperor's special status played in the ideology.

What role did racism play -- the belief in the special qualities of Japanese and other Asian peoples?

6. Give an example of a situation where the Japanese felt insulted by what they perceived as the racism of Western countries.

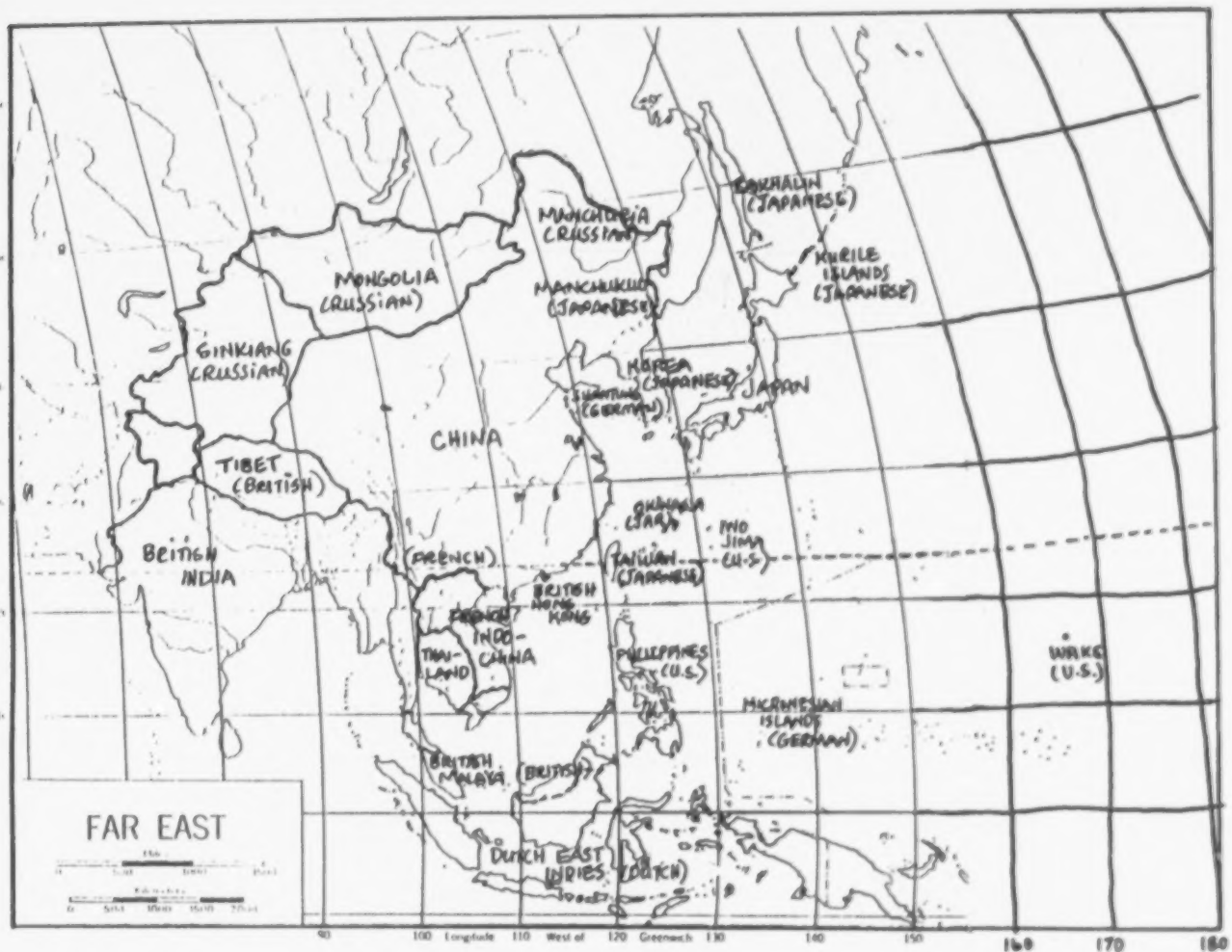
7. How did the war effort affect Japanese civilians?

How do you think they felt about the war experience?



Map Exercises

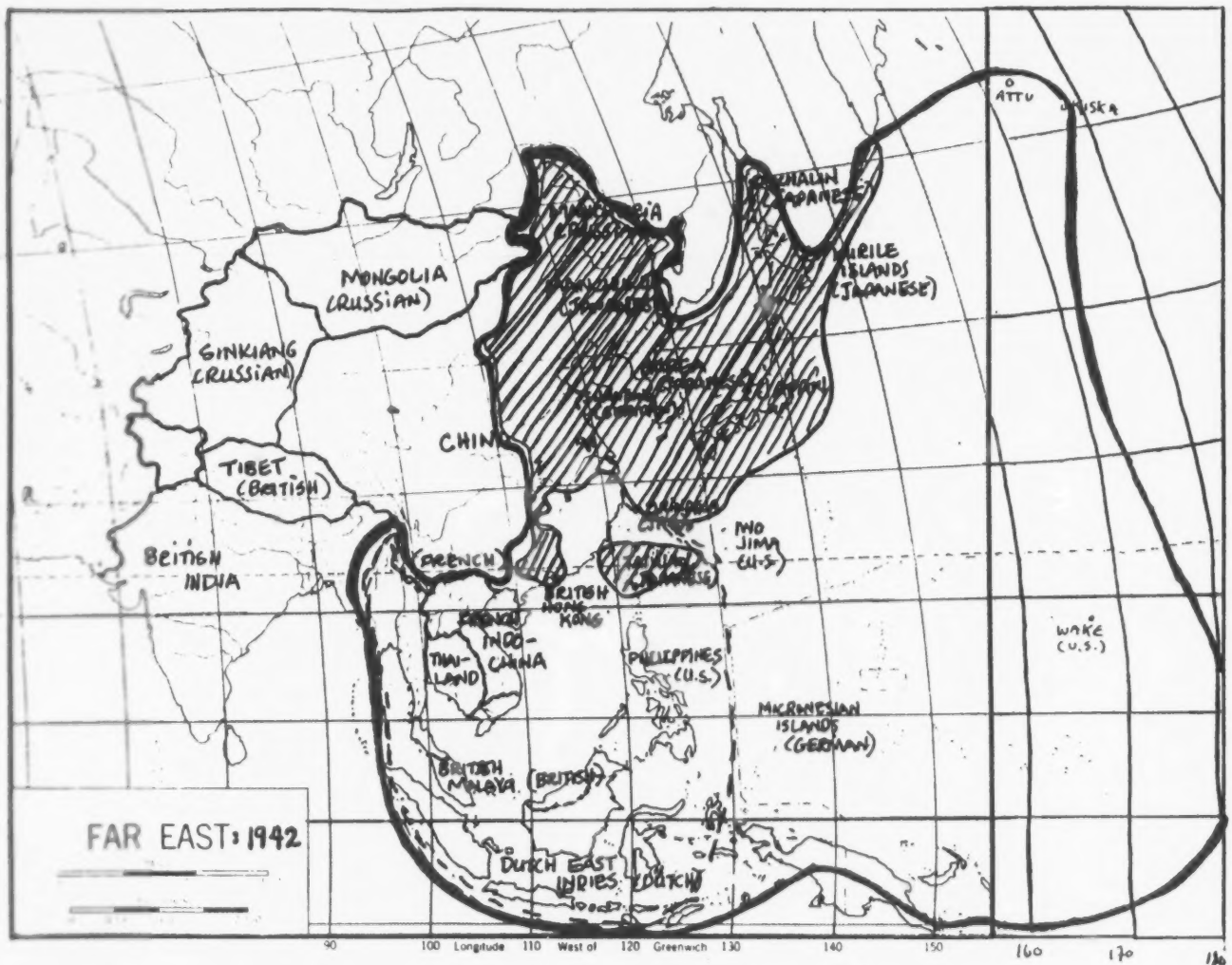
Map 1. Colonialism in Asia by 1912



KEY

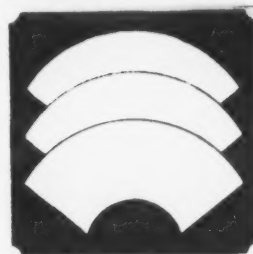
POSSESSIONS NAMED (E.G., BRITISH HONG KONG)
SPHERES OF INFLUENCE IN PARENTHESES (E.G.,
MONGOLIA (Russian))

Map 2. Japanese Expansion by 1942



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Questions for Discussion



Based on Map 1, Colonialism by 1912, answer the following:

1. What are "spheres of influence"?

What are "colonies"?

(Consult your encyclopedia or dictionary to find these definitions.)

2. Which countries of Asia were colonies in 1912?

Which were semi-independent?

3. What one Asian country was completely independent?

4. Which power(s) dominated the Philippines? Indochina? India? China? Korea?

Based on Map 2, Japanese Expansion by 1942, answer the following:

1. Compare maps 1 and 2.

How has the map changed from 1912 to 1942?

Which country became dominant?

Which powers no longer appeared on the map?

2. Explain Japan's strategy by looking at the map of Japanese expansion by 1942.

What is "the inner ring/the heartland"? What was its importance to Japan?

What is "the region of supplies"? What was its importance to Japan?

What is the the region of defense ? What was its importance to Japan?

3. Speculate on how World War II affected the relationship between Japan and the countries of Southeast Asia today.

**TO THE
TEACHER**

Please note that this reading is designed to supplement other materials being used on World War II. It assumes some background and is not designed to be the only reading assigned.

Reading

JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES AT WAR: PEARL HARBOR, AUGUST 1941

Today Japan and the United States are close allies. But between 1941 and 1945, they fought a bitter and bloody war, which many people remember well today. Why did they fight this war?

The answer on the American side is simple: the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor. The Americans were angry at the Japanese for their invasions of first Manchuria (1931), then China (1937), and later French Indochina (1940). After the Japanese moved into Indochina, President Roosevelt ordered a trade embargo on American scrap steel and oil, on which the Japanese military depended. But the American people felt that Asia was far away, and a large majority of voters did not want to go to war to stop Japan. The surprise attack on the Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, changed this, outraging the whole U.S. nation and convincing it that it must stop the Japanese army and navy.

Why did Japan attack the United States? This is a more complicated question. Japan knew the United States was economically and militarily powerful, but it was not afraid of any American attack on its islands. Japan did worry, however, that the Americans might help the Chinese resist the Japanese invasion of their country. When President Roosevelt stopped U.S. shipments of steel and oil to Japan, he was doing exactly this: the Japanese are dependent on other countries for raw materials, for they have almost none on their own islands. Without imports of steel and oil, the Japanese military could not fight for long. Without oil, the navy would not be able to move after it had exhausted its six-month reserve. Roosevelt hoped that this economic pressure would force Japan to end its military expansion in East Asia.

The Japanese military saw another solution to the problem: if it could quickly conquer the British and Dutch colonies in Southeast Asia and gain complete control of the oil, rubber, and other raw materials it needed, then it could defend its interests in China and Indochina against the Europeans, who were now busy fighting a major war in Europe against the Germans and Italians. The only force that could stop the Japanese was the American Pacific fleet--which was conveniently gathered close to Japan at Pearl Harbor, in Hawaii. Knowing that many Americans did not want to fight a war against Japan, the military thought that if it sud-

denly destroyed the U.S. fleet, America would simply give up and allow Japan to consolidate its grasp on East Asia.

Japan was not militarily or economically powerful enough to fight a long war against the United States, and the Japanese military knew this. Its attack on Pearl Harbor was a tremendous gamble--and though the short-run gamble was successful, the long-run gamble was lost because the Japanese were wrong about the American reaction. This was their most obvious mistake.

But behind this mistake was another, earlier miscalculation. Ever since Commodore Perry's fleet opened Japan in 1853, in an era of great colonial expansion, the Japanese had watched the European powers dominate East Asia and establish colonies and trading privileges. China, Japan's neighbor, was 'carved up like a melon' as Western powers established their spheres of influence on Chinese territory. After an amazingly short time, Japan was able to develop the economic and military strength to join this competition for dominance of the Asian mainland. Japan defeated China in 1895 and Russia in 1905, in battles over who should dominate Korea. Japan joined the allies against Germany in 1914-18 in a struggle to control a portion of China and then conquered Manchuria in 1931 in an effort to secure a land area rich in raw materials. The Japanese nation and its military, which controlled the government by the 1930s, felt that it then could, and should, control all of East Asia by military force.

Japan's military invasions of other Asian countries, however, brought resistance from not only the European colonial powers, but also the Asian people themselves, and finally, the United States. The Japanese military tried to convince the Japanese people that complete loyalty and obedience would make Japan invincible. Japan's early victories seemed to prove this, but the U.S. victory at Midway Island in June 1942 led to the steady encirclement of the Japanese islands, cutting them off from needed supplies of raw materials. The Japanese navy was destroyed. When this was followed by massive bombardment from the air and the final blow of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japanese invincibility was proven to be a myth. At the end of the war, the Japanese nation was not only starving and devastated by the bombing, but bewildered and shocked by the defeat.

Questions for Discussion



1. Was Japan the first country to try to dominate other countries in Asia? Explain.
2. Why did it seem logical to the Japanese that they, rather than the European powers, should be dominant in Asia?

3. Explain the economic reasons for establishing colonies.

What in particular did Japan hope to gain from its colonies?

4. Locate Pearl Harbor on a map.
5. Why did Japan attack the United States at Pearl Harbor?
6. In what ways was the Japanese attack a tactical miscalculation?
7. In what sense could you say that Japan actually defeated itself? Explain.

Vocabulary

embargo

gamble

sphere of influence

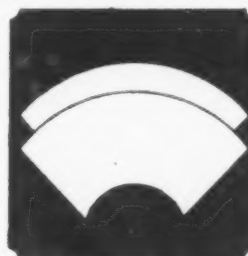
invincible

encirclement

bombardment

myth

devastated



Related Workbook Units

Redress and Reparation: The Internment of Japanese Citizens
in the United States during W.W. II in the section on
JAPANESE AMERICANS

The Atomic Bomb in this section on MODERN HISTORY

The Atomic Bomb

Film Resources

Reading Selection

Primary Source Selections

Film Resources

Three films on the atomic bomb and the conclusion of World War II are available. Two are highly recommended (marked by a *); the third is suggested for advanced classes.

<u>*Film Title:</u>	<u>The Bomb: February-September 1945</u>
<u>Format:</u>	16 mm, color, 60 minutes (2 reels that could be shown on successive days) (1975)
<u>Rental Fee</u>	\$49.00, plus \$6.00 postage and handling

Part of the excellent World At War series, produced by Thames Television International and narrated by Laurence Olivier. The film explores the diplomatic, political, and military considerations surrounding the use of the bomb, examines the domestic political controversies in Washington and Tokyo over Japanese surrender, and features interviews with American diplomats, the commander of the actual bombing mission, and the survivors of the attack. Highly recommended for its excellent visual presentation of historical and moral issues.

ATOMIC BOMB/2

*Film Title: Hiroshima-Nagasaki, August 1945
Format: 16 mm, black and white, 16 minutes
(1945)
Rental Fee: \$19.00, plus \$6.00 postage and
handling

Short but graphic documentary footage of the immediate effects of the bomb on the populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which can be shown in conjunction with the film The Bomb, recommended above. Suggested for use with mature students at the senior high school level (grades 11 and 12).

Film Title: The Emperor and a General
Format: 16 mm, black and white, 29 minutes
(1967)
Rental Fee: \$20.00, plus \$6.00 postage and
handling

For advanced students, studying in-depth the Japanese position in World War II, this film provides an excerpt from a Japanese feature film depicting the political struggles in Japan over the final decision to surrender (July 27-August 15, 1945). It portrays the memorable broadcast by the emperor to the Japanese population. In Japanese with English subtitles.

All three films available from:

Extension Media Center
University of California
2176 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, CA 94704

Tel. (415) 642-0460

Related Workbook Units

Japanese Expansion and World War II in East Asia
Article 9 and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty



Reading



THE DECISION TO USE THE ATOMIC BOMB

The modern nuclear arsenals and the struggle to control nuclear weaponry have brought new significance and controversy to the American use of the atomic bomb in World War II. This reading selection describes the circumstances surrounding the decision to use the atomic bomb. There is considerable debate among historians about the necessity of using the bomb to force Japan's surrender; there is perhaps even greater controversy concerning the moral principle involved in subjecting the two Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to this weapon. This latter point is raised, but not answered, at the end of the essay.

World War II was the second world-wide war in less than a generation's time. The First World War had erased any romantic illusions about the nature of modern war; World War II saw the complete mobilization of entire populations and economies in the waging of the war. It was fought with grim determination on every side. In such conditions, each side carried out acts of great brutality in the frustration and necessity of achieving victory.

For the first time outside a civil war, fighting spread beyond the armies to whole populations: Hitler used aerial bombing to try to break the spirit of the British; the Japanese used aerial bombing and soldiers against the Chinese civilian population; both Japan and Germany used their military forces to subdue resistance in occupied nations; and the allied forces used bombing to carry the war beyond the battlefield and break the opposition of enemy populations. By the end of the war, technology had advanced to the point where such bombings were terrible: the allied bombing of Dresden killed tens of thousands of people, and the American firebombing of Tokyo in March 1945 probably killed more than 100,000.

During this period, wartime technology raced ahead, as each side attempted to be the first to develop the techniques and equipment that would enable it to win. Many nations sought to decipher the secrets of atomic energy, but the United States was the first to develop the ultimate weapon, the atomic bomb.

Background

The Allies--the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union--had announced that they would only accept "unconditional surrender" from the Japanese. This demand meant that Japan must place its fate completely in the hands of its enemies and could

not negotiate for any conditions that would limit the power of the victors over Japan. While this helped to unite American determination to defeat and punish Japan for its aggression (in particular, for the attack on Pearl Harbor and other early victories over American forces), it also helped to stiffen Japanese resistance. The military leaders of Japan, guided by an oversimplification of their own samurai traditions, which claimed that surrender was impossible, easily used the Allied demand for unconditional surrender to convince their people that the Allies meant to destroy Japanese culture and the Japanese nation. Therefore, any sacrifice had to be borne, and any hardship had to be endured.

The Japanese sought to wear down the Allies by stoic resistance and fierce defensive fighting until the enemy grew weary or the Japanese nation perished in the fight to preserve its culture. The Allies thought in terms of a gradual advance on the Japanese islands, ending in a massive invasion of Japan with perhaps a couple of years of fighting, up to a million American soldiers being killed, and large segments of the Japanese population destroyed.

With this course mapped out, both sides began to act out their parts. The Allies cut off Japanese supplies by sinking cargo ships. U.S. aircraft began to attack the Japanese islands. And the Japanese government conducted its desperate resistance.

Prelude to the Bomb

On April 1, 1945, the Allies invaded the southern Japanese island of Okinawa, and their victory there after bitter and bloody fighting with heavy losses on both sides proved that Japan could not win the war. It also proved, however, that invasion of the Japanese homeland would cause massive casualties on both sides. As American ground forces swept Okinawa clean of Japanese troops, the local civilians were caught in the middle. Subjected to gunfire, bombing, and infantry combat by the American advance, they were prevented from surrendering by the Japanese troops. Okinawa only served to confirm everyone's idea of how the final battle for the main islands of Japan would be fought.

The surrender of Okinawa caused the Japanese cabinet to collapse and a new, pro-peace prime minister and foreign minister pressed the army to allow negotiations. The Japanese military, however, trapped in its own mystique of rigid determination and self-sacrifice in the name of the nation and emperor, insisted on strict terms.

Just at this point, the atomic bomb became a reality. The first successful test of the atomic weapon was held on July 16, 1945. The United States now had the choice of using it to try to end the war in another way. All other forms of attack, from the grim battle for Okinawa to the terrible fire bombing of Japan's cities, had failed to deter the leaders in Tokyo. Perhaps the

atomic bomb would resolve the crisis without a need for invasion. President Truman, who had already left for Potsdam to meet with Churchill and Stalin, left instructions that the bomb was not to be used against Japan until after the Allies had agreed on and issued a declaration.

The Potsdam Declaration of July 26, issued by the Allied powers and calling for "unconditional surrender," was not acceptable to the Japanese military, despite the declaration's threat that failure to surrender would be met by "complete destruction" of the military and the "utter devastation of the Japanese homeland." Following ten days of Japanese silence, the atomic bomb was dropped on August 6, 1945, on the city of Hiroshima.

The Impact on Japan

It was reported the next day to the Japanese Army General Staff that "the whole city of Hiroshima was destroyed instantly by a single bomb." On August 8 the army was further rocked by the news that the Russians, who had remained neutral to Japan throughout the war, had attacked Japanese forces on the Asian mainland. But despite the prime minister's insistence that Japan must accept surrender, the army insisted on total, last-ditch resistance. The news, midway through this conference, that the city of Nagasaki had also been destroyed by another atomic bomb, did not sway them from their determination.

Finally, the Japanese prime minister and his allies agreed that the only course was to have the emperor break the deadlock by expressing his view. The emperor's statement that Japan's suffering was unbearable to him and that he wished for surrender broke the military's opposition and began the process of ending the war in the Pacific.

Assessing the Decision

Was it necessary to use the atomic bomb to force Japan to surrender? This is a subject of heated debate among historians. Some point to the existence of a pro-peace faction in Japan, resisting the army and growing in strength. This faction had already tried to express Japan's interest in peace through the Russians, whom they believed were still neutral. In fact, the Russians had secretly agreed at the Yalta Conference in February 1945 to attack the Japanese.

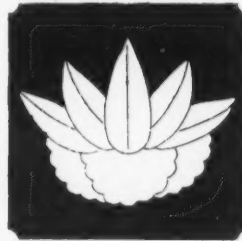
Moreover, Japanese offensive capabilities were exhausted. The navy and air force were almost totally destroyed by the summer of 1945, and the Japanese islands were completely cut off from the rest of the world. The Russian attack of August 8 on Manchuria met little or no resistance.

Economically, Japan's industry was in ruins and the nation was facing starvation. While the Allies had called for "unconditional surrender," they had also promised relatively generous

terms, which they in fact carried out during the occupation of Japan. The stalemate over surrender may have been partly a misunderstanding on both sides.

Some historians have gone even further, claiming that Truman was less worried about whether Japan would surrender than about when. The Russian entry into the war marked the Soviet Union's determination to extend its influence into China and gain a role in the occupation of Korea and Japan, and only rapid surrender would forestall this. Others argue that U.S. officials wanted to demonstrate the power of this new weapon to Soviet leaders.

In fact, the atomic bombs did not shake the Japanese army's determination to fight on. They did, however, convince the peace faction, led by the prime minister, to take the unprecedented step of requesting the emperor to enter the political struggle. It was only this that overcame the army's resistance. Would this have happened eventually, given more time, without the threat of atomic weapons? If not, was it still acceptable to use atomic weapons? A generation later, there is still no consensus on these questions.



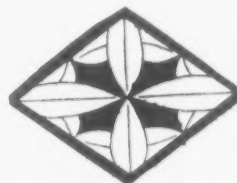
Questions for Discussion

1. How did the battle over the island of Okinawa influence the decision to use the atomic bomb?
2. How would you rank, from most important to least important, the several factors or considerations involved in the U.S. decision to drop the atomic bomb? Explain.
3. Today, the Japanese often say they have a "nuclear allergy," and the government accordingly has proclaimed "three nuclear principles", that it will not own or manufacture nuclear weapons and will not allow them to be brought into Japan.

Vocabulary

controversy	decipher	deter
illusions	ultimate	stalemate
mobilization	unconditional	forestall
grim determination	oversimplification	unprecedented
brutality	stoic	consensus
aerial	segment	
subdue	neutral	

Additional Resources



Recommended reading for more advanced students interested in exploring the problems of atomic warfare and the Japanese experience:

Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima, by Robert Jay Lifton (Simon and Schuster, 1976). A detailed study by an American psychiatrist of the aftermath, in human terms, of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Recommended for teachers.

Black Rain, by Masuji Ibuse; trans. by John Bester (Kodansha International, 1969), paperback. A fictionalized account of the experiences of one Hiroshima family following the war; excellent but demanding.

Unforgettable Fire: Pictures Drawn by Atomic Bomb Survivors, ed. by Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) (Pantheon Books, 1977), paperback. Compelling pictorial description of the experiences of bomb victims, useful for mature students.

Primary Source Selections

DOCUMENTS

1. Report of the Interim Committee on Military Use of the Atomic Bomb May 1945
2. Report of the Franck Committee on the Social and Political Implications of a Demonstration of the Atomic Bomb (for a Non-Combat Demonstration) June 1945
3. The Potsdam Declaration July 26, 1945

EXERCISES BASED ON THE DOCUMENTS



Choose students to prepare positions and debate the following issues before the class:

1. "Should the U.S. drop the atomic bomb?" Yes or No. (students should read Documents 1 and 2.)
2. From the Japanese position prior to the dropping of the bomb:

"Should we surrender?" Yes or No.
(students should read Document 3 and ask themselves whether they would have surrendered had they been the Japanese leaders.)

or

Divide the class into two teams. Each team should be assigned the task of staging a debate in one of the two settings below.

Setting

Question

1. President Truman's Cabinet
(late July, 1945)

Should the U.S. use the atomic bomb to end the war with Japan?

(Based on Documents 1 and 2.)

2. The Japanese Government

Should Japan surrender?

(Responding to Document 3.)
(late July, 1945)



THE DECISION TO DROP THE ATOM BOMB*

Introduction

In August 1945 American aircraft dropped atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing over 100,000 people and injuring many more. Japan soon sued for peace and World War II ended. Ever since President Harry S. Truman made the fateful decision to unleash atomic weapons on Japan, contemporaries and historians have debated the morality, necessity, and consequences of the choice.

Truman said he authorized the use of the atomic bombs on populated areas because that was the only way to shorten the war and save American lives. Until the 1960s most historians accepted that conclusion. But recent scholarship, although not denying the argument that American lives would have been spared; has suggested that other considerations also influenced American leaders: relations with Soviet Russia, emotional revenge, momentum, and perhaps racism. Scholars today are also debating why several alternatives to military use of the bomb were not tried.

In early May 1945, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson appointed an Interim Committee, with himself as chairman, to advise on atomic energy and the uranium bombs the Manhattan Engineering District project was about to produce. In the committee's meeting of May 31, 1945, the decision was made to keep the bomb project a secret from the Russians and to use the atomic bomb against Japan. On June 11, 1945, a group of atomic scientists in Chicago, headed by Jerome Franck, futilely petitioned Stimson for a non-combat demonstration of the bomb in order to improve the chances for postwar international control of atomic weapons. The recommendations of the Interim Committee and the Franck Committee are reprinted here.

*Acknowledgment: From Major Problems in American Foreign Policy by Thomas G. Paterson. Copyright c 1978 by D.C. Heath and Company. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

DOCUMENT 1

REPORT OF THE INTERIM COMMITTEE ON MILITARY USE, MAY 1945

Secretary Stimson explained that the Interim Committee had been appointed by him, with the approval of the President, to make recommendations on temporary war-time controls, public announcement, legislation and post-war organization. . . . He expressed the hope that the [four] scientists would feel completely free to express their views on any phase of the subject. . . .

The Secretary explained that General Marshall shared responsibility with him for making recommendations to the President on this project with particular reference to its military aspects; therefore, it was considered highly desirable that General Marshall be present at this meeting to secure at first hand the views of the scientists.

The Secretary expressed the view, a view shared by General Marshall, that this project should not be considered simply in terms of military weapons, but as a new relationship of man to the universe. This discovery might be compared to the discoveries of the Copernican theory and of the laws of gravity, but far more important than these in its effect on the lives of men. While the advances in the field to date had been fostered by the needs of war, it was important to realize that the implications of the project went far beyond the needs of the present war. It must be controlled if possible to make it an assurance of future peace rather than a menace to civilization.

The Secretary suggested that he hoped to have the following questions discussed during the course of the meeting:

1. Future military weapons
2. Future international competition
3. Future research
4. Future controls
5. Future developments, particularly non-military.

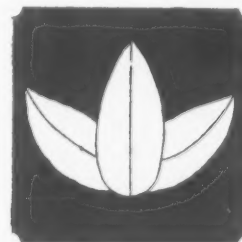
At this point General Marshall discussed at some length the story of charges and counter-charges that have been typical of our relations with the Russians, pointing out that most of these allegations have proven unfounded. The seemingly uncooperative attitude of Russia in military matters stemmed from the necessity of maintaining security. He said that he had accepted this reason for their attitude in his dealings with the Russians and had acted accordingly. As to the post-war situation and in matters other than purely military, he felt that he was in no position to express a view. With regard to this field he was inclined to favor the building up of a combination among like-minded powers, thereby forcing Russia to fall in line by the very force of this coalition. General Marshall was certain that we need have no fear that the Russians, if they had knowledge of our project, would disclose this information to the Japanese. He raised the question whether it might be desirable to invite two prominent Russian scientists to witness the test. 278

Mr. Byrnes expressed a fear that if information were given to the Russians, even in general terms, Stalin would ask to be brought into the partnership. He felt this to be particularly likely in view of our commitments and pledges of cooperation with the British. In this connection Dr. Bush pointed out that even the British do not have any of our blue prints on plants. Mr. Byrnes expressed the view, which was generally agreed to by all present, that the most desirable program would be to push ahead as fast as possible in production and research to make certain that we stay ahead and at the same time make every effort to better our political relations with Russia.

It was pointed out that one atomic bomb on an arsenal would not be much different from the effect caused by any Air Corps strike of present dimensions. However, Dr. Oppenheimer stated that the visual effect of an atomic bombing would be tremendous. It would be accompanied by a brilliant luminescence which would rise to a height of 10,000 to 20,000 feet. The neutron effect of the explosion would be dangerous to life for a radius of at least two-thirds of a mile.

After much discussion concerning various types of targets and the effects to be produced, the Secretary expressed the conclusion, on which there was general agreement, that we could not give the Japanese any warning; that we could not concentrate on a civilian area; but that we should seek to make a profound psychological impression on as many of the inhabitants as possible. At the suggestion of Dr. Conant the Secretary agreed that the most desirable target would be a vital war plant employing a large number of workers and closely surrounded by workers' houses.

There was some discussion of the desirability of attempting several strikes at the same time. Dr. Oppenheimer's judgment was that several strikes would be feasible. General Groves, however, expressed doubt about this proposal and pointed out the following objections: (1) We would lose the advantage of gaining additional knowledge concerning the weapon at each successive bombing; (2) such a program would require a rush job on the part of those assembling the bombs and might, therefore, be ineffective; (3) the effect would not be sufficiently distinct from our regular Air Force bombing program.



DOCUMENT 2

REPORT OF THE FRANCK COMMITTEE ON THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF A DEMONSTRATION OF THE ATOMIC BOMB (FOR A NON-COMBAT DEMONSTRATION), JUNE, 1945

The way in which the nuclear weapons, now secretly developed in this country, will first be revealed to the world appears of great, perhaps fateful importance.

One possible way--which may particularly appeal to those who consider the nuclear bombs primarily as a secret weapon developed to help win the present war--is to use it without warning on an appropriately selected object in Japan. It is doubtful whether the first available bombs, of comparatively low efficiency and small size, will be sufficient to break the will or ability of Japan to resist, especially given the fact that the major cities like Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka and Kobo already will largely be reduced to ashes by the slower process of ordinary aerial bombing. Certain and perhaps important tactical results undoubtedly can be achieved, but we nevertheless think that the question of the use of the very first available atomic bombs in the Japanese war should be weighed very carefully, not only by military authority, but by the highest political leadership of this country. If we consider international agreement on total prevention of nuclear warfare as the paramount objective, and believe that it can be achieved, this kind of introduction of atomic weapons to the world may easily destroy all our chances of success. Russia, and even allied countries which bear less mistrust of our ways and intentions, as well as neutral countries, will be deeply shocked. It will be very difficult to persuade the world that a nation which was capable of secretly preparing and suddenly releasing a weapon, as indiscriminate as the rocket bomb and a thousand times more destructive, is to be trusted in its proclaimed desire of having such weapons abolished by international agreement. We have large accumulations of poison gas, but do not use them, and recent polls have shown that public opinion in this country would disapprove of such a use even if it would accelerate the winning of the Far Eastern war. It is true, that some irrational element in mass psychology makes gas poisoning more revolting than blasting by explosives, even though gas warfare is in no way more "inhuman" than the war of bombs and bullets. Nevertheless, it is not at all certain that the American public opinion, if it could be enlightened as to the effect of atomic explosives, would support the first introduction by our own country of such an indiscriminate method of wholesale destruction of civilian life.

Thus, from the "optimistic" point of view--looking forward to an international agreement on prevention of nuclear warfare--the military advantages and the saving of American lives, achieved by the sudden use of atomic bombs against Japan, may be outweighed by the ensuing loss of confidence and wave of horror and repulsion, sweeping over the rest of the world, and perhaps dividing even the public opinion at home.

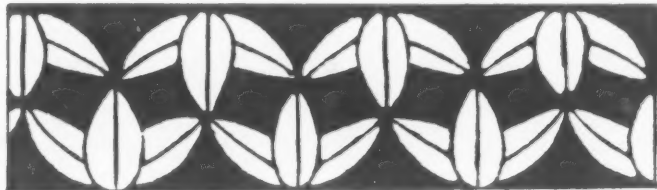
From this point of view a demonstration of the new weapon may best be made before the eyes of representatives of all United Nations, on the desert or a barren island. The best possible atmosphere for the achievement of an international agreement could be achieved if America would be able to say to the world, "You see what weapon we had but did not use. We are ready to renounce its use in the future and to join other nations in working out adequate supervision of the use of this nuclear weapon."

This may sound fantastic, but then in nuclear weapons we have something entirely new in the order of magnitude of destructive power, and if we want to capitalize fully on the advantage which its possession gives us, we must use new and imaginative methods. After such a demonstration the weapon could be used against Japan if a sanction of the United Nations (and of the public opinion at home) could be obtained, perhaps after a preliminary ultimatum to Japan to surrender or at least to evacuate a certain region as an alternative to the total destruction of this target.

It must be stressed that if one takes a pessimistic point of view and discounts the possibilities of an effective international control of nuclear weapons, then the advisability of an early use of nuclear bombs against Japan becomes even more doubtful--quite independently of any humanitarian considerations. If no international agreement is concluded immediately after the first demonstration, this will mean a flying start of an unlimited armaments race. If this race is inevitable, we have all reason to delay its beginning as long as possible in order to increase our head-start still further. . . . The benefit to the nation, and the saving of American lives in the future, achieved by renouncing an early demonstration of nuclear bombs and letting the other nations come into the race only reluctantly, on the basis of guess-work and without definite knowledge that the "thing does work," may far outweigh the advantages to be gained by the immediate use of the first and comparatively inefficient bombs in the war against Japan. At the least, pros and cons of this use must be carefully weighed by the supreme political and military leadership of the country, and the decision should not be left to considerations, merely, of military tactics.

One may point out that scientists themselves have initiated the development of this "secret weapon" and it is therefore strange that they should be reluctant to try it out on the enemy as soon as it is available. The answer to this question was given above--the compelling reason for creating this weapon with such speed was our fear that Germany had the technical skill necessary to develop such a weapon without any moral restraints regarding its use.

Another argument which could be quoted in favor of using atomic bombs as soon as they are available is that so much taxpayers' money has been invested in those projects that the Congress and the American public will require a return for their money. The above-mentioned attitude of the American public opinion in the question of the use of poison gas against Japan shows that one can expect it to understand that a weapon can sometimes be made ready only for use in extreme emergency; and as soon as the potentialities of nuclear weapons will be revealed to the American people, one can be certain that it will support all attempts to make the use of such weapons impossible.



*RELATED ESSAYS ON THE MILITARY USE OF THE BOMB

In his essay, Herbert Feis defends the decision to drop the atomic bombs on Japan with the traditional argument that leaders at the time had to be concerned primarily about saving American lives. He discounts the suggestion that the decision was made to achieve diplomatic advantage vis-a-vis Russia. Barton J. Bernstein of Stanford University surveys in detail the thinking of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations about the atomic bomb. Although he agrees that Truman hoped to save American lives, he argues that the bomb provided the United States with a "diplomatic bonus," an opportunity to bargain more forcefully with the Russians in order to gain concessions on international issues. Both authors explain why contemporaries ruled out alternative policies to military use of the bomb.

*Students wishing to consult these essays for further research should refer to the volume from which these materials were excerpted: Thomas G. Paterson, ed. Major Problems in American Foreign Policy, Documents and Essays, Volume II: Since 1914 (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath, 1978).

DOCUMENT 3

THE POTSDAM PROCLAMATION

Proclamation Defining the Terms for the Japanese Surrender
July 26, 1945

(1) WE--THE PRESIDENT of the United States, the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, representing the hundreds of millions of our countrymen, have conferred and agree that Japan shall be given an opportunity to end this war.

(2) The prodigious land, sea and air forces of the United States, the British Empire and of China, many times reinforced by their armies and air fleets from the west, are poised to strike the final blows upon Japan. This military power is sustained and inspired by the determination of all the Allied Nations to prosecute the war against Japan until she ceases to resist.

(3) The result of the futile and senseless German resistance to the might of the aroused free peoples of the world stands forth in awful clarity as an example to the people of Japan. The might that now converges on Japan is immeasurably greater than that which, when applied to the resisting Nazis, necessarily laid waste to the lands, the industry, and the method of life of the whole German people. The full application of our military power, backed by our resolve, will mean the inevitable and complete destruction of the Japanese armed forces and just as inevitably the utter devastation of the Japanese homeland.

(4) The time has come for Japan to decide whether she will continue to be controlled by those self-willed militaristic advisers whose unintelligent calculations have brought the Empire of Japan to the threshold of annihilation, or whether she will follow the path of reason.

(5) Following are our terms. We will not deviate from them. There are no alternatives. We shall brook no delay.

(6) There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest, for we insist that a new order of peace, security and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world.

(7) Until such a new order is established and until there is convincing proof that Japan's war-making power is destroyed, points in Japanese territory to be designated by the Allies shall be occupied to secure the achievement of the basic objectives we are here setting forth.

(8) The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine.

(9) The Japanese military forces, after being completely disarmed, shall be permitted to return to their homes with the opportunity to lead peaceful and productive lives.

(10) We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation, but stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have visited

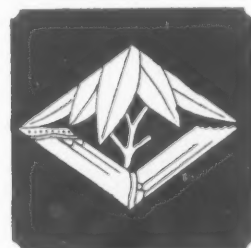
cruelties upon our prisoners. The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be established.

(11) Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and permit the exaction of just reparations in kind, but not those which would enable her to re-arm for war. To this end, access to, as distinguished from control of, raw materials shall be permitted. Eventual participation in world trade relations shall be permitted.

(12) The occupying forces of the Allies shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as these objectives have been accomplished and there has been established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people a peaceably inclined and responsible government.

(13) We call upon the government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces, and to provide proper and adequate assurances of their good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction.

This and other documents such as the Japanese surrender offer and the Imperial rescripts can be found in the appendices of Robert J. C. Buton Japan's Decision to Surrender (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1954.)



The Occupation

TO THE TEACHER

The American occupation of Japan is a fascinating topic that can be approached from several perspectives. It offers innumerable possibilities for class discussion and assignments. Among other topics, the occupation can be used to explore:

- What Americans think is essential to the healthy function of their own democracy;
- The question of economic development and democracy--is it possible to have a healthy democracy without a lively, strong economy?
- The question of aggression--what causes nations to be aggressive?
- Social engineering--what factors contribute to rapid, guided social change?
- The limits of change when dealing with human society;
- The apparent Japanese ability to "change course" and reform their way of doing things, as they had earlier when they borrowed extensively from the Chinese in the seventh to ninth centuries, and again in the years after the Meiji Restoration.

This unit includes an introductory student reading, THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF JAPAN, 1945-1952. Before they read this unit on the occupation, it is highly recommended that students have covered the material in the units listed below:

The Meiji Restoration
Japan's Expansion and World War II in East Asia

THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION, 1945-1952

When the war ended, it was the common intent of all the Allied Powers to render Japan incapable of ever returning to the field of battle. "Demilitarization" was thus the first policy of the Occupation authorities and was accompanied by abolishing Japan's armed forces, dismantling its military industry, and eliminating the expression of patriotism from its schools and public life.

But the American government, which had led the Allied war effort and whose representative, General Douglas MacArthur, was named the Supreme Commander of the Occupation forces, felt that only a democratic Japan would be truly peace-loving. It was assumed that democratic countries like the United States and Great Britain were more peaceful than nondemocratic countries such as Hitler's Germany and prewar Japan under the emperor. But what makes a country "democratic"? Is a country democratic simply because of certain political institutions, like free elections and free speech? Can these political institutions survive if economic power is concentrated in just a few hands, and social structures like the educational system and the family preach unlimited obedience to authority?

The American government believed that establishing democracy in Japan involved change in all areas of Japanese life. Under MacArthur and with the eager cooperation of the Japanese, Japan undertook tremendous change in just seven short years--the occupation lasted from 1945 to 1952. The success of the occupation can be judged by the fact that forty years later, Japan has not fought a war, is a close ally of the United States, and has not changed most of the important reforms made by the Occupation.

Political Changes

The most obvious changes were political. During the occupation, Japan adopted a new constitution (sometimes called the MacArthur Constitution because of the major role Americans played in its drafting). This constitution was completely different from the Meiji Constitution of 1889.

- The biggest change was that it declared that sovereignty rested with the people, not the emperor. This is the political basis of democracy.

- The emperor was to continue as a symbol of Japanese unity and culture, somewhat like the Queen of England in Britain's democracy, but without any political authority whatsoever.

- The supreme political institution was now to be Japan's parliament, the Diet, which was to be made up of freely elected representatives of the people.

- Women were given equal rights under the new constitution, including the right to vote.

- Local governments were strengthened to encourage "grass-roots level" political participation.

- The constitution established many new civil liberties, such as the right of free speech, and the powers of the police were weakened and carefully regulated.

- Finally, the military forces were completely abolished and Article 9 of the new constitution forbade Japan to maintain an army or go to war ever again.

Economic Changes

To support these political changes, the Americans instituted reforms to make economic power in Japan more "democratic." In pre-war Japan, two-thirds of the agricultural land was rented, not owned, by the farmers who farmed it. The farmers, who made up over 50 percent of the labor force, often rented the land from landlords who lived in distant cities and paid them as much as half of the crops they grew. Since the average "farm" was little more than an acre, many farm families lived in poverty. The land reform took land away from big landlords and redistributed it to the farmers, so that farm families could own the land they worked. Because farm families became more independent economically, they could participate more freely in the new democracy.

The Americans also tried to make workers in the industrial sector more independent by changing the laws to allow free trade unions. Before the war there were only a few small unions; by 1949, about half of all industrial workers belonged to a union.

To democratize economic power further and create competition, the Occupation intended to break up the giant business corporations, the zaibatsu, but this reform was not implemented, in part because it would have made Japan's economic recovery more difficult.

Changes in Civic Values

Besides changing Japanese institutions, the Americans wanted the Japanese people better to understand the idea of democracy. To do this, the occupation government used its control of newspapers and magazines to explain and popularize democracy.

They used American democracy as a model to be copied. The complete defeat and devastation of Japan after the war had left many

Japanese shocked and disillusioned with their own military leaders, and they were open to the new ways of their American conquerors. This was especially true because the Americans were not punishing Japan (except selected wartime leaders who were tried as war criminals), and the U.S. soldiers and civilians in Japan were friendly and helpful.

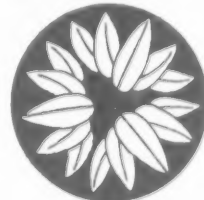
To ensure that Japanese children learned democratic values, the Americans insisted that the education system and the laws regulating families be revised. "Moral training" in schools was abolished, and instruction in democratic ideas was begun. Control of education and censorship of textbooks were taken from the central government and given to local administrations. The laws giving the head of the household complete control of every family member (for example, he could withhold his consent when his children wished to be married) were changed to make each family member more equal and independent, and thereby more democratic.

Support for Change Within Japan

After the Americans left, the reforms that did not find strong support within the Japanese system were discontinued. The anti-monopoly laws were weakened, and new giant businesses appeared. The central government assumed control of the schools, although the democratic school structure and curriculum remained. The ruling conservative party suggested other changes, including re-introduction of "moral training" in the schools and abolition of the "peace clause," Article 9 of the constitution, but these were not adopted. In sum, there was great popular support for most of the changes, and the changed system thus continues to the present.

Why were the Americans so successful in changing Japanese society in just seven years? An important reason is that people in Japan supported these changes. Even under the emperor in prewar Japan, there was pressure for many of these political, economic, and social reforms, and when the Americans defeated the Japanese government and allowed greater and freer participation, they unleashed a strong domestic source of change, which continued to support the reforms after the American army left. The Americans also left a long-lasting basis of friendship between Japan and the United States.

Related Workbook Units



Article 9 and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty in the section on FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE, explores how American attitudes toward Japan's strength and role in Asia rapidly changed during the occupation, as the international situation changed. It describes U.S.-Japanese military and diplomatic ties today.



Questions for Discussion

1. What authorities designed and supervised the reforms carried out during the occupation?

Why were they able to do this?

2. How many years did the occupation last?

What were the dates?

3. What did the occupation authorities think made countries aggressive?

How did they propose to make Japan less aggressive?

4. What did the American occupation authorities think was important to a lively democracy? Make a list of the factors.

5. Describe what changes were made with regard to each of the areas listed below. Explain the purpose of each change. (You can outline your answer in chart form).

popular sovereignty
the emperor
women
civil liberties
military forces
land reform
trade unions
large business conglomerates
education
civic values
the family

6. Why did the American occupation authorities decide not to punish the Japanese people for the war?

In what sense had the Japanese people been punished already by the war itself and their acceptance of complete, "unconditional surrender"?

7. What were zaibatsu?

How did the American occupation authorities see economic reforms--land reform, reform of the zaibatsu, and the strengthening of labor unions--to be related to a healthy democracy?

8. While these economic reforms were being carried out in Japan, many Americans were criticizing them, saying, for example, that the existence of many small family farms was not important to democracy in the United States. This raises an interesting question: Could all Americans agree, do you think, on all elements that are important to democracy in the United States?

What elements might they disagree on?

9. How can you explain the successes of the occupation--whereby a team of Americans tried to design reforms for another country based on their personal understanding of both their own country and Japan?

10. Why did some reforms introduced by the American occupation authorities not last?

What can you conclude from this about the possibilities, and limits, of social change?

Supplementary Reading

Hugh Borton, Japan's Modern Century (New York: Ronald Press, 1970).

This volume contains an excellent chapter on the occupation as well as the texts of Japan's two constitutions, 1889 and 1946, reproduced side by side.



STUDENT REPORTS

Students may choose to undertake individual research projects on one of the several reforms carried out under the occupation. Return to question 5 above for a list of the areas in which changes were carried out. Students should research and report on the reforms within one of these areas, showing the link between reforms in their area and the overall goals of the occupation.

Suggested Bibliography

Herbert Passin, The Legacy of the Occupation--Japan (East Asian Institute, Columbia University).

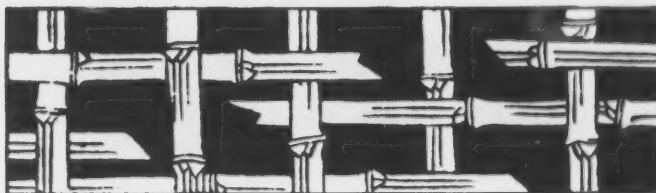
Kazuo Kawai, Japan's American Interlude (University of Chicago Press)

John Curtis Perry, Beneath the Eagle's Wings: Americans in Occupied Japan (Dodd, Mead)

Toshio Nishi, Unconditional Democracy: Education and Politics in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952 (Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University)

ADDITIONAL ACTIVITIES

- Design a poster to promote one of the goals of the occupation
- Draw two political cartoons: the first, from the point of view of an American citizen who disagrees with one or more of the occupation policies; the second, from the point of a Japanese citizen who is critical of the occupation policies.



The Japanese: Creative Cultural Borrowers

When American visitors arrive in Tokyo today, they are amazed at how much it looks and feels like a Western city, with its imposing skyscrapers, elaborate transit system, and polluting traffic jams. They are often a bit disappointed too that it does not feel very Asian. Yet in a little while they begin to see how very different--how very Japanese--even modern Tokyo is. And they begin to wonder how the Japanese can change so much, from samurai to salaryman, and how they can adopt so much, from computers to Christmas customs, and still stay culturally distinct. It is the most modern version of an old Japanese story, beginning with the importation of advanced Chinese ideas and institutions over a thousand years ago.

There is no definitive answer to the question of how Japan can repeatedly change itself and its institutions without losing its cultural cohesion. But there are many contributing factors. By geography and language Japan's boundaries have always been clear, and the nation of Japan is formed by the people on the Japanese islands speaking the Japanese language. This also means that when Japan borrows from other cultures, the imports are clearly defined. Until very recent times the passage of foreign contributions into Japan has been dramatic and distinct. This is different from the shared and changing borders of the European countries, which have influenced each other constantly and almost imperceptibly throughout European history, and whose languages are closely bound by shared roots and intertwining branches.

The identification of the Japanese with their own history, land, and language has been so strong that perhaps they have not needed to identify their culture by a single religion or philosophy--the way traditional China was Confucian, for example, or by a particular political system--they way the United States defines the "American way of life" as democratic. As a result the Japanese

tend to adopt what they consider good or useful in another nation or culture.

There are four major periods in Japanese history when this kind of cultural borrowing from other countries has taken place.

Make a list of the causes for change and the types of changes that took place in each period and compare the lists at the end of the reading.

Contact with China in the 6th-8th centuries

When the various groupings of people on the Japanese islands were beginning to organize themselves into a more unified political entity, they took advantage of the many things the older and more sophisticated civilization of China could teach them. They learned new methods of political organization and theory, new religious thinking in Buddhism, new forms of art, a writing system, and more. Some people feared that native ways of thinking would be overwhelmed--that Shinto could not survive under Buddhism, or that Japanese songs could not compete with Chinese poetry. But after a period of enthusiastic importation, the Japanese began a process of choosing among the many cultural riches from the continent. They adopted those that seemed appropriate, and adapted and changed them to fit their own world. While that world changed significantly, it changed to a form unlike that of China. And they rejected other aspects that could not be integrated into their own ways of thinking and acting. Because China was separated from Japan by distance and treacherous seas, the Japanese could isolate themselves geographically while they carried out this process of assimilation.

European Contact in the 16th Century

Many centuries later, when Europeans had learned to sail around the world, merchants and missionaries began to arrive in Japan. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese and the Spanish brought a wholly new set of ideas and material goods to Japan which was again in the process of creating a reunified whole from a country torn by civil wars and power struggles. Warring factions learned about and used moated castles and rifles. Many Japanese, especially those on the southern island of Kyushu, converted to Catholicism. Japanese began to smoke tobacco, and developed tempura from a Portuguese lenten dish. But as conditions changed, needs changed. When Japan was finally unified under the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu, the foreign influence began to seem more threatening than useful. Japan again took advantage of its geographic isolation to severely restrict its contacts with the European world, allowing only a few Dutch traders to remain at a great distance from the capital, and strictly forbidding the continuation of Christian worship. The European influence was thus largely rejected in the early seventeenth century. At the same time, however, Japan borrowed once again from China, importing the doctrines of neo-Confucianism to justify and perpetuate the unified rule of the Tokugawa shogunate.

American and European Contact in the 19th Century

When Americans and Europeans appeared in the mid-nineteenth century to insist that Japan open the country to foreign trade, domestic conditions in Japan had altered yet again. The shogunal government was by then too weak to organize resistance to a Western world that was politically powerful and technologically advanced. The Japanese were well aware of the way in which the Europeans had overpowered other Asian countries, such as India and China. To survive, Japan needed armies and navies to match those of the West, and all the supporting systems of taxation, railways, factories, banks and schools. So the Japanese set out to learn all they could. The change in the latter part of nineteenth century was widespread and dramatic: from an isolated, agricultural country ruled by hereditary military men Japan became an industrialized, international power with a national legislature in little more than a generation. But included in this process of modernization was a concern for redefining what it meant to be Japanese, and for deliberately deciding what Japan could use from its own past to best assure a flourishing future.

Reconstructing Japan under the Occupation, 1945-47

After Japan's militaristic expansion resulted in the catastrophic defeat in World War II, the Allied Occupation of Japan under predominantly American leadership brought another period of widespread foreign influence. Again the survival of Japan demanded dramatic change. From a nation that had been militaristic and authoritarian, Japan changed to a country devoting itself to democracy and peace. Historians are still debating whether the extent of this change was primarily a result of the Occupation or of the native democratic trends that already existed in Japan before the war. In any case the economic achievement of Japan, as it quickly passed from war-torn devastation to rich, productive, highly competitive economic power, was a thoroughly Japanese achievement.

It could be said that the Japanese, in their borrowing, altered their social forms but not their cultural essence. Yet contemporary Japanese are certainly unlike their traditional ancestors in essential ways. They are, however, also distinct--in attitudes and actions--from the peoples of the countries from which they have borrowed ideas and institutions, whether China, Europe, or the United States. Japan was modernized, rather than Westernized in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The country has been able to change dramatically over the course of its long history, yet to remain distinctly Japanese without feeling the need to remain the same.



Vocabulary

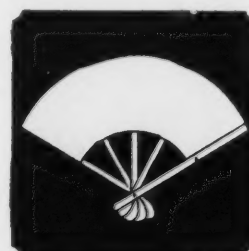
imposing	importation	authoritarian
elaborate	integrate	devastations
version	treacherous	essence
definitive	assimilation	ancestors
cultural cohesion	wholly	essential
imperceptibility	flourishing	incorporate
political entity	militaristic	distinct
sophisticated	catastrophic	
overwhelm	predominantly	

Questions for Discussion

1. What is similar about each of these periods in which Japan selects and incorporates elements from other cultures?
2. What is different?
3. Can you explain some of the reasons why the Japanese have been good at incorporating borrowed elements into their culture?
4. Do Americans borrow from other countries the way the Japanese do?

Do you think Americans are good at this? Give the reasons for your answers.

Is the way in which the United States goes about incorporating elements from other cultures similar to or different from the way Japan does it? Explain.



SOCIETY / CONTENTS

The units in this section each provide a picture of a different aspect of Japanese society and social relations. They are like pieces of a puzzle -- the importance of each piece becomes clearer as it is matched or fitted with the others.

LIFE IN THE THICK OF THINGS: URBAN JAPAN (Readings)
provides a description of the basic environment in which Japan's social patterns exist, as at least 75 percent of Japan's population resides in the densely populated, urban-industrial continuum that stretches along the Pacific coast and Inland Sea from Tokyo to Hiroshima. Recommended as an introduction to the entire section.

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS (Readings/Role Play)
consists of several activities and readings that explore some of the most characteristic aspects of Japanese social behavior: emphasis on hierarchy, group participation, maintaining harmony, and seeking consensus. The unit concludes with a role-playing exercise entitled "How to Get Along in Japanese Society."

RURAL LIFE IN JAPAN (Film Discussion)
gives a view of a very small but significant life style of "traditional" Japan.

HOMOGENEITY AND JAPAN'S MINORITIES (Reading/Discussion)
considers what it means to say Japan is a "homogenous society," while presenting information on the several minority groups that exist in Japan. The unit presents interesting material to compare and contrast with the image of the United States as both a social "melting pot" and the home of multiple ethnic groups.

TOKYO: WORLD'S SAFEST CITY (Film Discussion)
provides a glimpse of one of the benefits of Japanese social organization and homogeneity: a very low urban crime rate.

Family

JAPANESE SOCIETY THROUGH FILM: THE JAPANESE FAMILY (Resources)
the first module of a new series prepared by the Japan Society which examines family relations in Japan through three films.

FAMILY LIFE IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN: THE HANAWA FAMILY (Film Discussion)
examines the life of a three-generation family in the Japan
of today.

KACHŌ: A SECTION CHIEF AND HIS DAY (Film Discussion)
follows Mr. Taki, a typical, white-collar employee in Japan,
through his day from the time he leaves his wife and two
children in the morning until he returns home late at night.

Education

JAPANESE EDUCATION: BACKGROUND FOR TEACHERS (Resources)
a listing of materials which provide a general background on
the Japanese educational system.

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN JAPAN (Readings)
a set of three readings, primarily for teacher use, but also
useful as a resource for student reports.

SCHOOL LIFE: STUDENT RESOURCES (Resources)
a series of booklets on the life of school pupils in Japan
produced by the International Society for Educational
Information of Tokyo.

EDUCATION: EXAMINATION HELL? (Reading)
discusses ways in which the life of a Japanese student
varies from that of an American student.

Women

WOMEN'S ROLES (Resources)
audio-visual and printed resources on women in Japan and
their changing roles in a modern society.

FOUR WOMEN/FOUR CHOICES (Film Guide and Discussion)
a film which shows the traditional roles assumed by women in
Japan, and efforts to establish alternative roles, all
examined in light of the roles and responsibilities assigned
to men by Japanese business relationships and to children by
the educational system.

JAPANESE WOMEN AND THE LAW (Reading)
a reading by Linda Wojtan discussing women and their legal
relationship to the family, law, education and employment.

Young People

VOICES OF YOUNG JAPAN

(Film Guide)

a film which offers American teenagers a glimpse of their contemporaries in Japan.

VIDEOLETTERS FROM JAPAN

(Resource)

two series of videos which introduce the daily lives of Japanese youth.

GROWING UP JAPANESE

(Film Discussion)

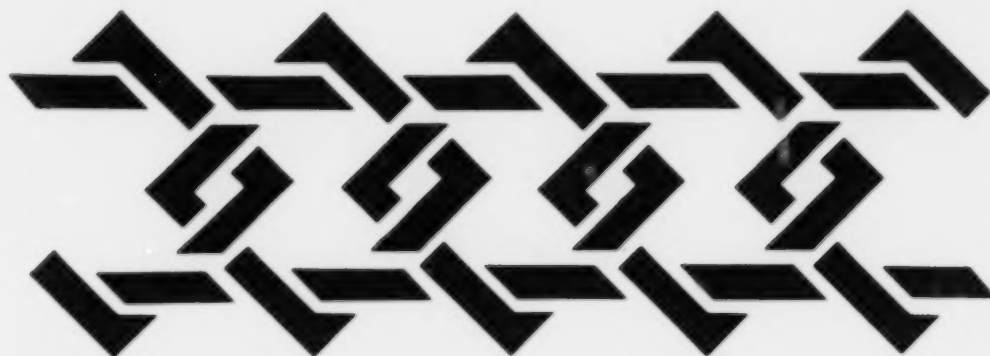
suggests three highly recommended audio-visual units that present Japan from the perspective of Japanese children.

Social Change

SOCIAL CHANGE: JAPAN TODAY

(Reading/Discussion)

How is Japan changing? Will traditional family relations remain strong in urban Japan? Are young people willing to work long hours as their parents did? Is there increasing conflict between individualism and the group ethic? These and other aspects of a dynamic Japan are explored in this exercise.



Introduction

LIFE IN THE THICK OF THINGS: URBAN JAPAN

provides a description of the basic environment in which Japan's social patterns exist, as at least 80% of Japan's population resides in the densely populated urban-industrial continuum that stretches along the coast and Inland Sea from Tokyo to Hiroshima.

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

(Re)

consists of several activities and readings that illustrate some of the most characteristic aspects of Japanese behavior: emphasis on hierarchy, group participation, maintaining harmony, and seeking consensus. The volume concludes with a role-playing exercise entitled "Life Along in Japanese Society."

RURAL LIFE IN JAPAN

gives a view of a very small but significant portion of "traditional" Japan.

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(Re)

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TOKYO: WORLD'S SAFEST CITY

provides a glimpse at one of the benefits of Japanese organization and homogeneity: a very low crime rate.

SOCIETY

CONTENTS/ Introduction

JAPAN (Readings)
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Urban Japan

LIFE IN THE THICK OF THINGS

For many people, the images of Japan that first come to mind are those from travel posters and calendars: Mt. Fuji floating serenely above the clouds, or maybe kimono-clad women strolling under blossoming cherry trees. Japan is, indeed, a nation of great natural beauty. But for most of the people of Japan, the day is passed in city bustle, dealing at very close quarters on the job, in the street, and at home.

In terms of land area (approximately 142,700 square miles), Japan is a medium-sized country, smaller than France, but larger than Italy. The people of Japan, however, are not evenly distributed across the land. Much of Japan is mountainous, and less than 15 percent of the land is flat enough for agriculture. These flat lands exist in mountain valleys and on narrow coastal plains.

From early in Japan's history, most of the population has clustered on the flat lands. During the Tokugawa period, Edo (Tokyo) grew to a population of one million, while Osaka and Kyoto both exceeded 300,000. Constrained by the limits to farm land that could produce food, Japan's population was long stabilized at about 30 million. But after 1868 and with the coming of Japan's industrial revolution, the population rapidly grew. Factories, built in urban areas to be close to existing labor supplies, attracted more people into the cities of the plains.

Today, with 118 million people, Japan's population is more than half that of the United States, but the people live in a country smaller than the state of California. More importantly, 90 percent of the population is concentrated on one-fifth of the land, and about 75 percent live in the urban-industrial continuum (much like the Boston-Washington corridor in the United States) that stretches along the Pacific coast and Inland Sea from Tokyo to Hiroshima. Thus, while Japan has a relatively large total land

mass, it also has the world's highest population density per unit of arable land, or land fit to be plowed and cultivated.

Housing

Urbanism and high population density have direct effects on the way people live their lives. For one thing, demand for space is intense, so real estate is terribly expensive. To buy a house near Tokyo with the living space of two or three modest-sized rooms can cost five or six times the annual income of a skilled laborer. It is not surprising that one of the common, and prized, benefits of joining a large firm is company-subsidized housing. Yet most people want to own their own home, and almost as many Japanese (60 percent) as Americans (65 percent) do own them. In their search for a maihome ("my home"), people must often go far from urban centers and their work places to find an affordable house. A commute of two hours each way is neither uncommon nor considered unreasonable, as might be the case in some American cities like New York and Los Angeles. (When houses are small and far from the office where coworkers meet, it is easy to understand why home entertaining is rare in Japan, while the restaurant/entertainment industry booms.)

Use of Space

With the cost of space so dear, people do more with less. A young family of four not infrequently lives in an apartment with a small kitchen, bath, and two rooms, each 9' x 12' (6 mats). The Western inclination is to divide space into discrete areas for specific functions, and within a house that means having a living room, a dining room, bedrooms, study, etc. Living in a smaller area, Japanese use space more flexibly. Instead of putting a sofa and chairs along the walls of a room, Japanese will put a low table in the middle of a mat-covered floor. Then, sitting on the floor around the table, Japanese family members each go about their own business, be it homework, sewing, or reading the paper. When night comes, the table is pushed aside and the beds, heavy quilts (futon), are spread out. In the morning, the quilts are folded up, put back in the closet, and the table is out again for breakfast.

But the traditional Japanese flexibility in the use of space is becoming a thing of the past. It has been overwhelmed by affluence. Japan's economic miracle has produced an abundance of consumer goods without there necessarily being a place to put them. Small rooms, which once would have had a spartan elegance in their sparseness of furnishings, are now frequently ringed floor to ceiling with audio equipment, televisions, and souvenirs. Western-style furnishing is also part of the trend in conspicuous consumption. Most middle-class houses now have at least one room designated as Western style--carpeted, with matching overstuffed sofa and easy chairs and a coffee table. The result of this introduction of heavy furniture is that the rooms lose their flexibility and multi-functional nature and often look cluttered.

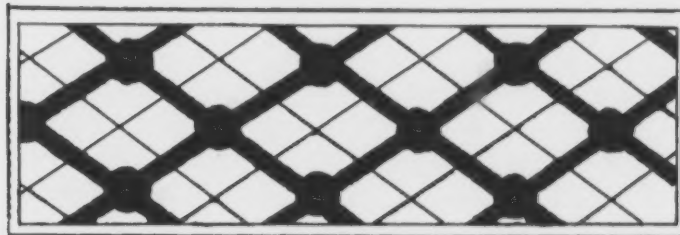
Transportation

Another problem associated with high-density urban living is how to transport people when so many want to travel and so little space is available for facilities. Narrow roads and the high cost of gasoline have meant that Japanese car owners must forego a larger automobile. The products of this demand for compact and subcompact cars are now seen zipping around the comparatively wider roads of America. Japan has also met the challenge of moving people by creating one of the world's fastest and most punctual public transportation systems. Japanese spend a good deal of time on trains, commuting to school and work, traveling to visit or vacation--for trains in Japan are the equivalent of cars in the United States. Despite, or perhaps because of, the fine quality of train and subway systems, the demand placed on the facilities is so great at rush hour that some stations hire part-time employees whose job it is literally to push more passengers into already crowded cars.

The Crime Rate

One more thing that Americans would notice about Japanese urbanism is what is not there: crime. While there is a higher rate of crime in Japan's cities than in rural areas, the rates are still strikingly low compared with America. In 1978, for every 100,000 people in the populace there were 8 times more rapes in New York than in Tokyo, 10 times more murders in New York, and 225 times more armed robberies. And, Japan has shown a steady decline in the rate of violent crimes ever since the 1960s.

Americans cherish a romantic image of their frontier heritage, with its wide-open spaces. Part of this idealization is the prejudice that cities are inherently dehumanizing, breeding alienation and antisocial behavior. Whatever the reason for the crime that plagues America's cities, high population density does not necessarily produce a high rate of crime, as is clear from the case of Japanese urbanism.



Questions for Discussion

1. Why is the Japanese population not spread evenly over the land area?
2. Why are Japanese houses relatively small?
3. Traditionally, how do Japanese design the use of space in their homes to make maximum use of space available?

How is this changing?

4. How does Japan's transportation system reflect the size and density of cities in Japan?
5. How does the crime rate in Japanese cities compare with that of American cities?

Does this confirm or contradict what Americans believe is a necessary part of urban life?

6. The process of urbanization generally leads to an increase in the crime rates.
 - a) What kinds of forces constrain or encourage people to partake in antisocial (or simply deviant) behavior?
 - b) How do these forces differ for people living in small rural communities as opposed to people in cities?

7. How does the information in this selection confirm or change the images you held about Japan before reading it?

Vocabulary

constrain	spartan	prejudice
stabilize	elegance	inherently
continuum	sparseness	alienation
arable land	conspicuous consumption	
inclination	multi-functional	
discrete	idealization	

Interpersonal Relations

- Interpersonal Relations: Introduction (Reading)
- Hierarchy in Japan (Reading)
 - Superior/Subordinate (Primary Source Selection)
- Group Participation (Reading)
- Maintaining Harmony and Seeking Consensus
 - Class Exercise
 - Film Discussion
- How to Get Along in Japanese Society: Role Play

TO THE TEACHER

This unit is composed of five separate exercises, each followed by questions for discussion. You may use all five exercises or select any one of them for your class. The topics discussed are interrelated, but each exercise can stand alone.

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION

There is an unfortunate cliché that says that Japanese are "in-scrutable," by which people mean that you can never understand the reasons why Japanese behave the way they do. This attitude is, of course, silly. To begin with, in most ways all people are the same. Everyone needs food and shelter and wants good health, family, and friends. In striving for these goals, it is usually obvious why people respond to their natural environment the way they do. The Cheyenne were a nomadic people who hunted buffalo, so they lived in tents made of hides. The Japanese of the past were farmers in a forested land, so they lived in wooden houses, as did American pioneers. The problem of how people respond to their social environment is not nearly so obvious, but it is no less reasonable or understandable.

Societies are groups of individuals who live together and pattern their behavior according to shared rules. Most of these rules are unspoken, and people seldom think about them. They simply expect people to behave in certain ways and consider it to be natural. Established patterns of behavior, or social organization, are a social environment that is as real as any natural environment.

A social environment presents opportunities and constraints from which individuals make choices about how to live their lives. Of course, different societies have different patterns of social organization and cultural rules, so people in different societies have different expectations and their behavior is channelled in different ways. Consider an example from business --labor relations. Americans believe in the importance of individual freedom of choice and independence. American business and workers alike see their relationship as contractual: business gives money in exchange for the workers' labor, and neither has claim to anything else. American workers usually refuse to do more work than the work for which they are paid. They know the company has no commitment to keep them if business is bad, and so they stick to the terms of their contract.

Japanese, on the other hand, believe that relationships, once established, are long-term, and maintenance of the relationship is very serious. The best Japanese companies have a system where once hired, an employee is never laid off. Knowing that they will be working for the same company until they retire and that their wages will depend on the success of the company, Japanese workers in these lifetime employment companies work hard to make sure the company thrives, even if it means extra work or pay cuts in the short term. In each case, the workers' behavior is different, but reasonable and understandable when you know what may be expected in the social environment.

There are three important, interrelated patterns in Japanese social behavior: an emphasis on hierarchy, group participation, and a search for harmony and consensus. The following sections describe these patterns. To say, however, that these patterns are important does not mean that all Japanese behave exactly in these ways, or even that some Japanese behave exclusively in these ways, any more than you would expect an American to behave in only one way. But there are general patterns in Japanese social organization that differ from those in America, and if you understand these differences, then much of Japanese behavior is no longer strange.

Hierarchy

Hierarchical relations are those in which people are ranked one above or below another. Americans cherish the ideal of egalitarianism. They feel most comfortable when dealing with each other on an equal footing and quickly try to work on an informal, first-name basis. For Japanese, on the other hand, it seems only natural that no two people are exactly equal and that status differences should exist. It is only when the status differences are clear that Japanese know how to behave and can be comfortable.

Japanese commonly use certain terms to describe the relationship between two people of different status and the implied behavior between them. One such term is oyabun/kobun, literally meaning "parent/part/child part" and indicating a great deal of authority on one side with loyalty and compliance on the other. This term is generally restricted for use in describing the relationship between bosses and henchmen in Japanese crime gangs. There is a comradery* in the senpai/kōhai (senior/junior) relationship, as between fellow students or coworkers, where both people are in similar positions but the senior has already learned the ropes.

Americans often tend to distrust hierarchical relations for fear that the person in the higher position will take advantage of the lower. While Japanese understand that the two members of the relationship are not equal, they expect both people to benefit from the relationship. The person in the lower position is expected to honor his senior; this may be merely a show of deference, or an outpouring of goods and services. On the other hand, the person in the higher position is expected to feel responsibility toward his subordinate and look out for his best interests. An older student may take pains to make sure that a younger friend is well-prepared for his exams, or a supervisor may be on the lookout for a good wife for one of his workers. Whatever the particulars of the relationship, it is always understood to be reciprocal: benefits and responsibilities go both ways.

Group Participation

Americans value highly the idea of the individual, his freedom of choice and inalienable rights. In fact, it seems that Americans spend a lot of time proving to themselves just who they are as distinct from those around them. Perhaps it is because we say that all people are created equal that we feel that we not only can, but should, strive to fulfill some distinctive potential and prove how we are each unique. This is not to say that Americans do not cooperate, want to belong, and take pleasure in shared experience. It simply means that we tend to idealize individualism.

Japanese tend to reverse the balance, playing down individualism and placing higher value on participation in group endeavors. Japanese are still highly competitive and they admire excellence. Sports that pit individual against individual, such as tennis and golf, are extremely popular in Japan. Yet, competition within the group, and even individual excellence that might set one apart from one's friends or coworkers, are far more discouraged than in the United States. The rules of Japanese etiquette and patterns of group organization tend to reinforce the unity of the group while directing competitive energy toward other groups.

Harmony and Consensus

As indicated, for Japanese the group, rather than the individual, is the most important social unit. For this reason, great value is placed on harmony in interpersonal relations, thus diminishing conflicts that might disturb the solidarity of the group. Japanese prefer personality traits of cooperativeness and sensitivity to traits like independence and assertiveness.

There are also numerous patterns of social behavior that function to reduce conflict. For example, when a number of people must make a decision on how they will act as a group, there is almost inevitably some difference of opinion, some disagreement. Except in close groups, Americans are inclined in such a situation to take a vote. The holders of the minority opinion just "like it or lump it," and that can mean ill-feelings. To avoid such dissatisfaction and the problems that continuing conflict may bring, Japanese prefer to work through consensus, or seeking general agreement. A problem and possible solutions are discussed at great length by everyone involved. A new proposal will be modified in the process of discussion until it is acceptable to all; or, if it becomes clear that some people are so adamantly opposed that attempting a change is more trouble than it is worth, the proposal will be quietly abandoned before there is a public confrontation.

The Japanese call this process nemawashi, which literally means to dig around the base of a tree and bind up the roots in preparation for transplanting. The objective is to make sure

that everyone feels he or she has had a chance to have a say in the matter. While maybe few are 100 percent satisfied, few are very unhappy either, and everyone will give informed consent prior to an official declaration. The seemingly endless debate can be exasperating for non-Japanese, but once a decision is reached and formally declared, it is carried out quickly and smoothly because everyone understands and has accepted the plan.

How To Get Along in Japanese Society: A Role Play

There is an exercise at the end of this section called "How to Get Along in Japanese Society." In this exercise several more of the rules for Japanese social behavior are outlined. You are given five problems that a Japanese might have, and your teacher has the "correct" Japanese solution. The solution will seem strange to you if you try to solve the problem as an American. But by looking at the problem in terms of Japanese rules of social behavior, even if you disagree with those rules, you will be able to understand why Japanese behave the way they do. And for you, at least, Japanese will no longer be inscrutable.

Questions for Discussion

1. What is a society?
2. Does each society have rules that guide how people behave toward one another?

List some rules for American society.

If many of these rules are unspoken, how do we learn them?

3. Why is group participation so important to Japanese?
4. Do you belong to any groups?

What ways are they important to you?

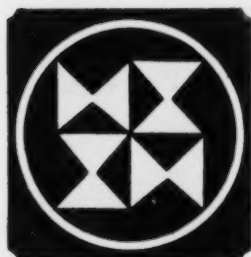
5. Why is harmony important for groups?
6. What is consensus?

How does it promote harmony?

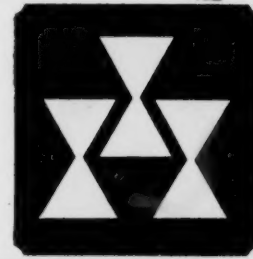
What techniques can you think of that can be used to promote consensus in a group?

Vocabulary

cliche
inscrutable
nomadic
environment
contractual
hierarchy
egalitarianism
status
compliance
comradery
superior
subordinate
inalienable
idealize
individualism
endeavor
etiquette
assertiveness
adamantly
exasperating



Reading



HIERARCHY IN JAPAN

Did you know that in a Japanese factory both the workers and the managers eat lunch in the same dining room? There is no special lunchroom for the president and vice-president of a company. And in the workshop, there is no cleaning staff that comes in after hours. Every worker cleans the area around his work space. Yet Japan is said to be a very "hierarchical" society. What does this mean?

HIERARCHY IN JAPAN

All human societies are hierarchical to some degree. Individuals are granted status as a result of natural characteristics (such as age and sex) and personal achievements. These statuses are ranked, each below some and above others. Each status carries with it a set of expectations as to appropriate behavior toward others, including both privileges and duties.

In the West emphasis is placed upon achievement in determining status. American values, at least in their most idealized form, hold that "all men are created equal," and it is through one's own endeavors that one rises or falls. Furthermore, the status achieved in one field does not necessarily carry over into other fields.

In the United States, when people are of widely different status their behavior toward each other is also different. Consider the correct behavior between a child and a teacher or a parishioner and a priest. Otherwise, though, behavior indicating small status differences can be vague or nonexistent. In fact, most Americans feel uncomfortable when dealing with people of different status and are quick to reduce interaction to an egalitarian level whenever possible.

For Japanese, in contrast, knowing social ranking is essential to correct and comfortable social relations. It is assumed that no two people are exactly the same status, and one can hardly go through the simplest of daily affairs without acknowledging status differences. For example, status differences are inherent in the nature of the Japanese language, and it is practically impossible to speak without implying something about the relative status of yourself, the listener, or the person you may be discussing.

Rather than emphasizing merit, ranking in Japan is usually based on seniority. Deference is shown to those who are older and those who entered an organization earlier. An American may refer to all his coworkers as "colleagues" and treat them all in basically the same informal manner. Employees in a Japanese company are always careful to distinguish senpai, kōhai, and dōryō--that is, seniors, juniors, and equals. "Equals" are those who enter a company all at the same time, but even equals are soon ranked by age, schooling, etc. A junior is expected to use respectful forms of speech when addressing or referring to a senior. A senior, for his part, uses informal and familiar forms of speech toward his junior.

Once the ranking of two Japanese is clear and a relationship is established, the hierarchical positions are likely to remain fixed over time regardless of the situation. You can imagine in America how a teacher and a student, for example, might become friends and, while continuing to deal formally in the classroom, may be on a first name basis outside of school. Certainly if after graduation the student went on to become a teacher and was hired at the same school, one would expect the teachers to deal with each other as colleagues. In Japan, on the other hand, a student would never presume to use less than honorific speech forms. Even if the younger teacher were to surpass his mentor as a scholar he would continue to show deference.

* * *

In the following selection, from Richard Halloran's book Japan: Images and Realities (New York: Knopf, 1969), pp. 228-31, a member of the Japanese business community describes some of the dimensions of the relationship he has with his superior. The article originally used the Japanese term oyabun/kobun, meaning literally a relationship like that of parent and child. In recent years the terms oyabun and kobun have come to carry the worst connotations of a "boss" and "henchman" relationship, such as those found in criminal organizations. For this reason we have substituted the neutral English terms "superior" and "subordinate."

While Japanese terminology may be changing, the nature of the relationship remains the same and can teach us a great deal about Japanese social relations. Notice first that even in a business relationship, it is expected that the relationship will extend into the realm of personal life. Second, once a relationship is established, people expect to cultivate it even when the original reason for the relationship has passed. Third, these superior/-subordinate relationships are not necessarily spontaneous friendships. Rather, it is the way people of unequal status are expected to interact. They form interlocking relations from the lowest to the highest levels of society. Finally, while Americans often tend to be wary of hierarchical relationships, fearing exploitation by those above or presumptuous demands from

below, the Japanese expect such relationships to exist. Each party enjoys privilege and accepts duties toward the other in what is a mutually beneficial arrangement.

Vocabulary

hierarchical

status

privilege

endeavor

parishioner

inherent

merit

seniority

deference

colleague

honorific

surpass

mentor

connotation

terminology

interlocking

exploitation

presumptuous

mutually beneficial



Primary Source

HIERARCHY IN JAPAN

SUPERIOR-SUBORDINATE

In our personal relations with people outside our families we Japanese follow somewhat the same pattern as inside our families. . . . all through our business world, in the political factions, the bureaucracy, and in labor. The superior [in the parent position] is the senior, the subordinate [in the child position] the junior. My superior is the head of my department who went to Keio University many years before I did and who has taken an interest in me ever since I entered the company. Three of my classmates entered at the same time, and we have all become his subordinate. As our superior, he looks after our general welfare in all sorts of things. When I have personal problems or financial difficulties I always seek his advice.

One time Akiko [my wife] and I had a bad disagreement, which was surprising as she usually does what I ask her, and I went to my superior for his advice. He was very busy that day but listened to me for an hour and suggested what I should do. Then he called up Akiko on some pretext and talked with her. He didn't say anything about the disagreement, but told her how well I was doing in the company and that he knew she was a great help to me in making a happy home so that I could concentrate on my work and things like that. Anyway, we soon resolved the argument.

He also arranged for my son to get into a particularly good school. The boy had passed the examination but we were afraid that others with better connections would fill all the places. My superior, however, knows the headmaster and was able to persuade him. I, of course, pay great respect to my superior and listen to him carefully and do as he says diligently. I do anything I can to increase his prestige by my good performance and attitude.

The superior-subordinate relationship doesn't break even if I am transferred to another department. Several years ago, I was shifted from accounting into the economic research department for a year to help them and to gain wider experience, which is useful for the company. But I retained my ties to my superior in the accounting department, too. I would find a reason to visit his office every week or ten days to tell him what I was doing and to listen to his advice.

The superior-subordinate relationship goes all the way up and down. My superior is subordinate to the president of the company, who is a close friend of my superior's father. I am not so senior yet, but about a year ago some new men came into our de-

partment and two young Keio graduates were assigned to me as assistants. I have become their superior and am beginning to help them as best I can. I spend a lot of time making sure that I fulfill my superior-subordinate obligations. But I feel very secure in the system. I think, too, all these superior-subordinate relationships, which overlap, help to make our company stronger in personal relations and therefore to work better.

We Japanese are intensely competitive outside our families and small groups. We strive very hard for prestige and position, power and money, and even for space in our crowded country. But we are aware that excessive competition can be dangerous and could cause much harm in politics and business or daily life, if we did not control it. We have many ways of making sure that competition does not become too strong. My foreign friends, particularly one who is an aggressive American businessman, say we control competition so much that we have none at all.

Acknowledgment: From JAPAN: IMAGES AND REALITIES, by Richard Halloran. Copyright c 1969 by Richard Halloran. Reprinted by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why do you think that Japanese people establish superior-subordinate relationships in their work place?
2. If superior-subordinate relationships were established at your school, who would be your superior?

Your subordinate(s)?

Why?

3. Would you like to have relationships such as these?

Do you?

In what ways can such relationships provide security for an individual?

In what ways could they provoke tensions? Explain.

4. Can someone in a superior position also be a subordinate to someone else?

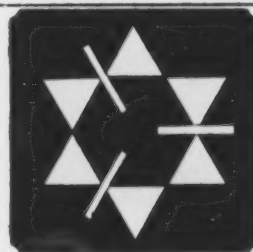
Can someone be a superior to more than one person?

A subordinate to more than one?

If no, explain why not.

Reading

GROUP PARTICIPATION



In every society people feel a tension between their personal desire for freedom and a need to participate in groups. These two traits--individualism and group consciousness--coexist but in different balance depending on the culture. Americans appreciate teamwork and cooperation and enjoy group membership, yet they place high value upon individualism, independent action, and the rights of the individual. We frequently romanticize the person who is the "lone wolf" and feel a particular sympathy for those who struggle against "the system." For Japanese, on the other hand, successful participation in a group is far more highly valued; the American emphasis on individualism seems selfish and lonely. The Japanese sense of self and of personal satisfaction derives less from his independence than from his feelings of belonging to social groups like family, school, company, and club.

The model upon which the Japanese group is based, and from which the importance of group consciousness derives, is the large household (ie) of the past. Throughout Japanese history, most people lived in nuclear families (parents and their unmarried children), but the ideal was the prosperous household consisting of family members, servants, and field hands. Blood relationship itself was not so important, while physical proximity and economic interdependence produced a family-like intimacy and unity of purpose among all members of the household.

The most important element of one's self-identity was the household membership. Individuals one after another were born, raised, worked, retired, and died--but the household lived on. One worked for the success of the household, and one's fortunes rose or fell with those of the house.

The family-like nature of groups can still be found in some elements of Japanese society. Japanese gangsters, for example, speak of their boss as "father" (oyabun) and may themselves be called "son." Many relationships between leaders and followers of different status resemble "parent/child" relationships.

The Japanese household itself, however, has changed. It is no longer the unit of economic production and no longer contains people unrelated by blood. The Japanese family looks about the same as the American family, except it is more likely that the grandparents live with the family in the Japanese case.

The most important group of identification in modern Japan is now the firm for which one works. Employment for a big firm is not a contractual arrangement; it is the establishment of a relationship of mutual reliance and joint endeavor on the part of all employees. The assumption of lifetime employment gives the workers feelings of security, identification with, and loyalty to the group.

For most Americans, too, the most important course of identity is what you "do," that is, your work. But where an American is likely to speak of his skills ("I am an electrician") or his function ("I'm a supermarket manager"), the Japanese identifies with his employer ("I'm with Mitsubishi Trading Company"). His tasks within the company may change, but his affiliation will last a lifetime.

There are many other organizations that are important to Japanese. Schools are objects of fierce loyalty, just as they can be in America. Students are avid boosters of sports and other activities. Transferring to another school is practically unheard of in Japan. And because of the tendency of certain businesses to recruit from particular colleges, school identity often carries through the rest of one's life.

Religious organizations are not significant for most Japanese, but the "new religions" are exceptions to this rule. These religious sects receive intense commitment, in particular from members of society who are unaffiliated with more standard organizations like a full-time employer. And, of course, people join innumerable other organizations ranging from the PTA and the Lions to flower-arranging classes and hiking clubs. It is through affiliation with diverse organizations that many Japanese create their sense of individualism.

It would be wrong to picture the Japanese as being unable to act on their own, outside of a group, just as it would be wrong to think that Americans do not form committees or get together with groups of friends. The fact remains, however, that Japanese are more inclined naturally to think first of acting as part of a group whether for work or for play.

No one joins a group simply to join. There are many benefits in being a member. By participating in a group a person may gain friendship, emotional support, economic security, entertainment, and more. On the other hand, one must give up a degree of personal choice and freedom. Japanese are more dependent on their groups for their personal identity. They feel responsible to other members of the group, and feel personally ashamed for the misdeed of a fellow member. Japan is a society of compromise and conformity that many Americans would find intolerable. Japan is also a society of greater mutual support and interpersonal respect, where antisocial acts such as crime and youth violence are rare. Each social system has its own benefits and its costs.

Questions for Discussion

1. In every society people have to make choices--sometimes easy, sometimes hard--between their personal desires and obligations or responsibilities to groups such as family, school, or job.

Can you think of an example when you had a very difficult choice like this that you had to make?

What did you do?

What values are reflected in your choice?

Certain people were affected by your choice. How did you expect them to behave if you chose one way, or the other?

In what way did the possible consequences of your choice, not simply the values, influence your decision?

2. Cultures do not always state their values explicitly, but they often appear indirectly as the implicit conclusions or morals of popular entertainment such as movies and novels. Frank Sinatra once sang a song called "I Did It My Way," and Ayn Rand wrote a number of books, such as The Fountainhead, in which the hero was a free-thinking individual.

Give an example of contemporary songs or movies that extoll the merits of individualism.

Now, what about the reverse? Are there any stories that emphasize the value of cooperation and group effort?

3. What do Japanese people find fulfilling about group participation?

Do you feel the same?

4. Why is the large household of traditional Japan able to provide a model for groups? Is this type of large family household still common in Japan?

Vocabulary

trait

interdependence

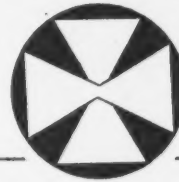
group consciousness

individualism

innumerable

conformity

MAINTAINING HARMONY AND SEEKING CONSENSUS



INTRODUCTION

American cultural values tend to place great importance on the individual. There is a strong romantic ideal that happiness in life results from identifying and fulfilling one's unique potential rather than conforming to the demands of people and circumstance. American politics and policy have always been carried out in the name of individual freedom. This is not to say that Americans do not appreciate cooperation and recognize the importance of compromise, but American ideology places more emphasis upon those who stand up for their rights or are willing to make sacrifices for the sake of their principles, even when it means coming into conflict with others.

Japanese cultural values, in contrast, emphasize the importance of the group. For Japanese, maturity has to do with learning to live harmoniously with others and to avoid conflict. This can often mean sacrificing personal desires for the sake of the group, and Japanese recognize that the pain involved in conformity can be great. There is certainly admiration for individual talent and excellence, as well as sympathy for nonconformists who, with sincerity and good intentions, are willing to pay the price for going their own way. Overwhelmingly, however, the ideal of social behavior is one that reinforces harmony within the group and reduces conflict. A degree of independence and forcefulness may be personality traits cultivated in America, but to Japanese, such self-assertiveness seems both egotistical and immature. Self-control, cooperation, compromise, deference, and anticipation of the desires of others are preferred.

One way Japanese minimize conflict is by making decisions through consensus. Seeking a consensus, or achieving general agreement, contrasts with simply voting on a matter or with giving orders from the top. Building a consensus is the more natural way for Japanese small groups and face-to-face organizations to reach a decision. The term nemawashi is frequently used in this context. Literally it means "to go around the roots" and refers to the gardener's technique of cutting roots and binding them up before transplanting a tree. In laying the groundwork for group action, leaders will do nemawashi by consulting with all the parties involved. The process of discussion can mean that everyone is well informed about all the issues and the implications.

Discussion may result in a change in the original plan so that everyone is satisfied . . . but not necessarily. It may become clear that some people are resolutely opposed to the proposal.

In such a case the action may be considered too much trouble and will be abandoned. All this discussion can take a long time and Americans doing business in Japan often get frustrated. When a decision is finally reached by consensus, however, it can be put into action quickly because everyone is familiar with the issues and has agreed to support it. The important thing about nemawashi and consensus decision-making is that everyone is given an opportunity to express his opinion. In this way dissatisfaction and conflict are minimized within the group while unity of action is maximized.

Class Exercise

This exercise may be done as a class or by breaking down into smaller groups.

1. Pick a controversial issue for discussion.

It is important that the topic chosen for discussion be one that can be resolved by a group of individuals in face-to-face discussions. The Japanese do not employ a consensual model of decision-making when the group involved is too large to meet for discussion. In such situations and particularly when resolving issues of national political concern, they invoke majority rule.

A list of possible topics appears below. Others more pertinent to your own school setting can be substituted at your discretion. If you decide to choose an issue that is of national importance, remember that your goal is not to resolve the issue for the whole nation but just to arrive at a position on the issue that is acceptable to everyone in your small group.

Possible topics for discussion:

- . Where should the senior class picnic be held?
- . What should be the new design for the school t-shirt?
- . Should abortion be legal in your community?
- . Should there be school prayer at your school?
- . How severely should drunken drivers be penalized?
- . Should pass-fail grades be introduced at your school?
- . How much homework should be given to your class?
- . When is the best time of the semester for tests to be scheduled?

2. Choose a discussion leader.

In each group, one person should be designated the discussion leader. His or her job is to keep the discussion flowing and to bring out points of compromise from the various positions articulated until some type of consensus is reached.

3. Without worrying so much about principles of "right" and "wrong", try to hammer out a single statement of position that will be acceptable to everyone in your group.

If a solution is found to which everyone agrees, fine. If no such agreement can be reached, then the job of the leader is to help the group find a solution that can be accepted by all as the best possible, given the differing opinions in the group. Those who do not completely agree with the final decision should still feel that their opinions have been heard and considered by all.

If a group remains completely divided, then it should agree to reach no decision.

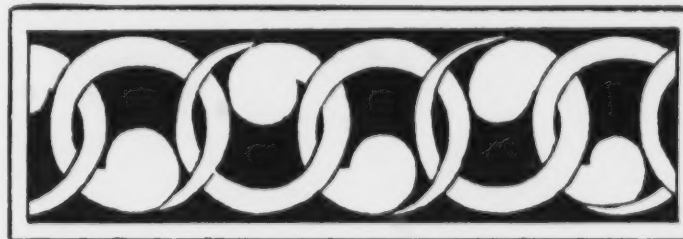
At the conclusion of the exercise, the group leader should report on the group's deliberation to the entire class.

4. Evaluate your experience.

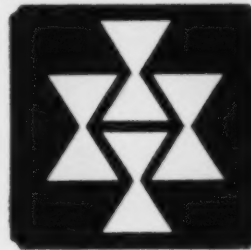
In the exercise, when your goal was to reach a consensus and maintain close relations with other members of your group, what effect did you find this had on the importance you attached to your own opinion or principles? Explain.

Do you think the "consensus" method is better than the "majority rule" method in certain situations? Why?

Can you think of examples where Americans make decisions by consensus? (When you are making decisions with your family and friends, do you always go by majority rule?)



Film Guide



Film title: DECISION-MAKING IN JAPAN

Format: 16mm, color, 28 minutes (release date: 1975)

Available from: Public Affairs Office
Japan Trade Center*
1221 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10020
Telephone: (212) 997-0400

Rental fee: FREE

*JTC also has offices in Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

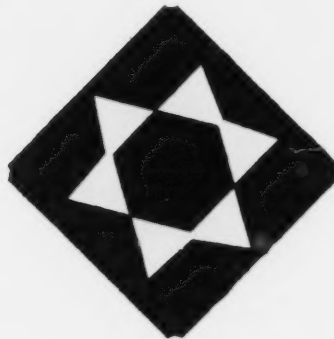
Teacher note: A list of QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION is appended to the film guide. The questions can be distributed to students prior to the film showing in order to focus attention on the material in the film.

This short film will work well to underscore group consciousness and harmonious social relations as well as focusing on the use of consensus decisions in business. Early in the film scenes of family life in a contemporary farm village suggest how, over a long history of minimal personal privacy and maximum interdependence, Japanese developed a social system wherein individuals identified themselves with the group and were sensitized to the feelings of others. The patriarch, although invested with absolute authority, really acted to ratify decisions made in consultation with family members. This tradition of group solidarity can be seen in many aspects of modern Japanese business practice. Working side by side in the office and spending leisure time together increases the emotional closeness of employees. The Japanese manager does not make decisions and give orders; rather, he coordinates discussion until there is unity of opinion. There is a growing tendency for Japanese to seek individual expression, yet "decisions will probably continue to flow from the process of building a consensus which is confirmed by executive action and implemented with enthusiasm by each of the many decision-makers who took part."

Questions for Discussion

1. What might be the origin of the Japanese emphasis on group solidarity and decision-making through consensus?
2. What are some Japanese business practices that reinforce employee loyalty and minimize in-group friction?
3. How does the role of the American leader, or boss, compare with that of his Japanese counterpart?
4. How might hierarchy in social relations function to further harmony in ways that equality might not?
5. If you wanted to do business with a Japanese company, who would you contact?

Who would you expect to make the decision?



HOW TO GET ALONG *



Role Play

TO THE TEACHER

This role-playing exercise or game is designed to help students understand the "rules" or values of Japanese society.

Why, in specific situations, do Japanese make decisions quite different from those we would make under the circumstances? What benefits or rewards do they get for playing by their rules? It is hoped that students will learn that while the Japanese have different values, they also have different satisfactions and different fulfillments; in other words, that the rules of each culture make total sense from that culture's point of view.

We have tried to illustrate the values of Japanese society in terms of a few rules for good teamwork. Below are the simple rules, designed for students, and the situations as they should be explained to students. Also included, for the sake of the instructor, is a background to the rules and the situations explaining more fully what cultural values are implied. In some cases, we expect that students will not be able to guess from the rules what the Japanese would do, but after it is explained to them, they will see that it makes sense. This should help illustrate to them the fact of their own cultural conditioning. It is recommended that students read the first reading in this unit, the Introduction, before beginning this exercise.

Materials

Student Material: Rules for Getting Along in Japanese Society

Situation

Teacher Material: Rules For Getting Along in Japanese Society: Background

Questions For Discussion: Resolution of the Situation

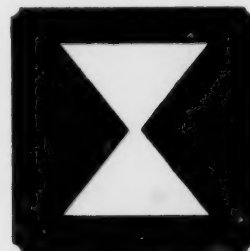
*Acknowledgment: Prepared by Professor Judith Berling for the Conference on Education for Mutual Understanding: Teaching about Japanese-American Relations, Indiana University. Adapted and reprinted by permission.

Directions

1. Pass out the student reading on ten "Rules for Getting Along in Japanese Society."
2. Read through and discuss each rule with the students. Use whatever additional information you feel is appropriate from the Teacher's Guide, "Rules for Getting Along in Japanese Society: Background."
3. Next pass out the Student Reading on "Situations." Have the students read through the five situations and answer the questions.
4. Discuss their answers, using the Teacher's Guide, "Resolution of the Situations."

You may wish to present the problems in turn to the entire class for discussion before giving the truly Japanese solution. Or the class may be broken into several small groups of five or six students. A group must decide upon one solution and justify it following the rules. The practice of a small group seeking a single, acceptable answer is an example of consensus, that very Japanese form of decision-making.

5. Use the Questions for Discussion to draw out cultural comparisons.



Student Material



RULES FOR GETTING ALONG IN JAPANESE SOCIETY

1. You are a team member. When the team wins, you win. When the team loses, you lose. (You are members of several teams--family, village, place of work, country.)
2. Team members must obey the rules of the team, or they will be "benched." Their teammates expect them to "play fair," or they will not associate with them.
3. Team members are expected faithfully to play their role and perform their function for the team.
4. You cannot switch teams; you belong to a team for life.
5. If one team member makes a mistake or gets into trouble, it ruins the reputation of the entire team. It is not simply his/her mistake. Thus team members will work together to try to avoid all mistakes.
6. The team leader is responsible for the whole team; he assumes public responsibility for their errors. They, in turn, are personally responsible to him. Since no one is expected to change teams, the team leader cannot simply "get rid of" a bad player; he must work very hard to build a first-rate team with the players he has.
7. First, second, and third string are determined by age (seniority). People of the same age are on the same string, and they "move up" together. This promotes internal cooperation and teamwork, rather than jealousy and competition to "get ahead."
8. The best rewards in life are for good team work. Individual success may be nice, but it is not shared and does not increase one's sense of belonging to the team. Individual success is permitted so long as it does not threaten one's commitment to the team and one's solidarity with team members.
9. A team is defined not only by its present members; it has a tradition. It includes all players of the past, and potential players of the future. The short-term success of the moment is never allowed to endanger the built-up reputation of the team, or its possibilities for future success. Thus the team not only wants to win this game and this pennant, but--most importantly--to prepare for the

best possible record over the long term.

10. Team spirit requires the good will and total commitment to the team of all its members. They cannot make a show of team spirit while secretly thinking only of themselves.

SITUATIONS

1. Yoshi is the son of a wealthy family that owns a lumber company. He is the only child of his parents. His wife, whom he loved dearly, died in childbirth just a year ago. He has no desire to remarry; he loved his wife too much, and it would seem an insult to her memory. However, his parents want him to marry again, because they want a grandchild to inherit the lumber company. Actually, Yoshi does not like the lumber business. If he had his way, he would move to Tokyo and become a car dealer.

What should Yoshi do? Support your decision with the rules you have.

2. Mr. Hirai is chief of the design department in a large company that manufactures ready-to-wear clothing. He takes a deep interest in all his employees and feels a responsibility for their personal contentment as well as for the smooth functioning of his department. The group of five men and three women who entered the department together three years ago have finished their period of internship and time has come for one of them to be promoted to subsection chief over the others. In informal discussions among supervisors one young woman, Midori, has been noted as having unusual talent in design. Not only does she have excellent design skills but it has become clear that she is able to anticipate fashion trends. Midori's fashion sense might be very profitable for the company.

Will Mr. Hirai support a proposal for Midori's promotion?

3. Takashi is finishing his last year in trade school, where he is learning to be a machine tool operator. He has received offers from two small companies for jobs following graduation but he is not sure which to choose. Hirano Tool and Die pays better. Mr. Hirano expects a good days work for his money, but he does not press employees for extra services. Mr. Hirano certainly does not try to interfere in people's personal lives. When the work day is over, everyone is free to lead his own life. At Yamamoto Machine Tool, on the other hand, the wages are not as good, but there are a number of special benefits like an annual company outing and a company baseball team. Mr. Yamamoto frequently takes workers out for dinner and drinks, although it is very difficult not to go even if you would rather not. While Mr. Yamamoto frequently asks employees to work late or give up vacation days, even when there are rules against it, he is equally likely to bend rules to help a worker who has personal problems.

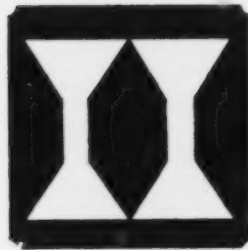
Which company will Takashi join?

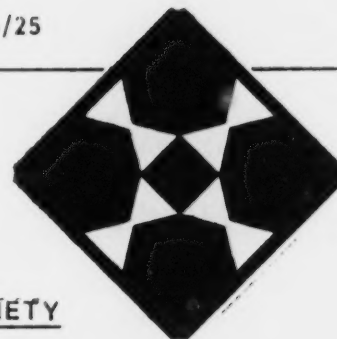
4. The seventh-grade teacher, Sato sensei, used some extremely offensive language in the classroom. The shocked students told their parents, who have come to complain to the principal, Mr. Tanabe.

What would Mr. Tanabe do?

5. Mr. Akiyama, founder of a number of successful restaurants, has no sons to inherit his empire, only three daughters.

How would he go about ensuring an heir?





Teacher's Guide

RULES FOR GETTING ALONG IN JAPANESE SOCIETY

FOR RULE 1. The Japanese sense of self does not rest on the individual but on the social self, as a member of an ongoing family line, a resident of a village, a worker in a company. They see the Western view of the individual as rootless, lonely, and depressing. They want to be part of an on-going human stream. This is our most fundamental problem in understanding the Japanese, for our notions of self-fulfillment and happiness are excessively individualistic, and we see risking loneliness or unpopularity in a noble cause as the highest of human activities. Japanese would see the highest good as going able to convince the group to recognize the moral demands of life.

FOR RULE 2. There is social pressure in Japanese society that supports the traditional values. Since they do not put self-fulfillment first, it is natural that they should dissuade "wrong-headed rebels" who are threatening to give up the all-important sense of belonging for some individual whim that may not prove very satisfying. The young and restless are counselled to be patient and maintained their ties with family, friends, and work until their point is seen and understood, if ever. The cost of alienation is simply too great to risk for some "selfish" purpose, and they do not want the person to end up lonely and bitter.

FOR RULE 3. Each person, depending on his or her place in society, has certain obligations and certain modes of behavior expected of him/her. So long as he/she fulfils these rules, he/she belongs and is accepted. Far from seeming oppressive, these rules give the individual an easy way of belonging. Contrast American society in which there are very few rules, and belonging (especially to family and/or peer group) depends on intangible feelings, sense of compatability, etc. Japanese find American society very difficult, because one is never sure when one belongs, or exactly what is expected.

FOR RULE 4. Many of you will know of the life-time employment system in Japan, which offers great security for the individual. Once you are hired, you are "safe," and you need not worry about belonging. Likewise, family and social ties are much more enduring in Japan; friends are friends for life. The cost of alienation from family or friends is much higher. A "healthy" individual is expected to remain part of the same group for life, and he/she feels great acceptance in having this stable group of old friends and family.

FOR RULE 5. This rule states the concept of "face." "Face" is the person's reputation for integrity. However, when one loses "face" by an unacceptable social act, the loss of "face" is not merely the person's shame, but it also reflects on his group, and in particular on the leader responsible for the group. The group and the leader are responsible for that person's behavior. This group responsibility not only determines group culpability, but it means that the group and the leader take much more responsibility for guiding the member's behavior than in our culture; a team member is not just a member because of a "contract," but rather the group works together to give each other guidance and support.

FOR RULE 6. This value comes from Japan's feudal tradition, and it represents one aspect of the reciprocal relationship involved in the strong loyalty to group and superiors expected in Japanese society. It is not a matter of loyalty to an arbitrary dictator; the burden of the leader is very heavy. He is very responsible for the actions and characters of those under him. An error by an underling is ultimately his responsibility, and he must assume public responsibility for it. To prevent such disasters, the Japanese leader understandably takes a strongly paternalistic interest in those under him.

FOR RULE 7. Japanese society is hierarchical, and the levels are determined by age and seniority. Again, the Japanese view of the individual determines this. In the Western sense, competition on the basis of individual ability and achievement makes all the sense in the world, since our society seeks to maximize fulfillment of each individual according to his capabilities. However, if group identity and belonging is more important than individual success, then you want the rules for "advancement" not to undermine the sense of team solidarity, the sense of mutual trust and belonging. Thus, you try to minimize competition within the group, while maximizing the success of the group as a whole. If one knows that one will belong to the team for life, and will benefit from team success, it makes less difference how long it takes to get to the top, or whether one is recognized as a "star."

FOR RULE 8. Here again we confront our Western difficulty in dealing with the Japanese concept of self. We tend to believe that groups (family, offices, country, etc.) should be organized to allow individuals maximum freedom to pursue their interests, ambitions, dreams, and ideals; if we are "held back" by job or by friendships, we will tend to counsel people to leave them behind, take a risk, and "follow their star," to do WHAT'S BEST FOR THEM. In Japan, some people do this, but the cost is very great--one is cut off from friends and family; people tend to see one as selfish and unduly ambitious; there is nowhere to turn when one is down. The best parallel, perhaps, is our reaction to someone who would betray friendships, use people, and step on anyone in his way to succeed. It is not that Japanese do not dream dreams, but that they are very aware of the cost in loneliness and suffering.

FOR RULE 9. The Japanese family is not the living members, but all of the ancestors and descendants; it is a family line. They will thus be very loathe to gamble the family wealth (land, business, etc.) in a venture which is the dream of one individual. They want to insure a future, not just for the next generation, but for many generations. Likewise, a business will be suspicious of short-term solutions to problems; they will ask workers and management to make more sacrifices for the long-term. (A good example is the lower take-home pay of Japanese workers, who accept certain benefits in place of salary benefits, to insure the expansion and strength of the company.)

FOR RULE 10. Because of our concept of individuality and individual fulfillment, we tend to see life as "the individual against the system," and we calculate how to play the rules of the system so as to get the most for ourselves. In Japan, because the concept of self is more social or group-oriented, it is more satisfying to work for group fulfillment. They don't feel that they are making some tragic sacrifice in subordinating individual interests for group interests; they feel an enormity of sacrifice when their individual interests drive them to alienate themselves from a group.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SITUATIONS

1. Yoshi should remarry and work in the lumber company. He has obligations to his family to provide descendants, and to the family business to keep it prospering for posterity. Note: It would be entirely another matter if he had brothers who could step in and carry on the family line; he still might be under family pressures to carry on the business, but if he persisted they would probably give in so long as his brother was able to carry on. They might even give him some money to get his car dealership going, if that investment did not threaten the family's long-term prosperity.

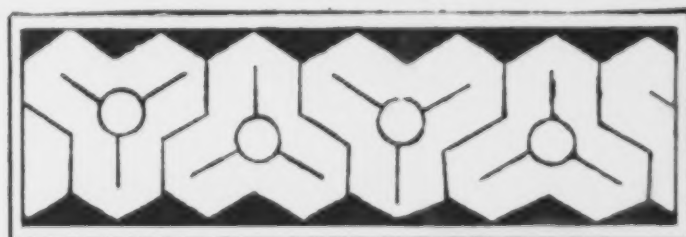
2. Mr. Hirai will not support the promotion of Midori over her coworkers for a number of reasons. To begin with, most of business is, as Thomas Edison said of genius, "1 percent inspiration and 99 percent perspiration." A manager's primary function is to make sure that people work well together. This is particularly true in Japan. Midori's talents have been identified as artistic, not managerial. Furthermore, Japanese sex roles are clearly and narrowly defined. There are talented women, strong-willed women, and ambitious women in Japan (just as there are everywhere else), and such women are hard to hold back, but the Japanese ideal of youthful femininity includes submissiveness and not dominance. Men, for their part, are expected to dominate women and in most circumstances would find it very difficult to be subordinate to a woman. Mr. Hirai will not wish to introduce such tensions into his work group unnecessarily.

Finally, most Japanese women expect, and are expected, to get married and quit work in their mid-twenties. Mr. Hirai too will expect Midori to leave soon. He fears a promotion would only disrupt her friendship with coworkers while she remains on the job. Furthermore, a promotion might make her appear too aggressive or self-assertive and, therefore, undesirable as a marriage partner. Mr. Hirai hopes to help Midori by introducing her to a suitable young man. In sum, while he may wish to acknowledge Midori's excellence, he will feel that promotion is not the way to do it, and will support the promotion of a man. (It should be noted that many of Japan's corporations have a two-tiered hiring system. Only men are hired as regular employees. All women are hired as temporary employees and are not entitled to standard pay raises, benefits, etc. In such a company Midori could not be considered for promotion.)

3. Takashi will join Yamamoto Machine Tool, the less impersonal (some might say more paternalistic) company. The Japanese regularly chose to invest their work relations with complex emotional ties, often of a family-like nature. Japanese generally prefer working arrangements that go beyond a strictly contractual exchange of labor for money. Japanese national surveys show that more than three quarters of the respondents would rather have an employer who showed a personal interest in them, even if he demanded extra work. A similar number of people say they would accept lower wages in exchange for a family-like atmosphere with outings and sports days.

4. Not only would the principal ask the teacher to publicly apologize and resign, but he himself would resign because he is responsible for his teachers. He would take responsibility on himself. His resignation might not be accepted, but it would be expected.

5. He would marry a promising young man to one of his daughters, and ASK THE YOUNG MAN TO TAKE HIS FAMILY NAME. In other words, the man would not only be his son-in-law, but his adopted son. Thus all of their children would have the family name, and could carry on the family line.



Questions for Discussion

1. How many of the situations did you resolve the way they would be resolved in Japan?

How many did you resolve differently?

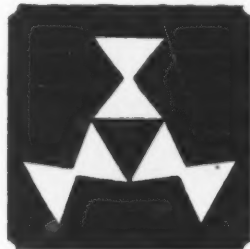
2. Do you think that the behavior of the Japanese individuals in each situation was compatible with the "rules" for getting along in Japanese society?

3. Draw up a list of "rules" for getting along in American society.

4. How do these differ from the "rules" for Japanese society?

How are they similar?

5. If you resolved some of the situations differently from the way they would be resolved in Japan, was it because you were unconsciously using "rules" for getting along in American society? Explain.



Rural Life

TO THE TEACHER

Japan is a modern, industrial, urban nation. Eighty-seven percent of the Japanese population lives in cities. Any discussion of rural life is therefore a discussion of minority life style, as it is in the United States.

A glimpse of rural Japan will, however, provide students with, among other things, a better understanding of the agricultural cycle, many traditional practices, cultural continuity between old and contemporary Japan, and the architecture of a Japanese farm house.

Two excellent films on rural life are available:

AIZU HOLIDAY (grades 7-9)
PAST MEETS PRESENT IN MINDANI HAMLET
(recommended for grades 10-12)

Teachers are encouraged to read through the guides to both films that follow to see what aspects of Japanese society can be explored through a unit on rural life. Class discussion of several issues might be conducted whether or not the films are shown.

<u>Film title:</u>	AIZU HOLIDAY
<u>Format:</u>	Childhood Deep in the Japanese Countryside 16 mm, color, 21 minutes (release date: 1978)
<u>Film title:</u>	PAST MEETS PRESENT IN MINDANI HAMLET
<u>Format:</u>	16 mm, color, 30 minutes (release date: 1979)
<u>Available from:</u>	Public Affairs Office Japan Trade Center* 1221 Avenue of the Americas New York, NY 10020 Telephone: (212) 997-0400
<u>Rental:</u>	FREE

*Offices also in Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

AIZU HOLIDAY

Aizu Holiday is the story of a summer vacation spent by Masami, a young Tokyo boy, in his cousin's farm village. The film's tone is light, focusing on the play of children as they run through the village world of farm work and community ritual. The film is particularly well-suited for younger students (7th or 8th grade), who will better identify with Masami. A great deal of information is conveyed visually, but because the style is minimally didactic, the film should be entertaining as well as educational. Use this film in conjunction with materials that make clear that Japan is a modern, industrial, urban nation where rural life is a real but minority life style, just as in America.

Points for Clarification



- Japanese children go to school 240 days a year, including half days on Saturday. The academic year begins on April 1 and is divided into three terms by vacations in the summer (six weeks in July and August), winter (two weeks over the New Year's holiday), and spring (two weeks following final exams).

- You may wish to draw attention to the farm house and life style it creates. Farm houses are usually large, particularly in contrast to the relatively cramped urban apartments and suburban houses, and they reflect many design elements that typify traditional Japanese architecture. Japanese sit on the floor, which is covered with rice straw mats called tatami. Thus, Japanese never wear street shoes in the house because shoes are dirty and would damage the mats. There are no chairs, although there are sometimes back rests. Other furniture, such as tables, is appropriately low to the ground. Even beds are only heavy quilts laid out each night and stored in closets each day. The functions of rooms are not as narrowly defined as in America and are easily changed just by changing the furniture. Space itself is flexible because many room dividers are merely sliding doors that are easily placed or removed. Large sections of exterior walls are also covered with sliding doors, which can open the house wide to the outside. There is no central heating, only space heaters; once charcoal braziers were set in the floor, but now electric or kerosene heaters are used.

This style of house reflects local climate (see Geography section) of hot, humid summers (the open walls), rainy seasons (deep eaves), and mild winters (poor insulation and heating), as well as aesthetic values such as openness to nature and stark design.

• Masami's grandparents, aunt, uncle, and cousin live together in the farmhouse. This kind of three generational extended family is still held up by the Japanese as a traditional and ideal family arrangement, whether or not many people actually live that way or would even really want to. An extended family is possible in a large farm house, but it becomes problematic in urban confines.

• At the family dinner and after work, the men can be seen drinking sake (sah-keh), a traditional alcoholic beverage made from rice, a little stronger than wine and tasting something like dry sherry.

• When Masami is introduced to the village boys he says Yoroshiku onegai-shimasu, the standard and polite introductory expression. The boys giggle because they are meeting an outsider and, perhaps, because of the "correctness" of his behavior.

• When Masami trips while playing, he falls in a paddy or rice field. The standard crop of Japan and the staple of the Japanese diet is "wet" rice. Rice grown in America is sown on dry fields, just like wheat. The more labor-intensive, and more productive, way to grow rice is to plant seedlings in mud and to keep the paddies flooded until the rice matures.

• Although it is a traditional craft, it would be truly exceptional for a family to harvest, spin, and hand weave its own ramie cloth today, and it should be looked upon as a hobby or handicraft. It is interesting to notice, however, that in the production of ramie, as with most other traditional farm tasks, the more hands, the better, and even children can add valuable labor. This fact, along with the need for support in old age, goes a long way toward explaining why agricultural people around the world want many children. You might also wish to comment on the way the grandfather teaches Masami while they work together. (Grand)parents showing children while doing has been the nature of education through most of human history, but it is inadequate for most of the needs of modern economy and social organization.

• In many ways, these children of rural Japan pass their summer days in the same way as some of their American counterparts. They play kick-the-can, build forts in the woods, swim in streams. The film gives a brief view, however, of a distinctive Japanese summer pastime. Throughout Japan children buy small nets on long poles and lunchbox-size cages. With these tools in hand, young hunters chase diminutive game, mostly insects. The most prized trophies are cicada and large, lumbering beetles. So popular are the giant beetles that they are even sold in variety stores and at festivals. Because of this childhood sport, and because of the cicada's distinctive seasonal song, the beetle and cicada are standard symbols of summer.

• Some students may comment on the fact that the boys wear

"Western" clothes, down to T-shirts with English-language advertising. Japanese women may dress up in kimono on formal occasions, and men may wear kimono on certain traditional holidays like New Year's and Obon. But, with these few exceptions, Japanese dress just like Americans. Japanese are very fashion conscious and have a successful fashion industry. Imported goods are highly valued (as are European designer goods by many Americans), so Japanese-made clothes sometimes have English words on them for purely aesthetic reasons, just as we might print cloth with Chinese characters, yet not understand the meaning.

Questions for Discussion



1. When Masami arrives at his cousin's farm, the villagers are doing a folk dance to celebrate the harvest. Why do you think so many cultures around the world have harvest festivals?

Do Americans have a harvest celebration?

How do they celebrate it?

2. In the film there were many scenes showing Japanese farm houses. In what ways is a Japanese house the same or different from an American house?

What about the floors, walls, furniture? What would it be like to live in a house like that?

3. Masami's grandparents, aunt, uncle, and cousin all live together in one house. How many generations live together in your house?

What are some reasons why grandparents, parents, children, and other family members might want or need to live together?

Why might people choose not to live together in an extended family?

How do you feel about it?

4. The film shows many ways that Japanese children play in a rural area.

Do any of these activities look like things you have done or might do?

Do any of their pastimes seem strange?

5. If you visited a Japanese farm village for the summer, what would you take home as a souvenir?

PAST MEETS PRESENT IN MINDANI HAMLET

The Past Meets the Present in Mindani Hamlet shows highlights of one year in a contemporary Japanese farm village.

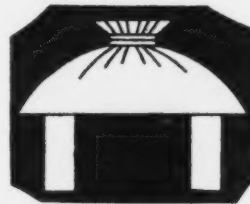
The idea of cultural continuity is caught in the multi-layered and murky symbolism of hand production of iron, scenes of which appear as transitional segments of the film. For centuries the people of Izumo, where Mindani is located, produced iron from iron sand using charcoal smelting. While iron production has been transformed by modern technology, the traditional skills have survived and are occasionally used. In village life, too, rituals and skills from the past live on.

More importantly, traditional iron production depended upon the labor of farmers in areas such as charcoal production. Thus, even in premodern times, Japanese farm families were involved in a dual economy of agricultural production and proto-industrial labor. Today, too, the farmers of Mindani work their farms while participating in local factory production and slack season jobs.

Finally, the cooperative nature of labor necessary in the past for farming and iron production continues to be highly valued by the people of Mindani. (The movie's seasonal segments of life in Mindani are both beautiful and informative but, unfortunately, the scenes of iron production create a very slow-paced opening, and their meaning remains obscure until the end.)

This movie should be viewed only in conjunction with other material that shows that contemporary Japan is basically an urban, industrial nation. Eighty-seven percent of Japanese live in cities. As in America, rural life is a real, but minority, life-style.

Points for Clarification



- About two-thirds of Japan is mountainous and only 15 percent of the land is suitable for farming. Farm lands are limited to coastal plains and small mountain valleys. Japanese farms are small (2.5 acres, average) compared to American farms, but they are very productive as a consequence of skill and intensive labor.

- Mindani village is located in Izumo on the Japan Sea side, or "backside," of Honshu, the main island of Japan (see Geography section). The winters are colder and much snowier on the backside of Japan, seriously hampering any agricultural work for several

months each year. As the movie indicates, some Izumo farmers in the past were employed seasonally in iron production. There is an additional, long-standing practice in which men of the backside leave their farms during the slack winter months to seek seasonal employment on the milder side of the island, for example, in the sake breweries of the Osaka-Kobe region.

- Mindani village contains 37 households and 160 individuals, and it is the household that is the important unit of reckoning for the Japanese. The number of family members, live-in relatives and employees may vary over time, but generally households are long-lived and their numbers stable over time. Farm households are not only families but also economic units, creating a very strong source of self-identification (see Group Consciousness section).

- The Fujiwara children live in a school dormitory, away from the village, on weekdays. Although the reasons for these living arrangements are not explained, it is likely a question of low population density in the area, necessitating a regional school. Travel distances and/or winter snows may make commuting impractical.

- Cattle appear as a recurring element in this movie, and they are objects of both ritual and affection. However, one should in no way construe this to mean that there is any cattle worship in Japan, as one finds in India. Until well into this century, cattle were too valuable as draft animals for a family to slaughter them for food. Cattle were further protected by Buddhist proscriptions against killing. And, of course, people often feel an attachment to their livestock. But cattle in Japan today are business, raised for milk or meat. The rituals shown in the film are interesting, but minor, aspects of labor-intensive animal husbandry.

- The paper good-luck charm stuck on the calf's stall reads "safety for horses and cows."

- You may wish to comment on nature and seasonal change as central to Japanese life and thought. For the farmers of this film, and all farmers, work is determined by the seasons. Shinto religion (see Religion section) is in part a belief in the god-like power of the forces and objects of nature. Japanese art and ritual focus on nature and the changing seasons.

- Rice agriculture by hand is increasingly rare in Japan, and in many areas it is performed only on one small field for symbolic purposes. Most farmers privately or collectively own remarkably small yet sophisticated machinery capable of planting, harvesting, and otherwise processing rice.

- Not only do village men work in areas outside the farm economy, but so do women. Even part-time work can often give a woman control of funds essential to her household's economy (e.g., to pay the installments on farm machinery), thus assuring her status in the family.

• The masks in the young men's procession are humorous, but not merely the products of individual imagination. They represent well-known characters from Japanese myths and folk tales, like Tengu, the long-nosed goblin, and Hyottoko, the wall-eyed jester.

Questions for Discussion



1. Life in a farm village requires much cooperation between people. Why is cooperation necessary?

What are some examples of cooperation shown in the village of Mindani?

How might this mutual dependence affect the way people deal with each other?

2. Farmers in villages like Mindani do not work only on their farms. Why do you think they worked at other jobs in the past?

What did they do?

Now why do they also work at other jobs?

What kind of work do they do?

3. Every fall the people of Mindani village have a festival celebrating the harvest. Do we have a harvest festival in America?

Traditional rituals are very important to the Mindani harvest festival. What are some of those traditions?

Are there any traditions in the American harvest festival?

In what ways are the Japanese and the American traditions the same or different?

Why might there be similarities?

Why might there be differences?

4. How does the natural environment (terrain, vegetation, climate, daily weather) affect the lives of the people of Mindani village?

How does your local natural environment influence your life?

Homogeneity and Minorities

Who are the Japanese?

The Japanese are a Mongoloid people, racially similar to the other peoples of East Asia. Archeological and historical evidence points to the island nation being populated from the mainland--particularly through Korea--but there are signs of other origins as well. The shorter stature of Japanese compared to Koreans and northern Chinese, along with a number of distinctive cultural traits, indicate a heritage from Southeast Asia and the South Pacific.

Homogeneity

Since the eighth century there has been little further addition to the Japanese gene pool. Over the last millenium Japanese achieved a remarkable degree of physical and cultural homogeneity. Japanese have come to see themselves, and their national identity, as being an ethnically distinct group, not necessarily superior, but definitely different.

Becoming a Citizen

For this reason, among others, it is very difficult to become a Japanese citizen. To begin with, citizenship is automatically granted to a child only if the father is Japanese. Children of Japanese mothers and non-Japanese fathers must apply for citizenship. And, while foreign nationals of Japanese descent may find

it relatively easy to become naturalized citizens, government practice works to discourage others from becoming Japanese.

MINORITIES

The ethnic homogeneity and cultural unity of the Japanese are repeatedly emphasized in the study of Japan. While this stereotype is very useful in understanding much about Japan, it belies the existence of minorities and the discrimination from which they suffer. At least 4 percent of the people living in Japan are members of groups "who suffer much the same fate that blacks and other ethnic minorities suffer in America . . . for essentially the same psychological and cultural reasons."* Japan's minorities are both indigenous and of foreign origins.

Indigenous Minorities

Burakumin: It is estimated that over two million Japanese, or about 2 percent of the population, are burakumin. The term burakumin means "people of the (special) hamlet" and is one of a number of euphemisms for a particular outcaste group. Despite the fact that the burakumin are physically and culturally indistinguishable from majority Japanese, they are loathed, and they are systematically discriminated against in areas like housing, employment, and marriage, such that they most often end up living in segregated communities (buraku). There are approximately 5,000 such ghettos nationwide, but most are located in western Japan and especially in the Kyoto-Osaka-Kobe area.

Through much of Japan's history, and in particular during the Tokugawa period (1603-1868), respectable society in Japan was divided into four classes: farmer, samurai, artisan, and merchant. Below these four legitimate levels of society were two outcaste groups. One group was made up of people like beggars, vagabonds, and prostitutes who, as long as they chose to follow irregular occupations, were considered outside of normal society. The second group was considered subhuman and contaminating. The abhorrence felt toward this latter group is usually attributed to the fact that they held professions in leather working, animal slaughter, and disposal of the dead, all "polluting" occupations according to Shinto and Buddhism. But outcaste status was permanent, held even if one changed one's work, and it passed on to one's children.

The former outcastes are now equal to other citizens under Japanese law, but prejudice and discrimination persist. Because

*From George A. DeVos & William O. Wetherall, Japan's Minorities. Burakumin, Koreans, and Ainu (London: Minority Rights Group, 1974), p. 3. Much of the information in this introduction is drawn from this report, which is available for \$2.00 from the Minority Rights Group, 35 Claremont Avenue, #45, New York, NY 10027.

the burakumin are indistinguishable from majority Japanese, one would expect it to be easy for them to hide their origins and become quickly absorbed into the larger society. The primary obstacle to the integration of the burakumin is the family register (koseki) system. All Japanese must be listed on a family register, which indicates, among other things, one or more of a person's previous addresses. It is common practice in business and arranged marriages to investigate the family background of a prospective employee or mate. By checking the family register, it can be readily determined if someone does, or did, live in an outcaste community. Regrets and excuses soon follow. It takes the considerable effort and expense of repeated moves to hide one's past, as well as a special strength to deny one's identity while surrounded by prejudice. It is no surprise, then, that many burakumin choose to remain in the secure and understanding community of the ghetto.

Ainu: The story of the Ainu in Japan is in many ways similar to that of native Americans in the United States. The Ainu were a hunting and gathering people distributed over the northeastern half of Japan long before the arrival of the Mongoloid peoples from the mainland of Asia. Cultural and military expansion by the Japanese pushed the fiercely resistant Ainu farther north and east. The Japanese successfully pacified northern Honshu by the twelfth century, but control over Hokkaido was not consolidated until the nineteenth century. The approximately 16,000 Ainu of contemporary Japan live mostly on Hokkaido, many on reservation lands, where they support themselves through hunting and fishing, farming, and selling traditional arts and crafts to tourists.

The racial origins of the Ainu are unclear and much debated. They are frequently identified as Caucasoid because they have much more facial and body hair than Mongoloids, have double-folded eyelids, and occasionally have blue eyes. As racial group, the Ainu have so intermarried with their Japanese neighbors that less than 10 percent of those living as cultural Ainu qualify as "pure" Ainu. The Japanese majority consistently regard the children of Ainu-Japanese unions to be Ainu.

The majority Japanese patronize the Ainu as quaint primitives. While the traditional lifestyle is romanticized as exotic and robust, the poverty and social ills of the Ainu reality are often seen as indicative of their inferiority. Even though they are Japanese nationals, their ability to speak Japanese still surprises many people.

Others: Besides the burakumin and the Ainu, there are numerous smaller groups of Japanese citizens who suffer as discriminated-against minorities.

• Okinawa is Japan's most southwestern prefecture, made up of the Ryuku Islands and extending from Kyushu almost to Taiwan. The largest island of the chain is Okinawa. Okinawa has an unusual history. It was once ruled by its own kings but paid tribute to both China and Japan. In 1879 it was incorporated into Japan. Okinawa was governed by the U.S. military from the end of World War II (1945) until 1972, when sovereignty was returned to Japan.

Because the Okinawans speak a distinctive dialect of Japanese and have many unusual customs, they have generally been despised and discriminated against by mainland Japanese. Furthermore, Okinawa is an economically depressed area far from the center of Japanese culture. Okinawans are often treated as second-class citizens because of economic and educational deprivations not of their own making.

- Another group who suffer discrimination are the konke-tsujin, or people of mixed blood. While numerically most are of part Korean or Chinese blood, they are most commonly identified with the mixed-race offspring.

- During Japan's feudal past, a number of occupations were held in disdain. Most of these occupations, and occupational groups, have disappeared, but certain groups of fishers and hunters are still derided.

- Finally, survivors of the atomic blasts at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were often treated as if they were polluted and were thus, further victimized.

Minorities of Foreign Origin

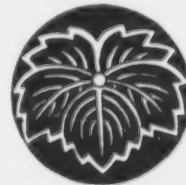
Koreans: The histories of Japan and Korea are long intertwined and, so too, the mutual antipathy of the peoples runs deep. The earliest Mongoloid ancestors of the Japanese were from Korea and areas deeper in northeast Asia. In the third century B.C., agriculture entered southwestern Japan from Korea, and for much of Japan's history Korea was the conduit for the great cultural traditions of China and India. At the end of the sixteenth century Japan launched an ambitious campaign against China and, although the campaign failed after six years, it did succeed in razing Korea.

Following the Meiji Restoration (1868), Japan's first visions of colonial conquest were aimed at Korea. Through a process of military intimidation and political machination, Korea was formally annexed as a colony in 1910. Under thirty-five years of Japanese rule, until the end of World War II, Korea suffered economic exploitation and cultural imperialism. During that period, as many as 2,400,000 Koreans emigrated to Japan. Many went voluntarily in hopes of finding work as laborers, first at the lowest levels of a rapidly expanding industrial economy and later to fill the places of Japanese men who were leaving for war. But many Koreans were conscripted, forcibly taken to Japan in labor gangs. Most Koreans were repatriated following the war, but more than half a million, particularly those with children born in Japan, chose to stay. These Koreans, and other former "citizens" from the colonies, were then designated as foreigners under Japanese law.

Today there are approximately 600,000 Koreans in Japan. They suffer the same kinds of discrimination in housing, employment,

marriage, etc., as do burakumin, as well as being the victims of pejorative attitudes. They, too, are physically and culturally indistinguishable from the Japanese, yet first, second, even third generation born-in-Japan Koreans must still register as alien residents. They are excluded from many opportunities, not merely by prejudice, but by legal strictures limiting participation to citizens. Convicted of certain crimes, they may be deported to Korea, a country they have never seen. Since Japanese citizenship is automatically inherited only from a Japanese father, Korean men and Japanese women sometimes reluctantly remain unwed and list their children as bastards on the mother's family register. In this way, the children may be Japanese.

Others: In addition to Koreans living in Japan, there are a few tens of thousands of Chinese who suffer similar discrimination. The Chinese are former citizens from the colonial rule of Taiwan, or overseas merchants from the mainland. When the Koreans and Chinese are combined with peoples of other diverse nationalities living in Japan, about 1 percent of the population is alien residents.



Questions for Discussion

1. What are the three largest minority groups in Japan?
2. Most members of minorities in Japan are identical to majority Japanese. How is it that minorities are not absorbed into Japanese society?

How is the situation the same, or different, in the United States?

3. How do minority peoples in America combat discrimination?

Would those ways work in Japan?

Only about 4 percent of the Japanese are minorities. Is that enough people to be politically effective?

4. How does the history of the Ainu in Japan compare with the history of American Indians?

Why does prejudice exist after the original rationale is gone?

5. Discrimination against the burakumin was originally justified in religious terms. Do any other countries have outcastes?

How is outcaste status explained there?

How do they try to fight discrimination?

Vocabulary

homogeneity

Mongoloid

Caucasoid

millenium

stereotype

indigenous

euphemism

legitimate

abhorrence

ghetto

patronize

quaint

dialect

deprivation

conduit

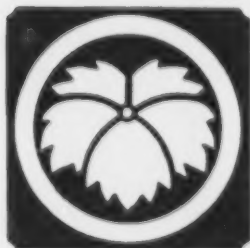
raze

emigrate

conscript

pejorative

alien resident



Supplementary Reading

To the student

The following article from The New York Times of Sunday, April 5, 1981, reports on recent moves by the Japanese government to reform some discriminatory laws. These concern primarily citizenship laws and those governing permanent alien residents. As you read, make a note of some of the legal restrictions affecting the largest minority group in Japan, residents of Korean ancestry; compare them with problems of discrimination faced by American minorities.

"JAPAN MOVES TO INCREASE RIGHTS OF KOREAN MINORITY"

TOKYO, April 4 (AP) After 30 years, Japan is moving to eliminate one of its most blatant forms of official discrimination against 280,000 Korean and 8,000 Taiwanese residents. Many of them were brought to Japan for forced labor before World War II or were born here.

Proposed changes in the immigration law would rectify what the Koreans and Taiwanese claim is one of the most annoying forms of discrimination against them--a requirement that they reapply every three years for permission to stay in Japan.

The Justice Ministry has drafted legislation to grant permanent residence to minorities who lost their Japanese citizenship when Japan renounced its claim to two former colonies, Korea and Taiwan, with the signing in 1951 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, formally ending World War II against all the allies except the Soviet Union. The change also covers children and grandchildren living here.

It is the fifth attempt by the Justice Ministry to revise the law and the first since the early 1970's. Previous versions were defeated primarily because minority political parties and pro-alien lobbyists opposed provisions barring political activity by foreign residents.

Susumu Yamagami, a legal adviser to the Justice Ministry, said in an interview that officials are confident that the latest version, which contains no such clause, will be approved when it reaches Parliament, probably this month.

Koreans are Japan's largest minority. In December 1979 there were 662,600, including visiting businessmen and students. Many chose to stay here after World War II to rear their children in spite of social and legal restrictions in education and employment.

A recent case that attracted attention was that of Kim Kyeong Deuk, the first Korean in Japan to become a lawyer and keep his Korean nationality. Although born and educated here, Mr. Kim had to go to court to win permission to enter law school, which until then was restricted to Japanese citizens.

About 350,000 South Koreans obtained permanent residence under a 1965 treaty, but not all of those who were eligible for residency applied for it, Mr. Yamagami said.

An additional 214,000 Koreans--supporters of Communist North Korea, which has no diplomatic relations with Japan--were excluded from the agreement

between Japan and South Korea but would apparently still benefit from the changes in the law. Lacking legal status they are allowed to live here but normally cannot return if they leave Japan.

Mr. Yamagami estimated that 280,000 people, including 3,000 third-generation Koreans would be affected if the proposed changes become law.

"In three decades, things have changed in Japan," he said. "Second- and third-generation Koreans and Taiwanese have become accustomed to Japanese life. Some can't even speak their mother tongue, but use Japanese."

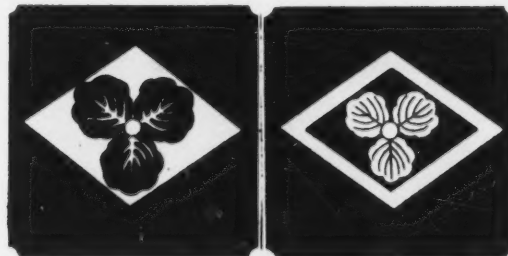
Under Japanese law, only the children of Japanese fathers automatically receive citizenship, regardless of the mother's nationality. The proposed revisions in the immigration law, while not directly related to the citizenship law, would make it easier for spouses and children of Japanese nationals and permanent residents to obtain resident status.

According to an Immigration Bureau booklet, "permanent residence is permitted only when a person has established a permanent base of livelihood as a result of many years of stay in Japan and where it is considered that the permanent residence of such a person is in keeping with the national interest of Japan."

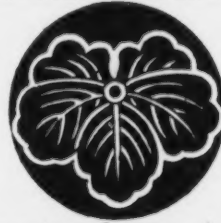
To meet these standards a person must be at least 20 years old, must have lived in Japan at least 10 years, and must be financially sound, healthy and with a record of good conduct.

Mr. Yamagami said the 10-year residence requirement was a guideline rather than a rule. The proposed bill includes no specific residence requirement.

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Questions for Discussion



1. What is said to be "one of the most annoying forms of discrimination" to resident aliens in Japan?

Do resident aliens in the United States have to comply with similar laws?

2. Why did the Korean and Taiwanese minorities in Japan lose their citizenship in 1951?

Before they lost their citizenship, to what groups of American citizens did they compare?

3. The article reports the case of Kim Kyeong Deuk, a Korean born and educated in Japan, who sued to enter law school. Why did he have to go to court?

What are the similarities and differences between Mr. Kim's case and those of American minorities who have gone to court in order to be eligible to enter professional schools?

4. How do international relations influence the situation of Korean residents of Japan?

5. The article reports that "under Japanese law, only children of Japanese fathers automatically receive citizenship, regardless of the mother's nationality."

What are similar provisions under American law?

Are there other ways to acquire U.S. citizenship?

Does the Japanese law tell you anything about the social structure of the society?

6. What are the requirements for permanent residency in Japan?

What government concerns do they reflect?

Additional Exercise

Research U.S. laws governing resident aliens in the U.S. for comparison. How have these laws changed throughout U.S. history?

Tokyo: World's Safest City

WHAT DOES JAPAN'S LOW CRIME RATE TELL US ABOUT JAPANESE SOCIETY?

Film title: TOKYO: WORLD'S SAFEST CITY

Format: 16 mm, color, 27 minutes
(release date: 1977)

Available from: Extension Media Services
University of California
2176 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, CA 94704

Tel. (415)642-0460

Rental fee: \$17.00 plus \$6.00 postage and handling

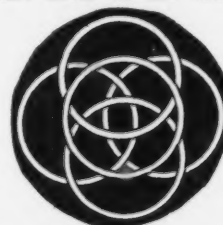
A list of QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION that can be distributed to students prior to the film showing is appended to the film guide.

TO THE TEACHER Crime and crime control are only secondary concerns in the study of Japan, but they may arouse greater interest among students than more fundamental issues. It is true that Tokyo is a major world metropolis with a small, and shrinking, crime rate, a fact which confounds our preconceptions about the effects of urban life. Because crime is a much discussed problem in contemporary America, even a junior high school audience will have a strong response to the issues raised by the film. And a junior high school audience, in particular, should be entertained by a movie about the police.

The teacher must be prepared to correct one misrepresentation in the film. Juvenile delinquency has taken a dramatic upturn in the last five years. In 1981, fourteen- to sixteen-year-olds became the most frequent law breakers in Japan. While the number of crimes by young people is small compared to the

United States, Japanese are very concerned, and the problem gets much attention both in the halls of government and in the news media. What distresses Japanese most is that much of the youth crime takes place at school: vandalism, violence against fellow students, attacks on teachers.

The juvenile delinquency discussed in the film was linked with postwar poverty and unemployment. As the economy improved and the standard of living rose, youth crime decreased. The causes of the present upsurge of juvenile delinquency are unclear and much debated. One source, however, appears to be the stress of the Japanese educational system, in which success or failure can mark one for life. Some people blame juvenile crime on the corruption of Japanese values by Western individualism, on urban crowding, on a life that has been "too easy." Whatever the reasons (and this might be profitably debated in class), juvenile delinquency is once again on the rise in Japan and is an issue that is on everyone's mind.



Points for Clarification

- The police box (*kōban*) is an essential part of the patrolman side of police work in Japan. There is one police box for about every 10,000 people in the city and every 5,000 people in the countryside, which places them fairly closeby when you consider Japan's population density. The police box consists of one or two small rooms with a desk, table, chairs, and a space heater, plus maps and directories of the area. Three or four policemen may be stationed at the police box, at least one always on duty while another walks the rounds. The usual business of the police box is public service (giving directions, acting as lost-and-found) and regulating traffic. Policemen at the local *kōban* are near at hand in an emergency or easily mobilized for regional police work.
- In this film, Dr. George DeVos, anthropologist from the University of California, comments on the difference in crime rates, saying, "The United States is a pluralistic society with a number of minority groups, while in Japan, generally speaking, you have a homogeneous culture." This comment may be misconstrued by some students to imply that minority groups are necessarily the source of crime. Dr. DeVos's point is that because Japanese society, with some very small exceptions, is made up of a single ethnic group, with a single anticrime value system, individuals are better integrated into a single social organization. In the United States, the pluralism of ethnic groups can produce misunderstanding and conflict.
- In Japan, the weapons most often used in armed robberies, assaults, and homicides are butcher knives or, occasionally,

swords. Laws restricting the possession of firearms are extremely stringent, which explains why violence involving guns is unusual outside of the gang wars of organized crime. In addition, there is a cultural preference for blades. The samurai sword is to Japan what the cowboy's six-shooter is to America. Thus, knives are not only what is available, they carry the symbolic feeling of retribution and justice in many crimes of passion.

- Tokyo police have an 88 percent arrest rate for violent crimes, which the film attributes to better training (twelve months in Japan vs. six months in America) plus team work and the national police communications network. Japan also has a highly sophisticated forensics laboratory, and it is difficult for criminals to go too far, because Japan is a small island nation. A significant element not pointed out, however, is the attitude of Japanese people toward crime and the police.

Americans respect individual initiative and distrust authority, which produces an ambivalence toward the police. Japanese, in contrast, have a high tolerance for structures of authority and a respect for the competence of the police in particular. People readily cooperate with police investigations. People also encourage suspects to cooperate, rather than resist, because a criminal act taints the other members of the group (family, friends, work group) and must either be cleared or atoned for. As for the perpetrators of violent crime, they frequently turn themselves in, particularly in case of crimes of passion. Japanese are so well integrated into their society that if they isolate themselves by committing a violent act, they feel there is no place to go.

Furthermore, whereas American law encourages suspects to remain silent and only communicate with the police when in the presence of counsel, Japanese law is less worried about the civil rights of the defendant. Prosecutors expect cooperation; they reward compliance and contrition with leniency.

- The movie points out correctly that use of hard narcotics is not a significant problem in Japan. Drug laws are extremely strict, even governing marijuana (you may remember that Paul McCartney was arrested for marijuana possession on a tour of Japan). The abuse of amphetamines ("speed"), however, is a persistent, albeit small, problem that is associated with organized crime. In 1980, 20,000 people were arrested for using drugs, overwhelmingly stimulants. Authorities worry that this may be the "tip of the iceberg."

- The sophisticated montage machine used by police investigators is interesting. It reflects the relative uniformity of physical types in the Japanese population, requiring much more subtle ways of identification.

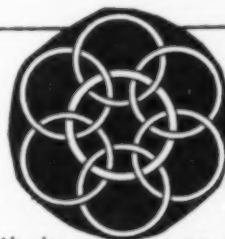
- Japanese organized crime gangs live a more peaceful and

overt coexistence with the police than do their American counterparts. The gangsters, called yakuza, tend to be right-wing and ultranationalistic and feel that they reflect the true Japanese spirit. The gangs are strictly hierarchical in organization, demand intense loyalty, and embody the superior-subordinate (oyabun-kobun) relations of traditional Japanese social structure.

The stock-in-trade of Japanese organized crime is extortion, as well as what Americans usually consider "victimless crimes," e.g., gambling, pornography, and prostitution. The yakuza are involved in smuggling drugs, guns, and pornography into Japan. Like American criminal families, the yakuza have diversified into legitimate businesses such as entertainment and construction, plus suspect businesses like pachinko (pinball) parlors and street vending. It is reported that Japanese organized crime has recently been expanding overseas to serve Japanese tourists in the Philippines, Southeast Asia, and even Hawaii and California.



Questions for Discussion



1. The Japanese say that they must control their anger, so they watch--and enjoy--violent and tragic movies, and they are relieved of their violent emotions. What do some people say about the effects of violence on TV and in the movies in America?

What do you think?

2. The movie identifies many factors as contributing to the low rate of crime in Japan. Make a list of them.

Compare each factor with the conditions in the United States.

Are they the same or different?

Do you think it would be possible to change any of the conditions in the United States so as to lower the crime rate here?

Which conditions could be changed, and why not the others?

3. What factor has been most influential in lowering the rate of traffic accidents in Japan?

4. Why are so few people shot in Japan? What about in the United States?

5. Why was juvenile delinquency high twenty years ago, and why did it drop?

Why was teacher-parent-police communication successful in breaking up gangs?

Juvenile crime is suddenly on the rise again in Japan, particularly in schools. What reasons can you think of in today's affluent Japan that might cause juvenile delinquency?

How does antisocial behavior of Japanese students compare with that of American students?

6. Are there techniques that Americans can learn from the Japanese for controlling crime in cities? Explain.

Additional Resource

TOKYO

Produced by the International Society for Educational Information, this 89-page booklet released in 1987 provides many pictures and maps of Tokyo and offers both an historical and modern view of the city. The remainder of the text deals extensively with the city's involvement in urban planning and management issues that face contemporary Tokyo.

Available from: International Society for
Educational Information, Inc.
Koryo Building
18 Wakaba 1-chome
Shinjuku-ku
Tokyo 160
JAPAN

Price: Write for an updated price list.

Family

JAPANESE SOCIETY THROUGH FILM: THE JAPANESE FAMILY (Resources)
the first module of a new series prepared by the Japan
Society which examines family relations in Japan through
three films.

FAMILY LIFE IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN: THE HANAWA FAMILY (Film)
examines the life of a three-generation family in the Japan
of today.

KACHO: A SECTION CHIEF AND HIS DAY (Film Discussion)
follows Mr. Taki, a typical white-collar employee in Japan,
through his day from the time he leaves his wife and two
children in the morning until he returns home late at night.

The Japanese Family

Recommended Resources

Japanese Society Through Film: The Japanese Family

This initial module of the Japan Society's much larger project on Japanese society through film explores the dynamics of the traditional Japanese family, the new middle class urban household, commitments to education, intergenerational conflict, and the changing nature of family life. Three Japanese films: Early Summer, (Bakashu, 1950); Mother, (Okaasan, 1952); and Family Game, (Kazoku Geimu, 1983), have all been reproduced in VHS videocassette form for classroom use.

A teaching guide, edited by Theodore C. Bestor of Columbia University, has been published to accompany the videocassette series and provides a useful reference for teacher background and student reports. The guide explores six important aspects of Japanese family life and Japanese society as a whole.

Available from: Japan Film Center
The Japan Society, Inc.
333 East 47th Street
New York, NY 10017

Tel. (212)832-1155

Price: \$3.50 teaching guide

\$250.00 for the entire video set plus
ten copies of the teaching guide



Japanese Family

An exploration of traditional family life in Japan designed for use with intermediate grade students. The unit includes both video and curriculum materials.

Available from: Boston Children's Museum
Museum Wharf
300 Congress Street
Boston, MA 02210

Tel. (617)426-6500, ext. 233/235/241

Rental fees: \$50.00 for a three-week rental [distribution
is limited to New England and New York only.]

Family Life: The Hanawa Family

TO THE TEACHER This unit is a guide to a highly recommended film. The background information it provides on contemporary family life in Japan is useful for class discussion, however, whether or not you choose to order the film.

Film title: THE HANAWA FAMILY

Format: 16 mm, color, 30 minutes
(release date: 1981)

Available from: Extension Media Services
University of California
2176 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, CA 94704

Tel. (415)642-0460

Rental fee: \$22.00, plus \$6.00 postage and handling

INTRODUCTION

"The Hanawa Family" is a description of a four-generation family living together in Tokyo. Central to the film is the question of change in the pattern of Japanese domestic relations. The Japanese themselves are torn by the conflict between ideals of what family life ought to be like and the pressures of the contemporary world.

The Family as a Group

The primary value seen in the traditional family is that of the group being more important than any individual. Members should be fiercely loyal and strive for the well-being of all. In a clear hierarchy of rights and authority, compliance and service are expected to flow up the chain of command, while paternalistic concern and protection flow down. As is repeatedly stressed in the study of Japanese society, social relationships within other groups are modeled on those within the family.

The Extended Family

Many of the values that surround the Japanese conception of proper and ideal family life were a product of social reality and cultural history. The ideal was an extended family of three (or more) generations living together: a man with wife, children, and retired parents. To have many children was once desirable because not all would survive to maturity, from an early age they could add productive labor to the family economy, and they were the only support for parents in their old age.

In the prewar family, there was a clear hierarchy among all household members. Ultimate and absolute authority rested with the household head. When an aging household head decided to retire, the headship was formally passed to his first son, who then inherited his authority, all family property, the family occupation, as well as responsibility for the family's good name. It was assumed that younger sons would leave to find new occupations and create new families, while acknowledging the authority of the eldest brother. Daughters left the family through marriage, and daughters-in-law married in at the bottom of the family hierarchy. Marriages were arranged for the social and economic benefits they brought to the family, though not without some consideration for the feelings of the couple.

Social Change

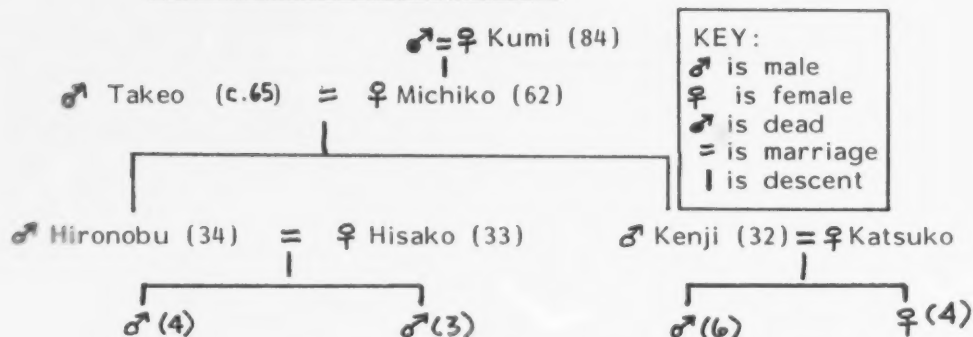
The organization and values of the Japanese family developed in response to, and were well adapted to, a long, relatively stable history of agricultural production. But Japan has been changing rapidly, thus putting stress on the family. At the very least, postwar legal reforms abolished the absolute authority of the household head and established equality of the sexes. Inheritance is now divided equally. Individuals should marry only with mutual interest and consent.

Social and economic changes, however, are more influential than legal reforms in altering family relations. Young women now get college educations, have careers, meet men socially. How much can one impose family authority on a woman who has broad experience and the potential to support herself? How does a

woman's role as a child rearer balance against her potential as a bread winner? Children are now expensive to educate, provide no economic return until maturity, and are difficult to house in small apartments, so what is a good size for a family? Who will care for the aged in a socially and geographically mobile society? These questions and more are touched upon in the film and show how members of the Hanawa family seek a balance between traditional values and the constraints and opportunities of contemporary life.

Points for Clarification

The Hanawa Family Genealogy



• Although there are as many possible different given names in Japan as in America, some are relatively popular and common, as are all the names given here. For those unfamiliar with Japanese names, it is difficult to know the sex, but there are some clues. Names ending in "o" or in "ro" are probably for a man, and they end with the characters meaning male. Names ending in "ko" are probably female, and they end with the character meaning child. Thus, depending on which of numerous possible characters are used, Takeo may literally mean "Bamboo male" (a boy whose nature is as straight and strong as bamboo), "healthy male," or "brave male," and Michiko may be "Path child" (a girl who follows the straight and narrow).

• Arranged marriages: Michiko married Takeo after seeing his picture, meeting him once, and receiving the go-between's word that he was a good man. She estimates that 80 percent of the couples at that time got married under similar arranged conditions, and that modern couples cannot understand this pattern of arranged marriages. Certainly, many young Japanese now meet socially, date, and marry because of love, but there are large numbers of Japanese who still rely on introductions arranged by go-betweens and will marry after only a brief acquaintance, on the basis of first impressions and strong recommendations.

Contemporary Japanese youths in general are more sheltered than their American counterparts, spending more of their time at home, in class, or on the job. Opportunities for meeting the opposite sex, much less dating, are fewer and considered more embarrassing. Thus, when many young Japanese men and women decide they are ready to marry (usually in their mid-twenties), they will attend formal introductions (omiai) to eligible partners. If both parties are interested, they may choose to go on a date. If they date several times with neither party expressing dissatisfaction, all interested parties assume that marriage will follow. In the movie Kachō discussed below, a company section chief in contemporary Tokyo shows a bachelor friend's picture to an eligible woman employee in hopes of creating a union. Don't forget that friends and relatives act as go-between in America, too, when they recommend dates.

- Takeo was brought into the Hanawa family as an "adopted son-in-law." The idea of family continuity in Japan is less concerned with purity of blood than with the continued functioning of its members as a group under one name. In Japan, there is a long tradition of adopting adult men to inherit family headship. By adopting an adult, the family is sure that the heir will live to maturity and that this heir is competent. The adopted son may simply take over for a family that has no sons, marry a daughter, or, in exceptional cases, be installed over sons who are deemed to be incompetent.

- Michiko suggests that at the time of her marriage only 20 percent of the population lived in cities. In fact, about 80 percent of the Japanese in the 1930s were born and raised in villages, but the steady migration from the countryside meant that by 1940 35 percent of the population was living in cities of 50,000 or more.

- In the scene where Michiko is preparing lunch for the children of the day care center, she can be seen cutting pieces of tofu. Made from soybeans, tofu has a bland flavor and a custard-like consistency and is high in protein. It is often eaten in soups or simply flavored with soy sauce and ginger.

- As the narrator mentions the prewar authority of the head of household and the low status of a new bride, one can see pictures of a Japanese wedding. The bride is identified by her large, twin-peaked hat, said to hide her "horns of jealousy."

- Pictures show Japanese soldiers returning from overseas, and aerial photos show urban landscapes, devastated by Allied bombings, where nothing stands but an occasional brick wall.

- You may wish to point out distinctive features of life in a Japanese house. The apartment is small. People take off their shoes in the house, though they may wear slippers. Japanese bathe by washing and rinsing on the tile floor beside the tub, then soaking in a tub that is smaller but deeper than an American

bathtub. It is considered a pleasant and emotionally healthy practice for parents to bathe with their children. Notice in later scenes that the house may have one or two rooms with wood floors, table, and chairs, while other rooms have straw tatami mats and people sit on the floor.

- It was pointed out early in the film that in prewar Japan, new brides in the family had very low status and had to work very hard. These young women were particularly under the thumb of their mother-in-law, a woman who in her time had arrived as a lowly bride but had risen to a position of great power and authority in the household. The postwar domestic reforms that liberated downtrodden young women can arguably be said to have robbed older women of rewards of fulfilling their roles. Men's wives once tended to the needs of their husbands' parents. With the setting up of independent nuclear households, Japan is for the first time confronted with the problem of how to take care of the aged.

- This movie places a fair amount of emphasis on the change in the lot of Japanese women. While it is true that contemporary women do have educational and economic opportunities, this is certainly not the women's liberation movement of present-day America. Notice that women see their role as one of support and service. One daughter-in-law tends to her parents-in-law in part because her husband is the eldest son. The other also helps because it pleases her husband, and she does not continue her career so that her husband may devote all his energies to his own. Such sentiments reflect a more traditional understanding of sex roles and the division of labor.



Additional Resources

See the sections on Houses, Marriage, and Family Life in What to Know About Japan: Brief Answers to Questions Asked About Japan by American Junior High School Students, by Betty Bullard, David T. Lemmon, and Timothy Plummer. Available free-of-charge from:

Japan Information Service
299 Park Avenue, 18th Floor
New York, NY 10171

Questions for Discussion

1. Takeo and Michiko Hanawa had an arranged marriage. What is an "arranged marriage"?

What do you think of the idea of arranged marriage?

What reasons might lead people to want or need arranged marriages?

Are there anything like go-betweens in America?

2. Takeo married Michiko and was adopted by her family. Who gets adopted in America?

Why? What about in Japan?

3. Michiko says that she is very fortunate to have such "good-natured and hard-working" daughters-in-law. Do you think that a good nature and being hard working are the most important traits for a daughter-in-law?

Why might these traits be particularly important in a Japanese family?

4. Why did Hironobu and Hisako choose to live as adults with Hironobu's parents? When you are an adult, what will you do?

5. Think back to the way the Hanawa family lived at home. Were there any features of their house that were different from your house?

Can you give reasons for these differences?

6. How are the lives of women today different from those of women in prewar generations?

What factors produced the changes in women's lifestyles? You might consider such things as marriage, education, job opportunities, and number of children.

7. In prewar Japan, it was expected that the eldest son would inherit the family house and business and would also take care of his parents in their old age. Hironobu expresses how even today, as first son he feels a great deal of responsibility. Is the situation similar in America?

Are certain children in your family expected to go into the same business as your parents when they get old?

Are you expected to take a job that will allow you to support your parents?

Who takes care of your grandparents?

8. What is the difference between an "extended family" and a "nuclear family"?

Kachō

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF MR. TAKI, SECTION CHIEF

This interesting, highly recommended film introduces students at once to the pressures and demands in the work life of a Japanese man; social relationships in a Japanese firm; management patterns and decision-making processes that are distinctively Japanese; and marriage arrangements and family life.

The principal character is chief of promotion in a department store. The smart clothing fashion and young employees who appear in the film will appeal to students.

Film title: KACHŌ--A SECTION CHIEF AND HIS DAY

Format: 16 mm, color, 30 minutes
(release date: 1977)

Available from: Public Affairs Office
Japan Trade Center*
1221 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10020
Telephone: (212) 997-0400

Rental fee: FREE

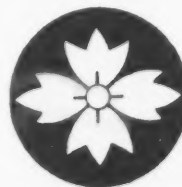
*Office also in Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

Synopsis

Kachō is a documentary about a day in the business life of Mr. Taki, a section chief (kachō) for a large Japanese department store. Mr. Taki's day begins at home with his wife and two children. Following a crowded train commute to his office in Tokyo, he carries out a series of meetings in which he tries to direct the business of his section, encouraging his staff and fielding their problems while maintaining harmonious social relations. Mr. Taki's active, though understated, involvement with his staff is contrasted with the cool distance of the department manager, who also tries to motivate his staff through minimal interference. Even after office hours, Mr. Taki is still on the job in the evenings, listening to the ideas and complaints of his staff over dinner and drinks. Only late in the evening, after stopping briefly to unwind in his favorite bar, does Mr. Taki finally return home.

The one day seen in Kachō is typical of most days for Mr. Taki and likewise representative of the working day of most Japanese white collar employees-- sararīman ("salarymen") as they are called in Japan. Of great interest is the emphasis on the smooth working of the work group. With desks abutted in a large room, everyone's activities are open to others. Assertive individuals are gently manipulated back into the group mold. Long hours are spent in meetings seeking decision through consensus. The image of the company as one large family is presented. In addition to the distinctly Japanese management traits and decision-making processes that are the focus of this film, there is indirect information provided about other parts of Japanese life, such as marriage arrangements and the relationships between family members.

Points for Clarification



- Mr. Taki is a successful businessman and owns his own home. Note that because there is such a land shortage, to afford even a modest private dwelling, he must commute eighty minutes from home to his job in Tokyo. This length of commute is not considered unusual by Japanese.
- When Mr. Taki's store opens for business in the morning, all the sales personnel bow respectfully to the customers, saying "Good morning" (Ohayō gozaimasu) and "Welcome" (Irasshaimase).
- For most Japanese, life takes on meaning from one's membership in groups, and the work group is usually the most important,

often outweighing even family ties. Watch for patterns of behavior in the work place that both create and reflect intense interpersonal involvement, e.g., long hours together during and after business, involvement in coworkers' personal lives. Intense commitment to the work group is good for business and satisfying for the workers, but it diminishes or excludes other facets of life.

- Successful business dealings in Japan depend on proper introductions and going through correct channels. Japanese only feel comfortable when they understand clearly what their relationship is and consequently know how to behave correctly. Exchanging of name cards, a sensible business practice once widely practiced in America, has much broader appeal in Japan. The card indicates the correct Chinese characters for writing a person's name and/or the correct pronunciation of the character used. A person's identity is based more upon which company he works for than on the nature of his trade or on his position in that company (see the Economy section for the nature of large Japanese corporations), and this information is easily and discretely conveyed on a card. Age is respected in Japan, and some cards carry the bearer's birthdate. Most recently, cards are available with a small portrait printed in one corner.

- While the section chief (*kachō*) is very busy with business affairs, the department chief's (*buchō*) day is rather quiet and he remains aloof from the office hurly-burly. Though their work styles appear different, they are in fact similar in that each attempts to keep his own authority in very low profile, helping to focus the energy of the work group without inhibiting it through interference that might be regarded as a lack of trust.

- The biggest and best of Japan's companies work on a so-called lifetime employment system. Mr. Taki's department store is one such company. Dismissal is never considered except in the case of criminal negligence; therefore, notice how managers try to help employees with not only work problems, but "personality difficulties." The system is built for team players, rewarding mutually supportive behavior and actively discouraging overtly assertive individualism.

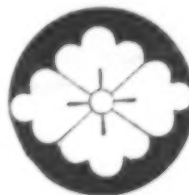
- Mr. Taki acts as a go-between in introducing an eligible young woman at his company to a bachelor friend of his family. This kind of involvement in the personal lives of his employees is expected of a man in authority. Young people in Japan have fewer opportunities to meet, much less date, possible marriage partners than do young people in the United States. Young women in Japan often continue to live at home with their parents until they marry. Young men put in long hours at work and may live in company dormitories. Thus, while there are love matches in Japan, many people are forced to attend formal marriage interviews (*omiai*) or rely on introductions from interested seniors. It is still common for Japanese to marry someone whom they have only met a few times, but who comes highly recommended by a

trusted go-between. This state of affairs seems horrifying to most Americans, but don't forget that go-betweens also exist in America in the form of friends who "fix you up with a date" and mothers who insist you meet their friends' children.

- While Americans recognize the importance of "wining-and-dining" customers, and coworkers often like to see each other outside the office, they still recognize a pretty clear distinction between business, as contractual affairs dealt with during office hours, and social life, which is private. For Japanese, business relations are often the foremost relationship, a connection that endures beyond short-term contractual needs. Such relationships, both with employees of other companies and with coworkers, are best created over drinks when the formalism and social distance of daytime relations can be put aside. For this reason, managers are expected to entertain clients and subordinates almost every night.

- Mr. Taki's stop at the last bar is interesting. He is on his way home from one more evening of entertainment that was really an extension of his job and at which he had to work hard dealing with other people. While an American might feel most comfortable at home, Mr. Taki may have to go home to domestic relations that are secondary to work relations in his emotional life. Mr. Taki typically chooses to relax for a short while in a bar where social relations are nondemanding: a hostess whose job it is to make his stay easy, and polite but uninvolved relations with patrons in similar circumstances.

Questions for Discussion



1. In American business, managers often make a policy decision and then tell the employees what they must do. How are such decisions made in Japan?

What is Mr. Taki's role in the decision-making process?

What opportunities do people have to make suggestions?

2. Mr. Taki shows a picture of a bachelor friend to an unmarried woman employee in the possibility that they might get married. Do you think this is right?

Why?

Why might some Japanese young people want to be introduced this way?

Does anything like this exist in America?

3. Japanese place great importance on harmonious human relations. Can you think of any examples in the movie where Japanese seemed very sensitive to the feelings of others, thus encouraging good feelings or avoiding bad feelings (losing face)?

Are there any examples of behavior that you thought were rude?

4. In American business, and American life in general, emphasis is placed on individual initiative and achievement. Does that seem to be the case in a Japanese company?

What are some examples?

What might be some advantages or disadvantages of either perspective?

5. How do you think the day in the life of an American store manager might be similar to or different from that of Mr. Taki?

6. The movie tells us that Mr. Taki must attend a party with his staff or customers almost every night. This is true for many Japanese businessmen. Why do businessmen spend so much time wining and dining?

How would you feel if it were part of your job to go out almost every night?

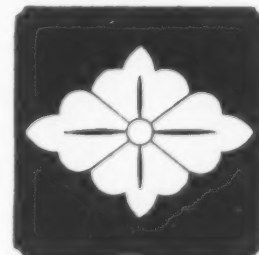
7. Mr. Taki is the successful head of a typical Japanese household. Although we have focused on his business, what might you be able to guess about Japanese family life?

Does Mr. Taki run his household?

What kind of relationships might there be between husband and wife?

Father and children?

Mother and children?



Education

JAPANESE EDUCATION: BACKGROUND FOR TEACHERS (Resources)
a listing of materials which provide general background
information about the Japanese educational system.

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN JAPAN (Readings)
a set of three readings, primarily for teacher use, but also
useful as a resource for student reports.

SCHOOL LIFE: STUDENT RESOURCES (Resources)
a series of booklets on the life of school pupils in Japan
produced by the International Society for Educational
Information, Inc. of Tokyo.

EDUCATION: "EXAMINATION HELL"? (Reading)
discusses ways in which the life of a Japanese student varies
from that of an American student.

Japanese Education: Background for Teachers

Japanese Education Today

This U.S. Department of Education report discusses in detail the Japanese educational system from pre-elementary school through college and after graduation. It also discusses some possible applications of Japanese techniques to improve American education.

Available from: Department 36-VX
Superintendent of Documents
Washington, DC 20402-9325

Tel. (202)783-3238 to order with credit card

Price: \$4.75 stock # 065-000-00275.2

The Japanese Educational Challenge: A Commitment to Children

This book by Merry White of Harvard provides a comprehensive study of Japanese schools and the experiences of childhood in Japan. White's findings help to explain the tremendous success of the Japanese educational system and discusses the adaptability of such a system to the United States.

Available from: Free Press
866 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10022

Price: \$18.95

In Search of Mutual Understanding

The joint report of the Japan/United States Textbook Study Project reviews the treatment given to each nation in the textbooks of the other and offers recommendations for insuring the accuracy and coverage of textbooks in both nations.

Available from: Social Studies Development Center
Indiana University
2805 East 10th Street
Room 120
Bloomington, IN 47405

Price: \$3.00

The Modernization of Japanese Education

Vol. I Thought and System

Vol. II Content and Method

Two paperback booklets sketching the development of Japan's modern educational system and stressing its role in promoting social change at the same time that it reflects Japan's cultural traditions.

Understanding Japan: Japanese Education

presents the historical background of Japan's modern educational system and philosophy. It offers an excellent overview of education in Japan today.

Both the above available from:

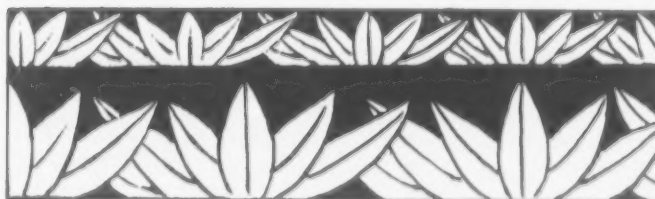
International Society for Educational
Information, Inc.
Koryo Building
18 Wakaba 1-chome
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
JAPAN

Education and Society in Japan

TO THE TEACHER This unit contains three readings on education and society in Japan that are intended to provide teachers with some background on the Japanese educational system, the cultural climate that surrounds it and the continuing evolution of the educational structure in Japan. The readings may also be used as resources for student reports. Three articles drawn from various sources are included:

- "A Cultural Context for Japanese Education," by Linda S. Wojtan from the Newsletter of the East Asian Outreach Program at Indiana University, spring 1984-85.
- "Education in Japan: Suprising Lessons," by Richard J. Deasy from Educational Leadership, September 1986, published by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
- "High Marks for Japanese Education," from the Sumitomo Corporate News (No. 61, 1987), published by the Sumitomo Corporation, Tokyo.

A list of student resources and a reading for students, EDUCATION: "EXAMINATION HELL", follows.



A CULTURAL CONTEXT FOR JAPANESE EDUCATION

by Linda S. Wojtan

In today's press, article after article refers to the national, business and educational challenge provided by the Japanese. The extent of this challenge is eased or exacerbated by an entire genre of books that analyze the Japanese success phenomenon and suggest that we can meet the challenge by adopting or adapting Japanese policies and strategies. All of these books pay at least some measure of homage to the Japanese educational system. For Americans reading these books, a quick fix seems clear—the Japanese educational system is the key to Japanese success. Therefore, the U.S. can regain its leadership by simply refashioning its educational system on the Japanese pattern.

The U.S. educational system, however, despite reports from a recent proliferation of blue ribbon commissions, is a viable system. It is unable to absorb transplanted doses of the Japanese educational system. Both the U.S. and Japanese systems of education are dependent upon their societal context and exist in a symbiotic relationship with that context. This article will describe and briefly examine this relationship in Japan and make some comparisons with the U.S. system.

THE JAPANESE SYSTEM: A BRIEF HISTORY

The modern period of Japanese education began with the era of the Meiji Restoration in the latter 19th century. Prior to this time, education was conducted through private tutoring, although by the middle of the 19th century most of the feudal domains had official schools for their samurai youth. Also, there were well over a thousand private academies enrolling commoners as well as samurai; and there were tens of thousands of village institutions called *terakoya* or "temple schools" because of their unusual location in the local Buddhist temple where the children of commoners, including some girls, studied.

It was, however, the Meiji government—only in its fourth year of existence in 1871—that created an Education Ministry and soon established an ambitious plan for a highly centralized and uniform school system. This was an entirely fresh start in education. None of the feudal domain schools and *terakoya* and few of the private academies survived into this period.

Initially the Meiji curriculum incorporated many American educational practices, and this was a period of liberalism. Soon, however, there was a shift in political philosophy

from a liberal, individual oriented view to one that was state oriented. Soon, Minister of Education Annoni Mori, who had previously been instrumental in making American educational practices available, stated: "In the administration of all schools...what is to be done is not for the sake of the pupils, but for the sake of the country." In 1888 an ordinance issued by the Education Ministry created a course in morals and made it a required subject. This was another indication that changes were taking place. The philosophy of the German Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841), which pointed to moral instruction as the paramount purpose of education, was gaining favor. Increasingly, Japanese educational leaders visited Germany to learn of her educational practices. German philosophers were invited to Japanese universities and soon replaced Americans. The Imperial Rescript on Education, promulgated in October, 1890, finally formalized the shift to a statist position:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue. Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein lies the source of Our education.

Except for certain changes in the educational structure, the system established during this period prevailed until the end of World War II. Strident militarism and nationalism were among the outgrowths of this curriculum.

THE MODERN JAPANESE SYSTEM

After World War II the Japanese educational system underwent drastic change in efforts to become a democratic educational system with equal opportunity for all, coeducation of both sexes, and separation of public education from religion.

The Japanese National Constitution, under Article 23, guarantees academic freedom and further provides under Article 26 that:

All people shall have the right to receive an equal education corresponding to their ability, as provided by law. All people shall be obligated to have all boys and girls under their protection receive ordinary education as provided for by law. Such compulsory education shall be free.

Based upon the spirit and principle of the National Constitution, the Fundamental Law of Education (Law #25), consisting of a preamble and 11 articles, was passed in 1947. Article 1, in stark contrast to the 1890 Imperial Rescript, states the aim of the modern Japanese educational system:

Education shall aim at the full development of personality, striving for the rearing of people sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, esteem individual value, respect labor and have a deep sense of responsibility; and who are imbued with an independent spirit, as builders of a peaceful state and society.

The contemporary Japanese system consists of 9 compulsory years—6 years of elementary school and 3 years of lower secondary. Admittance to the optional 3 years of upper secondary schooling is through a competitive examination. The attendance rate for compulsory education has never dipped below 99% since the end of World War II. The attendance rate for upper secondary education has dramatically increased in the post-World War II years until in 1981 it stood at 97%.

SOME OBJECTIVES AND VALUES OF THE JAPANESE SYSTEM

In many ways the Japanese organization seems very similar to the U.S. educational system. A look at some of the underlying values and objectives of the Japanese system, however, reveals aspects that are quite different from that in the U.S.

The Japanese educational system is a highly standardized one in curricula, textbooks and examinations. The goal is to provide students with similar academic experiences so that they will later be comfortable and productive while working together in what has been described as a "tight society." Japan is a homogeneous, monocultural society. Therefore, the standardized Japanese system makes sense and is particularly well suited to the population it serves. In essence, the system determines one's function and status in society. Operationally, one advances through the system on a prescribed path. This continues even through the upper levels. For example, at the university level there is no need or opportunity to shop around and experiment with courses in a field of specialization. The faculty for each branch of the university, e.g. law, economics, humanities, science, medicine, engineering and agriculture, has already prescribed a course of study.

This "prescribed path" phenomenon characterizes much of the Japanese system. In contrast, the U.S. system appears to be rather free-wheeling with decentralization being an important hallmark. Rather than fostering a consensus, our system promotes diversity of opinion and debate. Further, rather than determining one's function and status in society, our educational system is but one springboard for achievement. Individual initiative, pulling yourself up by the bootstraps, the self-made person and the late bloomer are all still part of the American Dream and serve to work against any type of prescribed path educational system.

On the other hand, it must be noted that the U.S.—in stark contrast to Japan—is neither a homogeneous nor a

monocultural society. The prevailing multicultural mix is apparent in the statistics. In 1980, the one million aliens who registered in New York and New Jersey represented 164 countries and dependencies. As a result, the questions of what language to use and what values characterize the American system create controversy while at the same time enriching our civic life. Consider, for a moment, this phenomenon in light of the U.S. educational system. The problems posed by language alone work against adoption of a standardized, national system. Indeed, it is estimated that by 1990 there will be 3.4 million U.S. school children from non-English speaking backgrounds. The diverse programming and flexibility needed to cope with such a situation boggles the mind.

Beyond language, however, are other noteworthy differences. Japanese schools serve as representatives and custodians of a cultural tradition to which students owe allegiance and subordination. Obedience is inculcated at an early age, given freely and symbolized by expressions of gratitude. Japanese children often thank their teacher at the end of a lesson. In a sense, through their compliance with the education system students accept the larger authority of the moral and intellectual tradition of the society. Many feel that this compliance is deeply rooted in Japanese culture and buttressed by work habits and family structure.

U.S. schools, on the other hand, place much more emphasis on individual advancement and self-realization and far less on conveying a common body of knowledge and common cultural tradition. Increasingly, U.S. schools are seen as a "resource" whose task it is to serve "clients."

As mentioned earlier, these two very different educational systems flourish in a symbiotic relationship with two very different societies. There are three aspects of Japanese society that are worth noting because of their relationship to the educational system:

(1) Japanese society in general fosters love of learning and has been labeled by some as a "learning society." With a literacy rate of around 99%, Japan has been called the greatest data gatherer on earth. The society unabashedly respects learning, promotes the notion of success through long-term goals attained through hard work rather than happenstance, and rejoices in the celebration of what we might call "high culture"—music, literature, and the arts. A prime example of this is the Japanese national holiday, Culture Day (November 3)—a celebration of high government honors paid to artists in a variety of professions. It is doubtful that such a concept would ever take hold in the U.S. let alone merit federal holiday status.

(2) Funding for Japanese education in 1980 reached 7.2% of the GNP (8.6% if private schools are added). Although funding is not the most important factor, it nevertheless reflects the priority placed on education.

(3) The phenomenon of the "education mama" is an important aspect of the education system. According to this role model, mothers enroll their children in special classes, drill them in their studies and prod them when needed. I would expand this concept to that of the "education family." It is not uncommon for parents to allot between 20 to 40% of their income for their children's schooling, including the cost of *juku* (after school schools) and special cram

schools just prior to major exams. Further, during the exam period family life revolves around the student. Often a tutor is hired, the student is relieved of household chores, socializing in the home is curtailed and a shroud of silence envelops the house. Clearly, success within the educational system is a family matter.

Numerous comparisons of these three points to the U.S. situation could be made. The three characteristics noted above are part of some school systems and family life and absent in other cases. The most important question we should ask ourselves is to what extent are these reflected on a mass level and incorporated into national educational policies?

THE GOOD AND THE BAD

A number of aspects of the Japanese school system warrant closer examination. First, a look at some positive aspects and then some negative ones.

Japanese Teachers—An Envidable Position. One of the most positive aspects of the Japanese system is the role of the *sensei*, the teacher—literally, one who has lived before or first born. Japanese teachers are secure in their work since teaching is a highly respected profession and is seen by most as a lifetime occupation. Further, as state employees, teachers in Japan expect and frequently experience considerable upward mobility. In the schools, teachers work together as a unit rather than as members of exclusive departments. Often teachers spend a good deal of time each year determining the objectives and goals of the schools or the year. This group spirit is also seen in the way Japanese teachers relate to each other as professionals. The ramifications of this relationship are seen in both internal and peer pressure. Although Japanese teachers receive tenure upon initial employment and are virtually assured of lifetime employment, they rarely slacken their efforts. At least one study has concluded that supervision of teachers by colleagues at the local level is more important than national guidelines in maintaining standards. Beginning teachers are not embarrassed to seek guidance from more experienced colleagues. Such consultations cover many different aspects of classroom situations ranging from student motivation to evaluation. These frequent, informal after school meetings provide both ongoing supervision and a mutual support system that greatly enhances the quality of teaching.

Differences in salaries and teacher qualifications among diverse locations in Japan are quite small, although it is true that subsidies and salary incentives are sometimes used to attract teachers to remote communities. Certification of teachers is by state, or prefecture, with the general qualifications being monitored by the Ministry of Education. The Japan Teachers Union continues to play an active role as an advocate of teacher interests. In addition, the union functions as an advocate for long-term student interests.

While it is true that Japanese teachers function in a decidedly different milieu, there are perhaps some aspects of their system that can take root in U.S. soil in a type of hybrid fashion. Strategies should be devised and campaigns launched at the national, state and local levels to garner public and especially parental support for teachers

and education in general. Too often education in this country is seen as a fiscal issue revolving around taxes rather than as an issue of national import. When Americans do turn their attention to education, it is in a grandstand manner utilizing top level commissions that issue dramatic statements such as "the rising tide of mediocrity." Education should be much more than a passing concern—perhaps we can learn from the Japanese in this area.

Curriculum. A second noteworthy component of the Japanese system is the curriculum. Japanese schools are demanding. Japanese students go to school $5\frac{1}{2}$ days per week for a total of 240 days compared to 180 in the U.S. As a result, Japanese students receive 25% more schooling than U.S. students, and study after study confirms that they have much more homework or at least devote many more hours to after school studying.

What is perhaps most intriguing about the Japanese curriculum is the concept of developing "the whole person." Music, art and physical education are considered as important for small children as the basic subjects of social studies, science, math and language arts. This stands in sharp contrast to the U.S., where any course other than the basics is considered a "frill" and is the first to be cut during times of budget cutbacks. A high priority is placed on learning a second language, usually English. Although many students are reluctant to speak English, many Japanese students can read and write it.

Beyond the formal curriculum, however, is the equally important informal one. The school system fosters what might be called "a sense of ownership" on the part of students toward their school. This sense of responsibility is manifest in the fact that Japanese teachers and students all share the "dirty" cleaning work in the schools. As a result, students take physical labor for granted, not as something to be done only by those at the bottom of the social scale. At lunch time Japanese students take turns serving the meal to each other—group responsibility as well as improved table manners are the by-products here. Finally, Japanese students receive an important lesson in the meaning of delayed gratification and the value of saving when every elementary pupil in every elementary school saves a few yen each week over several years in order to finance the ubiquitous 6th grade class trip.

The question of flexibility in the curriculum is a sticky one. Although Japanese teachers do have some flexibility, their U.S. colleagues are encouraged to be more creative. Ezra Vogel points out that this U.S. penchant for curriculum innovation is a double-edged sword. He suggests that U.S. teachers' colleges do not train students adequately enough in the subject content to enable them to create their own materials. Further, the typical U.S. teaching and paper grading schedule leaves little room or energy for curriculum development. An end product of this situation is that U.S. innovation and experimentation causes confusion over what should be taught. This situation is by and large avoided in Japan where teachers are much more secure in knowing what they are expected to cover.

Any comment regarding Japanese education would not be complete without some mention of the educational television system which each week transmits around 96 programs to the schools. These programs are designed to sup-

plement regular classes and are selected not on the basis of popularity but on the basis of meeting educational needs and conveying informative content. In addition to the programs themselves, special textbooks are often also made available. The educational television system maintains a continuous program of research and consultation. There are approximately 125 academic specialists working in the national public television schools division. The result of these efforts is a high quality, national service readily and easily available to local schools free of charge. This system has no parallel in the U.S.

Thus the Japanese curriculum—both formal and informal, buttressed by a massive television effort—is an admirable one. While we should be wary of the rigidity of a specified curriculum, the concept of a curriculum designed for the whole person is one worth pondering. To what extent do we in this country provide a curriculum that addresses the development of the entire being, including moral and aesthetic development? To what extent do we structure school experiences that will foster inherent societal goals and virtues? Here again, there are elements of the Japanese experience that we can tailor to specific U.S. needs.

Some Negative Aspects. In the U.S. we speak of examination halls—in Japan they speak of “examination hell.” This yearly period of national trauma culminates in either acceptance or the thinly veiled rejection message—“the cherry blossoms are falling.” Examinations are the key to success in Japan; they are the narrow gate through which only some can pass. Examinations serve to preserve a common cultural core of knowledge.

January, the month when school applications are made, heralds the beginning of “examination season.” Soon large portions of the population are drawn into a swirling vortex of activity. Television news programs carry coverage of the application sites; talk shows feature experts giving advice to parents. Television commercials promote guidebooks designed to help students pass examinations. Newspapers and magazines report on high schools and rate them according to their ability to advance students to college. The upcoming examinations seem to be the topic of everyone’s conversation. The stakes are clear: if one is successful, a successful adult life awaits you. If, however, you are not successful, the number of options in your life narrows dramatically. The pressures of this system are enormous. They include bribery of officials, delinquency, student suicides, and a severe strain on family finances as parents try to pay for tutors and extra schooling. This latter point is especially important when trying to assess equality of opportunity for students from less wealthy families.

Emphasis on entrance examinations can result in a curriculum geared to the test, emphasizing only the fundamentals, rote learning, and “teaching to the test” rather than cultivating conceptualization and curiosity. Teachers pressured to cover the material to be tested often “leave behind” those who are not able to keep up. A recent study from the Prime Minister’s office charges that only 26% of the students fully understand what they are taught. In addition, the examinations come at a time when students are attempting to cope with profound physical and emotional changes.

It is said that once Japanese students reach their end

point—university admittance—they begin to coast. Classes are often skipped since class notebooks can always be borrowed from those who did attend class and the test can be passed through cramming. This phenomenon is exacerbated by the employment practices of many large corporations. These companies prefer to hire young graduates with limited practical or specialized experience, rather than older students with advanced degrees or working experience. These companies spend large sums to provide new employees with special training or further schooling tailored to the company’s needs. The end result is that admittance to a specific university, rather than learning, becomes the goal of the educational system. Further, the company preference for hiring the graduate with a B.A. can be a disincentive to the student pondering pursuit of a higher degree.

The rigidity imposed by the examination system pervades the educational system. Many Japanese are today seriously questioning the continued utility of their system. Among the experts urging reform is former minister of education Michio Nagai, who reports that college is often referred to as the “golden years for idleness” because many students know that their futures are bright. Sadako Ogata, a professor at Sophia University, charges that the examinations are not an educational tool but a flunking system designed to thin out the ranks of prospective university students. On a larger scale, societal concern regarding the education system in general is reflected in the popularity of the book *Totto-chan*. This book focuses on a young girl expelled from school for her “uncharacteristic behavior.” She is later enrolled in a unique progressive school where she experiences much success. The enormous popularity of this book suggests a questioning of the status quo.

Clearly, then, there are some negative aspects of the Japanese system, many of which can be traced to the examination system. The pitfalls of the examination system are many. We would be wise to avoid them and perhaps not consider any adaptation of the Japanese system in this regard.

One challenge that both the U.S. and Japanese systems face in the future is an appropriate response to what has been termed our high tech future. Specifically, many Japanese leaders have become particularly sensitive to the challenge of the Fifth Generation Computer. The Fifth Generation Computer is the ultimate machine—one that solves knotty problems in human ways. It is pseudohuman, artificial intelligence—a reasoning machine. The first four generations of computers have been little more than efficient calculators and processors of information—“number crunchers.” The Japanese have promised to deliver this computer to the world in ten years. The ultimate challenge facing the Japanese educational system is the development of students who will be ready to meet the challenge of this new machine. Critics have charged that the present system of education does not foster creativity and, indeed, stifles it. Yet creativity and experimental thinking are just the type of traits needed by young people as they attempt to cope with this new computer in ten years. Can the Japanese educational system successfully respond to the demands of this challenge? This is perhaps the major educational challenge to the Japanese and U.S. educational systems over the next ten years.

Education in Japan: Surprising Lessons

RICHARD J. DEASY

Japan's economic success is shaped largely by its geography, culture, and society; we cannot expect to achieve economic growth by copying Japanese education.

Those of us charged with the care of America's public schools have recently been urged to learn some lessons from the Japanese. These exhortations come not only from prestigious sources (the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, for example), but from more popular voices as well. Television commentators, newspaper columnists, and friends down the block ask us why the Japanese seem to run better schools than we do.

This interest in Japan stems almost entirely, I think, from the American fear that we are slipping out of the front ranks of world economic powers and losing our competitive edge to other nations. Japan has moved to the head of the line, thereby posing not only an economic challenge but a model to be examined and imitated.

Americans don't know much about Japanese schools. We assume, however, that they must be playing a vital role in Japan's economic triumphs in electronics and automobile design and production. Reports that Japanese students do well on international mathematics tests are linked to these successes and provoke the growing insistence in this country that we should teach more math and science.

The media also like to emphasize the dedication, discipline, and studiousness of Japanese students. This image may be even more appealing to Americans, who annually rank the decay of school order and discipline as their greatest educational concern.

Whatever their source, these assumptions and images pose a challenge that educators in this country can't ignore. A group of colleagues and I were recently able to probe them in detail, primarily through discussions with Japanese educators and corporate executives and in visits to elementary and secondary schools throughout Japan.

What we learned was illuminating and surprising. Our major conclusion is that any attempt to replicate aspects of Japanese schooling in the United States without a thorough understanding of Japanese culture and society would be unwise and probably wrong. Cultural values and social forms and conditions shape the schools of any nation; nowhere is that instantly clearer than in Japan.

Culture and Society

Many of Japan's cultural and social features may be the result of its geog-

raphy. Japan is a group of islands with a land mass the size of Montana. Its 115 million people live on 20 percent of this land; the rest is mountain. The people and their homes, gardens, farms, temples, businesses, and industries must be intricately fitted into the available space. For a thousand years the Japanese have been practicing the construction of miniature worlds, a talent and inclination obvious in their art and industry, especially their intricately designed small cars and electronic components.

Social rituals also make sense when a vast number of people are crowded into tiny areas. The Japanese bow is the best known element of an elaborate system of social greetings and formalities. This ritual politeness provides a comfortable set of ground rules for avoiding social conflict, encouraging order, and protecting the boundaries of social groups and ranks.

As they enter public school, Japanese children are introduced to these practices and taught that harmony and order are social assumptions, not simply the rules of the school. Were this not true, the schools could not enforce the order that is obvious throughout Japan any more than American schools are able to maintain discipline and

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Supervision & Curriculum Development, 125 N. West St.,
Alexandria, VA 22314.

order when those values are not supported by a stable and predictable society.

But nothing is more striking to a visitor than the complexity and formality of the Japanese language, in both its written and spoken forms. The speaker adjusts the language to the person being spoken to, not just through the addition of polite expressions but by complete shifts in vocabulary and grammatical form. Talking to a friend is different from talking to a teacher. In Japanese writing the students are required to master four different types of script: the Chinese characters called kanji (of which there are said to be 50,000), two different forms of Japanese script, and the Roman alphabet. The Japanese are said to spend their lives learning to read and write their own language.

Combined with this fact is the cultural assumption that learning is a matter of absorbing knowledge and skill from experts; to learn is to copy. Like our children, the Japanese learn to write script by copying. But the volume of the characters to be learned requires a great deal of discipline and practice. The process appears to develop tendencies that can be transferred to other areas of learning, particularly those requiring memory. And it inculcates the notion that learners absorb knowledge by imitating the actions and attitudes of those older and wiser.

These characteristics have come to popular attention in the United States through the teaching of the martial arts and the use of the Suzuki method of music instruction.

My colleagues and I came to believe that these assumptions about learning are a crucial feature of Japanese schooling and one of its greatest strengths. Yet they are simultaneously a major weakness, encouraging a reliance on rote learning and discouraging the development of the questioning skills that are the ingredients of critical thinking.

Although Japan has been greatly influenced throughout its history by ideas imported from other nations—most notably China, England, and the United States—it has not had an influx of new peoples. The Japanese have remained remarkably homogeneous and have been able to integrate ideas into their basic national character. Maintaining this social homogeneity and cultural consistency is highly valued by the Japanese. We often heard the Japanese saying, "The nail that sticks up shall be pounded down." Individuality defined as uniqueness—an American value—is neither prized nor tolerated. Individuals do not strive to stand apart from the social group, nor have immigrant groups arrived to challenge the cultural values and social norms that define the essential Japanese character. Searching for the

common ground within the social group, seeking the point of view that can be generally embraced, and reaching decisions by consensus are tendencies encouraged by Japanese values and norms.

While such tendencies could be oppressive and stifling, we saw a wealth of gentle examples. Group activities in school are followed by critiquing sessions in which classmates comment on the performance, and the performing group is asked to be self-critical. The comments invariably contain elements of praise. This is also true of classrooms: teachers search for reasons to give praise; no one is singled out for embarrassing, isolating criticism.

In conjunction with valuing the norms of the social group, the Japanese value the group itself. They told us that this leads to the desire to become part of social groups and endows "rites of passage" with power and significance. The rigorous examinations that the Japanese must pass to enter high schools, colleges, and universities are not only academic hurdles but social doorways as well. While that is somewhat true of the more prestigious universities in this country, the situation is only analogous. Examinations in Japan are the sole criterion for admission, and failure to score at high levels is a personal and social burden of consequence. Roughly 80 percent of the executives of major Japanese corporations are graduates of Tokyo University. In that city, the race literally begins in kindergarten for the prize of admission to the university.

Education and Schooling

There is a distinction between education and schooling in Japan that partially redeems this process. Traditionally, the Japanese have deeply valued the educated person and the process of becoming educated. It is important, worthwhile, and a social expectation that one seeks to become educated regardless of social rewards. This in no way blunts the desire to pursue an education in a prestigious university—and by so doing to reap later economic benefits. But it does support a cultural perspective: those who have achieved deserve their status and economic reward. Those who have learned, yet not reached the same level have nonetheless pursued the



Students exhibit intense concentration in their classes. Learning is highly valued and discipline is inculcated by a variety of crucial social forces. Quality performance is expected from students.

Photograph by Sheppard Ransom

wise and valuable course and are better for it.

Nor is education considered achievement only within the standard academic subjects. When Japanese school programs were reviewed and revised in the late 1970s, the purpose of schooling—the guiding principle for the revisions—was to “bring up children and pupils who are balanced in intellect, morality, and physical power and full of humanity.”

Japanese schools stress not only the academic subjects (which include the arts as a major component), but also moral, physical, social, and cultural education. In the latter pursuit, Japanese students may spend more than 30 school days each year on field trips to cultural sites and institutions in their region.

The role of the school is to promote an education that is consonant with and supportive of the dominant cultural values and social norms and goals. Each school program and activity has to be understood and analyzed from that perspective.

The Japanese are currently worried about aspects of this schooling. They have undertaken another review that is dominated by several major concerns: the growing incidence of school disruption and violence, the possible detrimental effects of the examination systems, and over-reliance on rote learning of massive amounts of information. Curiously, these are comparable to current areas of concern in the United States. Both nations are proposing tighter measures where they feel they have been lax and more relaxed measures where they have been rigid. Ironically, the directions are almost reversed. The Japanese are looking for a greater relevance for school content and are considering reducing the amount of material to be taught, thus lessening the examination burden.

The Role of the Family

The most striking aspect of current Japanese thinking about these matters is the assumption that many of the crucial solutions are not to be found in the school but in the family. Educators in the United States often make this claim, but they are judged to be abandoning their responsibilities when they do so. On the contrary, the Japa-



*The Japanese mother, whose responsibility it is to oversee the education of her children and to oversee nightly homework, often enrolls her children in *juku*, supplementary private schools widely used to give added instruction in everything from dance to mathematics.*

nese accept this notion as self-evident and have begun to examine how parents can play an even greater role in the education and training of their children.

It is difficult to imagine, however, how they can do more than they do now. The Japanese family is the repository and bulwark of all cultural values and social norms and goals. Though it is now being buffeted by a variety of economic and demographic storms that may in time bring the type of fragmentation we have in this country, the family is still the stable and deep core of Japanese society. For instance, there is virtually no divorce in Japan. As a result, there is not a significant incidence of single-parent households with their concomitant strain on the time, energy, and financial resources of a single parent. Both parents are on

hand to collaborate in fulfilling their expected social functions.

The role of the Japanese mother has recently received special attention in the United States. It is she who watches over the nightly homework; researches the public and private schools to decide which will best prepare her children for the university and college examinations; arranges their enrollment in *juku*, the supplementary private schools widely used to give added instruction in everything from dance to mathematics; and serves as a constant reminder of the children's expected performance level.

Mothers seem more than willing to carry out these functions, but the role is sustained as well by the overall place of women in Japanese society. We met no women in any positions of authority in the schools, the government, or the private company we visited. Though the number of women as teachers in the elementary and secondary schools has grown in recent years—suggesting future changes—men still dominate the world outside the home. Women are expected to attend to the inner world of the family, in which the education of children is a central concern.

Comparing Japanese and American Schooling

As we traveled Japan, these underlying cultural and social conditions thrust themselves more and more into our interpretations of the schooling experiences we examined. For instance, we were greatly interested in the amount of time students spend in school. The Japanese school year is 240 days long,

“It is important, worthwhile, and a social expectation that [in Japan] one seeks to become educated regardless of social rewards.”

Photograph by Sheppard Bushorn



Most observers agree that the content of Japanese mathematics and science classes is more complex and challenging than that found in a typical classroom in the United States, particularly in the elementary and middle schools.

compared with about 180 days in this country, and students there attend school six days per week. Much has been made of these facts in recent reports in this country, linking time in school to student achievement. But we found that no simple comparison could be made between the two calendars. For instance, during the six-day week, students attend school a half day on Saturday and may have a reduced day one other day of the week. Over the course of a year, students may spend as many as 30 days out of school visiting cultural institutions and sites. Nor is each subject taught every day. On the other hand, a great many students attend private supplementary schools after the regular school day and take a variety of subjects for enrichment or to prepare for examinations. And students spend time each evening doing homework, sometimes with parental assistance. Thus, we found it difficult to develop a clear comparison of the amount of time Japanese students spend studying a subject with the time spent by students in this country.

But what became obvious and more compelling to us was the intensity of student concentration, which was the result of more than mere allocation of time. The educational contexts—school, *juku*, home—are stable, reinforcing environments; learning is highly valued; discipline is inculcated by a variety of crucial social forces; quality performance is expected from students. In short, the time for learning is structured and student attention focused by a complex system of cultural and social pressures.

This is *not* an argument against increasing allocated time in our schools. But if we do, we need to understand how the use of time functions to express and reinforce cultural and social values and how time spent in school is part of the web of time in a society.

We developed a similar attitude toward other features of Japanese schools. There is no question that the content of Japanese mathematics and science classes is more complex and challenging than that found in a typical classroom in this country, particularly in the elementary and middle schools.

But there is also social promotion, and while there is a growing awareness of the need for compensatory education, there is very little currently being done within Japanese schools to deal with those who cannot keep pace. If we were to dramatically increase the complexity of science content in our elementary schools, we would, at least in the short run, be faced with the question of whether to retain or promote students who fail, and we would be forced to shift resources to this subject area.

These decisions are possible for us, but they have ramifications, not the least of which is that the great value placed on education in Japan translates into money and prestige. Japanese teachers are well paid and the profession is esteemed. Japanese schools have not yet felt the drain of their talent into more lucrative careers. While the American public is said to be pressing for more science in our schools, there is no evidence that the public has yet considered the societal changes that must be made to make this truly possible.



HIGH MARKS FOR JAPANESE EDUCATION

Many recent international reports on Japan credit the nation's education system with making it a great economic power. Undeniably, education has played a major role in strengthening the nation, helping to create an advanced society where over 99% of enrolled students complete high school, and nearly 40% of high school graduates go on to institutions of higher learning. Based on the principle of full equality of educational opportunity, the current system is widely recognized as providing a uniformly well-educated public, solid character training for the young, and a highly qualified work force. But...

Call for Fine-Tuning

Despite all the impressive statistics, the Japanese are not completely satisfied: Changes in the social and cultural fabric of Japanese society—brought on by such factors as a rapidly shifting industrial structure, quick progress in information technology and growing internationalization—have prompted calls for an education system better tuned to meet future needs: one that is ready to cope with the challenges of the 21st century.

Two Educational Reforms

Formal education likely began in Japan in the 6th century or before, with the arrival of the Chinese writing system. Although it spread slowly, education was widespread by the time of the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

Japan's education system underwent two major reforms. The first, in 1872, laid down the foundations of the current national system by governmental fiat, which set forth what was then the almost revolutionary principle of equal educational opportunity.

The second reform was undertaken immediately after World War II and replaced the dual-track (popular and elite) system with a single-track 6-3-3-4 system from the U.S. model.

The new system gave 6 years at



elementary school, 3 at junior high school, 3 at senior high school and 4 at university. It also increased the years of compulsory education from six to nine, beginning when a child is six years old, usually following some years at kindergarten.

Now many feel that it is time to adapt the education system to the current social situation, and prepare for the future. Such changes are likely to be based on reports from the Ad Hoc Council on Educational Reform, set up by the government in August 1984 to advise the prime minister.

Recommendations include measures to cope with internationalization and the so-called information age and

ways to nurture "individual dignity, respect for individuality, freedom, autonomy, self-responsibility, and human values."

Cycling to Class

Many of these recommendations mirror the progressive views of Masao Ito (56), principal of Ichikawa Higashi High (IHH) School. "One strong point of Japanese education is that children of the same age bracket are encouraged to achieve the same goals throughout the nation. However, this sometimes results in inattention to the uniqueness of each student as an individual."

The article above has been extracted from the Sumitomo Corporate News (No. 61, 1987). Photography by Ben Simmons. Reprinted by permission.



A calligraphy class (above) not only improves handwriting, but promotes self-discipline and a sense of tradition. This discipline is evident in the students' attentive behavior in the classroom (bottom, right). Creativity and art appreciation are also fostered (top, right).



One of Japan's 5,491 senior high schools, IHH is located in Ichikawa City in the northwestern part of Chiba Prefecture. While this area is considered a residential and industrial satellite of the Tokyo/Yokohama urban belt, its 1,364 students travel up to 6km to the school, mostly by bicycle, passing by small vegetable farms and orchards.

Completed in April 1977 at a total cost of 2.7 billion yen, the well-designed school and its numerous facilities cover some 46,625 square meters and include a spacious gymnasium, arts and crafts room, kiln, martial arts hall, five tennis courts, a seven-lane swimming pool and a nearly 10,000-volume library which seats 96.

It is said that IHH students are better than average compared scholastically with others in Chiba. They certainly seem active and obedient, pursuing a well-balanced curriculum that emphasizes both academics and personal growth.

Staffed by 61 teachers and eleven other workers, annual operating expenses for the school are about 350

million yen, of which 300 million yen is for salaries and other personnel-related expenses.

Teaching is a prestigious profession in Japan, with teachers receiving pay above that of the private sector (a high school teacher received a monthly average of 257,913 yen in 1984, against 227,700 yen for industrial workers). This results in a high standard of teachers, and five well-educated applicants for every job opening.

Typical School Day

The weekly workload for a first-year student at the school comprises five classes of modern and classical Japanese literature, four of sociology, five for math, five in science, four physical education classes for boys and two for girls with one hour of health education study, two optional classes in art, five in English-language studies, two classes in home economics for girls, and two classes of mandatory club activities. In addition, there are 17 academic and 14 sports clubs

for extracurricular activities.

A typical day at IHH starts at 8:30 a.m., when the teachers arrive for a five-minute meeting. At 8:40 the students, who all wear uniforms and special indoor shoes, attend a short meeting in their homeroom, a classroom where students of one class meet under the guidance of a teacher to have attendance checked and any important messages given. The morning then continues with four 50-minute classes, with ten-minute breaks in between.

The 45-minute lunch break starts at 12:40, and is taken in the homerooms. About 40% of the students bring their own lunches, usually *obento* box lunches made by their mothers. The others participate in the school's lunch program.

The bell sounds at 1:20 p.m., giving everyone five minutes warning that the afternoon classes are about to begin. After two classes, the students return to the homerooms for a short meeting, then spend 15 minutes cleaning the classrooms, corridors or school



Home economics are not neglected (top, left): IHH students chat with Michael Robinson (for an Australian exchange student) over their meals (top, right). These nutritious box lunches (bottom, left) are either brought from home or bought at school. Free time after the meal is used in a variety of ways (bottom, right).

grounds. Although the school day officially ends at 3:40 p.m., many remain at the school until 6 p.m. for two hours of club activities.

The Ministry of Education (*Monbusho*), responsible for the administration of Japan's public schools and for setting national educational standards, issues guidelines giving 210 days of study per year, slightly above the U.S. average of 180. U.S. researchers, however, point out that because of the order and discipline in Japanese schools, time is used more effectively, so that Japanese students actually spend about one-third more time learning in the class than their American counterparts do.

It is this discipline which allows large classes to be taught in Japan. The typical class has 34 to 36 students, and sometimes up to the limit of 45, but classroom discipline is maintained at a strict level.

There is no corporal punishment at IHH, and little evidence of violence or bullying. Undoubtedly well-disciplined in the class, the students show high

spirits and move boisterously about the corridors when changing classrooms.

Help from Home

IHH has an active PTA which met 14 times last year, excluding a special meeting held last year on the parents' initiative to discuss a special edition of the IHH PTA News, which is published at the end of every term.

Parents, more especially mothers, play an important role in the success of their children's education, often becoming keenly involved in all its aspects.

While much has been written about the intense competition to pass exams and get into the best schools—a situation dating back to the late 1800s when the best positions in government and business were monopolized by graduates from the highest-ranking government schools—the learning environment is more relaxed at IHH.

Although Japanese high school students are said to spend four times the

U.S. daily average on homework, two hours in Japan, a second-year student interviewed at random stated that she did not study at home unless it was the night before an examination!

She pointed out that not many IHH students attend *juku*, cram schools which provide extra teaching in small classes after school hours and on weekends, and those that do usually wait until their final year at high school.

However, the situation is such elsewhere that the boom in private tutorial schools has created an industry with estimated total annual revenues of around 900 billion yen in 1986. It also prompted the Ministry of Education earlier this year to request that all public schools nationwide offer their pupils and students supplementary lessons and one-to-one education to cope with what it calls the "evils" brought on by *juku*.

Mr. Ito of IHH holds a similar opinion, pointing out that educators should not be interested in short-term considerations, such as entrance exams, but should encourage "two-way



Healthy bodies complement well-trained minds: At the kendo club, one of the 14 extracurricular sports clubs held from 4 to 6 p.m., students learn spiritual discipline as well as fencing moves (above and above left). Judo techniques include throwing (left), grappling and attacking vital points of the body. Also a popular duo activity, this form of unarmed combat emphasizes agility, astute mental judgment and rigorous form, rather than sheer physical strength. During their first year at the high school, the boys take four physical education classes weekly and the girls two. For the remaining two years, all students take part in three classes each week. Basketball, volleyball, volleyball and baseball are among the most popular sports.



traffic" with the students and get them involved with education in their own, unique ways.

"Educators must help each student find and develop his or her own individual potential," he adds.

International Outlook

Students at IHH are also encouraged to take an interest in internationalization and develop contacts with people overseas. Presently around 100 students correspond regularly in English with students at Gloucester High School in Canada; IHH accepts a foreign exchange student every year for one year; 12 students went to the U.S. for a month in March; and delegations of U.S. and Canadian

teachers visited the high school in 1984 and again last year.

In addition, Chiba Prefecture plans to accept 50 of the more than 800 foreign teachers the government intends to hire—the largest number for any single prefecture. Starting in September, these teachers will assist local junior and senior high school teachers for a period of one year.

The current exchange student at IHH is a 16-year-old Australian. After four weeks at the school, he pinpoints differences between the two systems he knows: "Japanese schools are run in a very correct way. Forms of address are very formal between teachers and students, and even among the students themselves. First names or nicknames are not used.

"Sports and participation in clubs are emphasized in Japan, and a wide range of academic subjects is taught. In Australia, unlike here, we don't have an entrance examination to enter university."

There is little indication that the infamous university exams are likely to be scrapped, but with the push to revitalize the current system gaining momentum, society's demands for more flexible and varied educational opportunities look likely to be met. By building on a solid foundation of excellence, Japan's educational setup is again set to score high marks in the test of time.

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Education: "Examination Hell"?

INTRODUCTION (TEACHER BACKGROUND)

Since virtually every child in Japan goes to school, the structure of childhood and youth look superficially the same as in America:

- Japanese children usually enter first grade of elementary school at six years old, go to three years of junior high school, and attend three years of senior high school.
- Colleges are two- (junior) and four-year programs
- Compulsory education ends after junior high school (age 15), but 93 percent of students go on to high school, and 39 percent of high school graduates enter university.
- School goes from 8 A.M. to 3 P.M. on weekdays, and there is a half day to noon on Saturday.
- The school year begins in April, with a summer vacation in August and a winter vacation at New Year's for a total of 240 school days per year.
- Japanese children all study mathematics, science, social sciences, Japanese, and English.
- Elementary school and junior high are coeducational as are high schools.
- Japanese youth, like their American counterparts, are avid participants in, and boosters of, school sports. However, their dating seldom begins until after high school.

The easy comparison of U.S. and Japanese schools breaks down

at this point. The Japanese education system is a unitary national program devised by the Ministry of Education. The goals, and therefore content, of education in Japan are radically different:

The entire Japanese educational system is directed toward teaching students knowledge that will be tested on a series of entrance exams ideally leading to university and ultimately to positions of responsibility and productivity.

Japan's colleges and universities are clearly ranked number one, number two, etc., and the most desirable employers--the big, lifetime employment corporations and prestigious government ministries--only recruit from the best schools. Joining a big firm or the government is assurance of a life of security and affluence. Thus, to get the best jobs, one must go to one of the select number of colleges.

The chief criterion for entering good colleges is top scores on the national college entrance exams. Other criteria, such as civic activities, letters of recommendation, unusual talents, or political pull, are of less importance, although evaluations of each student made by his or her previous teachers have considerable influence.

The exams are true/false, multiple choice, and short answer tests of knowledge of facts; they are not aptitude tests. The best way to do well on the college entrance exams is to have gone to a good high school. But many high schools, too, require entrance exams. Since compulsory education ends with ninth grade, there are not as many public high school places as students, and 30 percent of students go to private high schools. Some private junior high schools automatically feed into sister senior schools, and this so-called escalator system can sometimes extend all the way down to kindergarten, where, of course, there are always entrance examinations.

The true crisis points of the Japanese educational system are the college and high school entrance exams. These tests and the stress of preparation are infamously known as "the examination hell." Like American "stage mothers" who are obsessed with promoting their children's acting careers, there are Japanese "education mamas" who devote all their time to helping their children study. In junior high, and earlier, children attend private, afternoon cram schools called juku, where they get additional preparation and practice in exam-taking. Many students are known as rōnin, who fail to get into the desired college and, even if they are successfully graduated from high school, continue to study for another year or two, in hopes of passing the exams on the next round. As might be expected, the stress over exams is so great that every year a number of children commit suicide.

An interesting result of the Japanese educational system is that once into college, students hardly bother to study. They have proven their educational worth, and there are no exams

ahead. College is a very relaxed and self-indulgent period, as students wait to enter the job market.

Two further sociological consequences of the Japanese educational system should be noted. First, despite the complexity of written Japanese, the nation claims a 99.7 percent literacy rate. This high literacy rate is a remarkable achievement, and it has profound implications in areas such as labor productivity and political mobilization. Secondly, the core of Japanese social interaction is a submersion of the individual into the group and a process of decision-making by consensus. Experts argue that these social values are reflected in, and reinforced by, an educational program designed to teach every member of the nation the same set of facts and theories, with little emphasis on independent, critical thought.



Japan's Schools: Examination Ordeal Governs the Destiny of Each Student

By EDWARD B. FISKE

Special to The New York Times

The New York Times, July 12, 1983).

TOKYO — American students, by and large, take examinations to get out of school. Japanese take them to get in.

One result is that once Japanese students get to college, they can relax. Their life bears little resemblance to the regimen of lectures, seminars, exams and papers that are the pattern in the United States.

"We are supposed to spend two hours preparing for every hour of class," said Masato Koiso, a 20-year-old sophomore at Sophia University here, "but nobody does that. This is the only time that you can take it easy and enjoy life."

"You sleep late, and you play a lot of mah-jongg," agreed Motoharu Saito, a graduate student at Sophia.

In Japan, what is most important is not what a student learns in college but which college he goes to, and that is determined entirely by the score he makes on a one-day battery of tests.

This basic fact of life — that every Japanese child who has any hope of going to college must face crucial, detailed, impartial tests of his or her basic academic knowledge — defines what is taught in Japanese schools, shapes the extracurricular activities and determines the way Japanese children spend their free time. There is nothing comparable in the American system of education.

Most colleges and universities in the United States require applicants to take either the Scholastic Aptitude Test or the American College Testing Program examinations, but high school grades and other factors ranging from extracurricular achievements to athletic ability are usually more important criteria for admission to college.

It would be unheard of in the United States for a high school graduate who did poorly on the college boards to go to a cram school for a year just so he could make a better score. In Japan, however, one out of six youngsters just out of high school does exactly that, and some of them go for several years. They are called "ronin," which literally means a masterless samurai warrior.

One of them is Atsushi Shiraishi. At the age of 18, he graduated from high school in March with high hopes of going on to study architecture at Waseda or Tokyo Kogyo Universities. He failed both entrance examinations, however, so he is preparing to try again.

Mr. Shiraishi lives in the dormitory of the Yoyogi Seminar, a private cram school, with other unsuccessful university applicants, their parents having paid \$4,000 for a year of intense preparation for next year's exams. They attend lectures six days a week and virtually give up social life in order to devote all their time to memorizing vast amounts of material.

"I often get tired," Mr. Shiraishi conceded, "but I have to keep it up because I want to enter a first-choice university."

Strains on Parents and Children

The inevitable anxiety over how to prepare for the examinations that loom in the future puts strains on Japanese parents and children. In extreme cases, the so-called "examination hell" has led to suicides by students who failed.

Furthermore, the examination system has spawned a multibillion dollar industry of private cram schools, practice examinations, correspondence courses and drill books that supplement the public school system.

"It's almost impossible to get into college without some kind of extra work," said Yuko Inome, a 16-year-old student at Mukogawa Girls High School in Osaka. "It's not enough to rely on what you learn in school."

Japanese students take exams not only to get into college, but also into high school. Japanese students attend heterogeneous elementary and junior high schools, but after the ninth grade, they are funneled into senior high schools of varying quality. Junior high school grades and teacher recommendations play a role in determining who will get into the best high schools and vocational schools, but the most important element is the student's score on the examinations that each school administers to prospective students.

Test Score Is Sole Criterion

Then, in the senior year of high school students again compete through examinations to get into the best possible university. The test score is the sole criterion for who is accepted and who is not.

The most desirable employers, such as prestigious Government ministries and large corporations, recruit from a limited number of top public and private universities.

"In Japan, a large part of your success in life depends on which university you went to," said Yasuaki Takemura, vice president of the Yoyogi Seminar school. "It's a passport you have to have, and the race to get it starts early in life."

The Scholastic Aptitude Test in the United States is designed to measure relatively broad verbal and mathematical reasoning skills. In Japan, however, examinations are designed in keeping with the Confucian tradition that education is essentially the conveying of factual knowledge.

Multiple-Choice Questions

The examinations pose multiple-choice or other short-answer questions to which there is a single correct solution. "Interpretive skills are not tested," said Thomas P. Rohlen, an American expert on Japanese high schools. "But skills in natural science problem-solving are important, and the degree of detailed knowledge required is astounding. The exams are the kind for which a capacity to grind away at preparation for years makes a difference. Intelligence is important, but self-discipline and will power are equally essential."

A recent examination for Tokyo University, for instance, contained the following question on world history:

"Mohammed's younger cousin and son-in-law Ali became caliph in 656. That was because:

(a) The caliph was elected in those days.

(b) The caliph was succeeded on a hereditary system corresponding to father-son succession in those days.

(c) Ali defeated former caliph Uthman in the Battle of Camel."

Students aspiring to join the elite ranks of Tokyo University alumni should have known that the correct answer was (a).

Stress Put on Factual Material

Such questions define the content of the curriculum in Japanese schools from the elementary level on. Schools focus almost entirely on the subjects covered by examinations — Japanese, mathematics, social studies, science and English — and the goal of lectures is to convey as much of the factual material that might appear on some future examination as possible.

Many of the better high schools rush through the prescribed curriculum in two years and then devote the entire senior year to a review of old examinations and related materials.

In the United States "computer literacy" is coming to be viewed as a major objective of public schools from the earliest grades. In Japan, however, despite the country's emphasis on production of computers, they are conspicuously absent from the classroom. That is because there are no questions about computers on entrance examinations.

Public schools routinely require students to give up athletics and other after-school activities when they reach the critical ninth and twelfth grades. Teachers inevitably view the success or failure of their students on such examinations as a measure of their own effectiveness.

Students who do not pass entrance examinations or for other reasons do not go on to college often attend public or private technical schools in fields ranging from cosmetology to fishing, and some of them have entrance examinations.

Role of the 'Education Mother'

The competition inherent in a system where a child's entire future prospects can be determined by his or her performance on a single morning and afternoon produces anxiety for the whole family.

The most obvious expression of this is a phenomenon known as the "kyoiku mama," or "education mother," known for her aggressiveness in pushing her children, especially boys, toward higher educational achievements.

"Japanese fathers work long hours and come home late, and they abdicate many responsibilities to their wives," said Nobuo Shimahara, a professor at Rutgers University. "In this kind of setting, women tend to identify themselves with their children more closely than with their husbands in terms of interaction and expectations."

Noriko Oonishi, who lives in Tokyo and whose husband, Tadashi, is the general manager of a shipping concern, is one Japanese mother who takes her education duties seriously. "A child doesn't have the intelligence to know what schools are good and bad," she explained. "It is my responsibility to en-

courage them to study hard and get into a good high school."

Both Sons in Private Schools

The Oonishis have two sons, Tomoyuki, who is 16 and a junior in high school, and Takayuki, who is 12 and in his first year in junior high school. Both are in private schools that required the passing of entrance examinations, and both began attending an after-school juku, or cram school for high school entrance examinations, in the fourth grade.

Takayuki, for example, was enrolled in the Tokyo Noritsu juku, which itself required an examination for admittance and which focused its program upon practice tests every Sunday morning. When it turned out that her son was not doing particularly well on these tests, Mrs. Oonishi enrolled him in another juku that specializes in preparing students for the Tokyo Noritsu practice tests.

She estimated the extra cost of preparing her sons for private school at \$1,000 for the older boy and \$3,500 for the younger. "If a child's ability is less, you have to pay more," she commented.

"Americans go to the Boy Scouts, Japanese go to jukus," declared Karoku Itoh, vice president of the Tokyo Gakuen juku.

Cram School Provides Friends

The effects that jukus have on Japanese children is a matter of considerable debate. Some children, like Toshiko Nishioka, a sixth grader who attends the Tokyo Gakuen juku several times a week, clearly enjoy it. "I like coming here because I have lots of friends," he said.

Mrs. Oonishi said that while her sons lost much of their free time during their upper elementary school years, she felt good about their situation. Since both learned enough to gain entrance to private junior high schools that guarantee admission to an affiliated high school, they will not have had to go through the "examination hell" as ninth graders.

Others, however, have reservations about a system that requires many students to devote so many of their childhood hours to memorization.

Masajiro Shimamura, who lives in the Tokyo suburb of Hachioji, said that he and his wife Kazumi were "in a dilemma" regarding their 12-year old daughter, Kyoko, who is in the seventh grade. "She loves to read books, and if we send her to a juku, then she will have to give up a lot of her reading time," he said. "The juku is not education. It is training to pass an exam. We want her to have a liberal education."

Correspondence Courses Used

Thus far the Shimamuras' solution has been to subscribe to correspondence courses that provide exercises each month for Kyoko to do in her spare time. The father conceded, though, that by the time she reaches the ninth grade

a juku will become "a necessary evil."

"We don't encourage students to go to jukus," said Noboru Matsumoto, principal of the Uchikoshi Junior High School in Hachioji, who estimates that two-thirds of his students do so anyway. "The students go to cram schools until 9 or 10 in the evening, and they still have their homework to do. Some don't get to bed until midnight, and the next morning they are sleepy."

Lou-Anne Wesler, an American who spent two years teaching in Japanese schools, said that she had observed a "real difference" in students as they approached the time for high school entrance examinations.

"Seventh graders are enthusiastic kids," she said. "By the time they reach ninth grade, there is a heaviness that Americans don't have. They become dead-faced. You teach, and there's no response."

Exams Are Public Ritual

Examinations are public ritual. In contrast to the United States, where colleges inform students of their admissions decisions by private letter, students and their families learn of their academic fate by scanning bulletin boards on which the names of successful and unsuccessful applicants are posted.

There are exceptions to the general rule that Japanese college students basically relax for four years. Engineering students or those in Tokyo University planning to take the examination for a job in the Foreign or the Finance Ministry, for instance, study quite hard.

But generally, according to Tadashi Yamamoto, director of the Japan Center for International Exchange, college in Japan "represents four years of tremendous waste of human resources." Critics argue that the low level of academic work during the undergraduate years undermines the overall quality of the Japanese education system.

Japanese companies generally do not view this as a problem. Since they can usually count on keeping the new employees for their entire careers, the companies invest heavily in training them for the skills the companies need. "Business firms want fresh people," said Yasuo Sakakibara, a professor of economics at Doshisha University in Kyoto. "If they need somebody who can work a computer or speak Spanish, then they assign them to spend three months learning computers or Spanish."

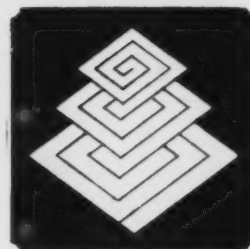
The Rich Have the Advantage

There is a paradox in the role of private jukus, cram schools and other facilities that have been estimated to gross \$10 billion a year, or \$1 for every \$7 spent on education.

One of the basic goals of the examination system was to put bright but poor students on an equal footing with the sons and daughters of the privileged. Instead, youngsters whose parents

have the means to purchase educational services outside the public schools have an enormous advantage in competition for admission to the best colleges and universities.

Mr. Rohlen, the American expert on Japanese education, calculated that between 1961 and 1974 the number of students from the poorest two-fifths of the population who gained admission to such universities dropped to 27 percent from 40 percent. Over the same period, the number of students at prestigious universities from the wealthiest fifth of the population increased to 34 percent from 26 percent.



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Questions for Discussion

1. Japanese students work very hard in junior and senior high school, but take it easy in college. Why?

Is it the same in the United States?

If not, why?

2. What determines whether or not you are accepted to a Japanese college?

What about an American college?

3. What are the two "examination hells"?

4. The examination hells have produced three associated phenomena--juku, "education mamas," and rōnin. What are they?

5. What are some differences between the way people are taught in Japan and the way they are taught in the United States?

Do all American schools teach the same thing?

Is there any way that the educational system might make a difference in what people learn, or how they think about things?

What are some good points and some bad points about each educational system?

6. The Japanese examination system was designed, in part, so that smart students, even if they are poor, can be recognized and accepted at free state universities. What has happened to this plan?

"EXAMINATION HELL"?/7

7. From your point of view as a student, what specifically do you see as most desirable about the Japanese system?

Least desirable?

Explain.

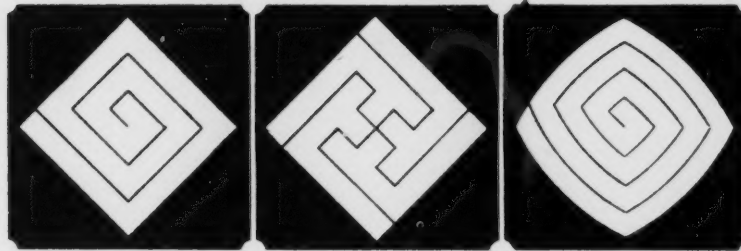
8. Should Americans adapt some features of the Japanese system?

Which ones?

Why?

Which features might not be adaptable in the United States?

Why?



Women

WOMEN'S ROLES

(Resources)

audio-visual and printed resources on women in Japan and their changing roles in a modern society.

FOUR WOMEN/FOUR CHOICES

(Film Guide and Discussion)

a film which shows the traditional roles assumed by women in Japan, and efforts to establish alternative roles, all examined in light of the roles and responsibilities assigned to men by Japanese business relationships and to children by the educational system.

JAPANESE WOMEN AND THE LAW

(Reading)

a reading by Linda Wojtan discussing women and their legal relationship to the family, education and employment.

Women's Roles

Resources

Women in Japan: From Ancient Times to the Present
by Marjorie Wall Bingham and Susan Hill Gross

Provides a review of the history of women in Japan focusing on changing views of women and contemporary issues for Japanese women. The book offers a collection of reading, including extensive quotations from private material. Filmstrips include rare historical photographs.

Available from: Glenhurst Publications
Central Community Center
6300 Walker Street
St. Louis Park, MN 55416

Tel. (612)925-3632

Prices: Paperback book \$11.95
Teacher's guide \$3.00
2 Filmstrips, 2 tapes
and guide \$40.00

[prepaid orders receive free postage]

Japanese Women: Their Place in the Sun

A unit containing a teacher's guide with student activities and a slide set examining the various roles of women in Japan. The guide can also be ordered and used separately from the slide set.

Unit is currently out-of-print while undergoing a revision, but should be available in summer 1989.

Available from: The Japan Project/SPICE
Lou Henry Hoover Building, Room 200
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305

Tel. (415)723-1116

Price: Write for a catalogue of materials
and updated prices

Four Women / Four Choices

FOUR WOMEN, FOUR CHOICES

Film title: FOUR WOMEN, FOUR CHOICES

Format: 16 mm, color, 27 minutes
(release date: late 1970s)

Available from: Public Affairs Office
Japan Trade Center*
1221 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10020
Tel: (212) 997-0400

Rental: FREE

*Offices also in Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

Student materials to accompany the film are on a separate page.

Synopsis

In Japan, as in other postindustrial societies in the world today, women are examining and often challenging their traditional roles. The four women shown in the film discuss the conflicts between their traditional roles as housewives and mothers and their possible new roles as wage-earners in the larger economic world. Many of the problems they consider are similar to those faced by women working outside their homes in our own society as well.

The ideal choice for a Japanese woman has been seen as working outside the home until marriage or--at the latest--until the birth of the first child, when she assumes the jobs of homemaker and mother full time. However, as reported by Robert Christopher, today "more than half of all women over the age of 15 hold jobs, and 57 percent of all working women are married. In addition the movement of working women into the workaday world is significantly altering child-rearing practices--as of 1980, approximately one-fifth of all Japanese children of six and younger were attending day-care centers, and the percentages are growing."*

The women whose lives are shown in the film are apparently not forced to work by economic necessity; they are able to examine the old ideal and the new options, and decide which course to choose.

*From Robert C. Christopher, "Changing Face of Japan," The New York Times Magazine, March 27, 1983. The complete article is reprinted at the conclusion of the SOCIETY section.

Questions for Discussion

1. Miyoko Iwabuchi, the first woman we meet in the film, has chosen to stay at home to care for her husband and child. As part of her homemaker's job, she handles all the family's finances--as most Japanese housewives do--as well as the daily chores involved in running a household. What does her husband's role in the family seem to be?

How does this compare with a father's role in a comparable American family?

2. The second woman, Tokiko Furukawa, has a part-time job, and takes French lessons as a hobby. What do these two activities outside the home mean to her?

Tokiko's husband rarely gets home before 10 or 11 p.m. After work he socializes with colleagues from his office, an activity considered part of his job, since many business decisions are made in such informal settings. What effect do you think the pattern of their present lives will have on Tokiko's and her husband's old age?

What has the result been in the lives of her husband's parents?

Do elderly Americans have similar problems?

3. The next woman we meet, Kyoko Tai, has started working full-time since her children reached high school age. What were her reasons?

Do you think most women would find it easy to coordinate their outside work and their housework?

Compare Kyoko's responses with those of Fumiyo Hasegawa, the fourth woman in the film.

4. Fumiyo is the youngest woman treated here, as well as the only one to have a very young child. She is also the first to mention discrimination against women in the business world. How does she feel about that discrimination?

How does she manage both jobs?

How is her husband different from the other women's husbands?

What do you think about her views of the difficulties involved in handling both jobs?

5. Take a survey in your classroom. Make a graph to illustrate the percentage of students' mothers who work, distinguishing between part- and full-time work outside the home.

Make a graph of the percentage of students who, like Tokiko's children, help with household work, by number of hours per week.

6. Discuss the conflicts the women in the film feel about balancing work in the home and family and work outside. What do you see as an ideal pattern of family life in terms of your own future?

Relate this to the Japanese families in the film.

Legislative mandate versus sociological reality—what is the position of Japanese women today? To what extent do Japanese laws establish or ensure legal efficacy for women, a framework within which women have control over their lives? While a variety of laws guarantee equality, change is slow in coming since each legal alteration in the lives of women must be accompanied by a concomitant sociological change in tradition, practices and ascribed roles. The result is that today Japanese women face a puzzling combination of opportunities and deprivations. Japan can be classified as a modern society, but the position of women is, and is expected to be, traditional. What role does law play in this paradox?

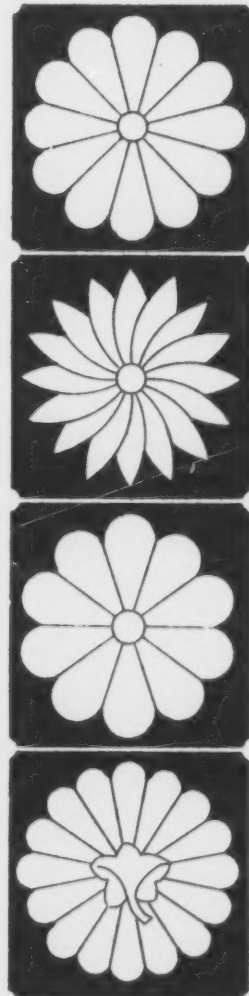
EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

The postwar period in Japan brought sweeping changes, including Article 14 of the Constitution of Japan: "All of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin." To what extent, however, is this legislative mandate reflected in Japanese women's participation in education, employment, family life, politics and government?

The arenas of education and employment present a mixed record. About 95% of all girls who complete the nine years of compulsory schooling move on to senior high school, with about 35% of those going on to colleges and universities. Yet, most female students choose a two-year junior college course rather than the four-year university course—why?

Perhaps the main reason is that equal access to education is *not* complemented by access to equal employment. No opportunities were offered to female university graduates by 78% of a total of 5,000 enterprises queried in a 1977 government survey. It is generally agreed that the situation has not really changed in the last four years, even though Japan's Labor Standards Law and international agreements stipulate the principle of equal pay for equal work. Principles of equal pay have no meaning, however, when women are not even offered equal work. Firms can simply continue to fill less-skilled positions with women who have lower qualifications than men, and thereby feel justified, if not legally sanctioned, in offering lower pay.

The next question, of course, becomes, why do Japanese companies insist on this practice? Rather than assuming malice on the part of these corporations, one must examine the rather unique Japanese corporate style and the position of employees within that framework, especially at the managerial level. The traditional Japanese business insists on a life-long commitment from its employees and promotes on the basis of seniority. Within this scheme, then, women who have children and interrupt their career to care for them—"break service"—violate a taboo among employees seriously climbing the Japanese corporate ladder. Further, married career women with children confront an "ascribed" corporate life



pattern that offers little flexibility for family concerns—an almost zealous commitment to overtime work and after-hours socializing. A successful and responsible Japanese businessman works long hours, both evenings and weekends, then goes out with male colleagues and business contacts for work and pleasure at some night spot. Though some women advocate legal measures to support equal opportunity in employment, it is doubtful that a law would legislate away this pervasive corporate pattern.

FAMILY AND THE LAW

Similarly, it is not possible to legislate away years of tradition and practice surrounding the Japanese woman's position in the family. Legally, the Constitution provides the following guarantees:

Marriage shall be based only on the mutual consent of both sexes and it shall be maintained through mutual cooperation with the equal rights of husband and wife as a basis. With regard to choice of spouse, property rights, inheritance, choice of domicile, divorce and other matters pertaining to marriage and the family, laws shall be enacted from the standpoint of individual dignity and the essential equality of the sexes.

Regardless of Japanese law, however, an estimated half of all Japanese marriages are arranged. Further, a price is asked for a bride in many cases—usually \$2,000. About half of this sum is usually returned by the bride's parents as a cash gift and the other half is returned as household items. Modernization has altered this system slightly; instead of the *nakōdo*—go-betweens—being a respected couple, many arranged marriages are the result of computerized matchmaking! In general, however, the prospective bride and groom aren't obliged to bow to family wishes against their own preference.

Perhaps the crux of the issue is the unique home situation of Japanese women. Despite the docile, decorative and demure image perpetuated in the media, Japanese women have historically wielded much power within the home. Typically, the Japanese husband turns over his entire salary to his wife, who doles out his daily allowance in addition to making the major economic decisions. Women also spend a great deal of time carefully tutoring and managing the education of their children. Most Japanese children, therefore, make remarkable educational progress; many feel, however, that maternal pressure to achieve explains Japan's high incidence of child suicides.

What happens when this pervasive home pattern of Japanese women must be reconciled with modernization or, as it is sometimes described, Americanization? Three decades ago Japanese women married at 20, had at least five children, and died by age 50. Today the average life expectancy is 78, and Japanese women have fewer children and many more gadgets. What does the average woman do, then, after she has had her children, cared for them into their adulthood, and still has at least four decades of her life left? Her choices seem few—participation in politics has been limited, while a meaningful job, good pay, and advancement in various business jobs have been denied to many women.

Newspaper commentaries provide telling evidence of the strength of traditional attitudes. While the situations described below are extreme, they indicate the gap between legislative standards and societal practice. One story told of a women designer who burnt herself to death after being forced by her husband's family to leave her job and stay home to look after her child. A weekly magazine commented: "This shows the trouble that can arise from women working." A second item reported on a woman who had to work because her husband fell sick. She was unskilled; she could earn very little and semi-starved herself so that her family could have enough to eat, and died of malnutrition. The press expressed the opinion that she was "a noble, self-sacrificing lady."

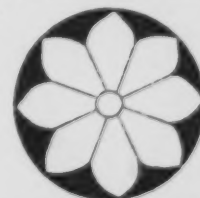
The legal position of Japanese women, then, seems to converge on their home situation. A Japanese female corporate head, herself a living exception to the rule, offers this blunt assessment: "Japanese women who feel they can't combine marriage and a career are simply weak or uninterested. Of course, you have to choose your husband carefully, but if you do that, there's no problem."

POLITICAL DIRECTIONS?

Home life and job status remain in limbo between law and practice. To what extent is politics a viable arena for participation of Japanese women? The 1945 revision of the election law gave equal rights to men and women in the political field for the first time. All women over age 20 were granted the right to vote in all elections, both national and local. Subsequently, almost 70% of the newly enfranchised women voted in the 1946 general election. They returned 39 women legislators to the House of Representatives.

Today, however, Japanese women play a peripheral political role. Of the 761 seats in Japan's parliament, women hold only 15. Only two women have ever sat in the Japanese cabinet, and none has done so since the early 1960s. This situation, many feel, will ultimately set back women's rights in Japan. For example, last year the Japanese government refused to sign a convention, drawn up at the United Nations-sponsored women's conference in Copenhagen, aimed at eliminating discrimination against women everywhere in the world. It was only after pressure from the press and women's groups that the decision was finally reversed.

How do we gauge the status of Japanese women? Regardless of legal similarities between Japan and the United States, regardless of outward manifestations of modernization that seem to indicate an inexorable process of Americanization, simple Western/U.S. referents will not suffice. The status of Japanese women as individuals or even as a group must be considered in the context of the ultimate group—Japanese society. The pervasive group-oriented value system dictates that the status of women is just one ingredient in a carefully balanced cultural matrix.



***Acknowledgment:** The author of this article is Linda S. Wojtan, East Asian Outreach coordinator at Indiana University. The article is reprinted from the *Newsletter of the East Asian Studies Center* (Spring 1982), Indiana University, Goodbody Hall 346-348, Bloomington, Indiana 47405. Reprinted by permission.

Questions for Discussion

1. What does article 14 of the Japanese Constitution state?

Has this affected the state of women in Japan in recent years?

2. Why do girls graduating from high school in Japan most often choose a two-year junior college rather than a four-year university?

3. Are the positions open to women equal to those open to men?

If no, why?

What characterizes work life in a large Japanese business firm and why are men seen as more able to fit the patterns of this work life?

4. What are "arranged marriages"?

Are they as common today as they were traditionally in Japan?

5. What is the position of a Japanese woman in her home?

6. What seem to be the social attitudes in Japan toward women working?

7. How prominent are women in Japanese politics?

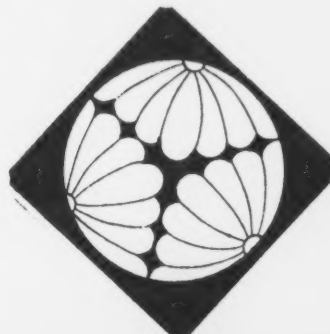
How does this compare with the situation in the United States?

8. What can be concluded about the role of law in establishing equality for women: Is law important?

Is it all that is necessary?

Is it as easy to change social attitudes as it is to change law?

9. How would you compare the role of women in Japan today with that of their American counterparts?



Young People

VOICES OF YOUNG JAPAN

(Film Guide)

a film that offers American teenagers a glimpse of the life of their contemporaries in Japan.

VIDEOLETTERS FROM JAPAN

(Resources)

two series of highly recommended videotapes which provide a solid, well-rounded introduction to Japanese life by examining the daily lives of Japanese youth.

GROWING UP JAPANESE

(Film Discussion)

suggests three highly recommended audio-visual units that present Japan from the perspective of Japanese children.

Voices of Young Japan

TEENAGERS AND YOUNG ADULTS

TO THE TEACHER This film affords American teenagers a glimpse of their contemporaries in Japan. It presents urban, college-bound youth; rural youth; youth seeking alternative lifestyles; and others participating in the Japanese Overseas Corps of Volunteers. It explores the option available to different groups of Japanese youth, their choices, and reflections on their circumstances.

<u>Film title:</u>	VOICES OF YOUNG JAPAN
<u>Format:</u>	16 mm, color, 29 minutes (release date: 1979)
<u>Available from:</u>	Extension Media Center University of California 2176 Shattuck Avenue Berkeley, CA 94704 Tel. (415)642-0460
<u>Rental fee:</u>	\$22.00 plus \$6.00 postage and handling

Synopsis

Compared to the opportunities and acceptable lifestyles in the United States, the prospects for Japanese young people are limited. The school system, with its series of "examination hells," is very demanding, and it is the only legitimate path to success. The film

opens with a scene of students being accepted to a top-ranked university, a make-or-break prospect in terms of achievement in a high-paying and prestigious company or government ministry. The students crowd outside the university buildings to see which names are posted on the walls as successful candidates.

The pressure on young people first to work hard at school and then to find secure jobs and raise families is intense from parents, society at large, and the internalized expectations of most young people themselves. After focusing on the impact of the Japanese education system, "Voices of Young Japan" shows some of the few options available to young Japanese, why they make their choices, and how they feel about their circumstances.

Young men from rural Aomori prefecture would like to go into farming like their fathers. Unfortunately, the economics of agricultural households requires that farmers spend part of the year as casual laborers in the cities in order to earn enough cash. The prospect of this casual labor discourages most young men from becoming farmers. The movie explores the specific case of young men who try a local enterprise, mushroom farming, to keep their farms solvent.

Another group of young men is seen working as members of the Japan Overseas Corps of Volunteers (JOCV), trying to improve rice and vegetable production in the Philippines. The JOCV is much like the Peace Corps. It is made up mostly of idealistic young people who, after several months of cultural and language training, work in assistance programs in developing nations.

Industrial workers from rural Japan working for Nippon Steel near Tokyo weigh the benefits and costs of their chosen life. They have succeeded in getting jobs that are, for most Japanese, the most desirable. They are assured lifetime employment at good wages. Yet, they acknowledge regret at giving up autonomy and a life close to nature for the sake of security.

The last scene is a group of young people working collectively who have set themselves the task of harvesting natural sea salt. They are making no money at it, at least not yet, but they are pleased and satisfied at having a purpose that seems both creative and worthwhile.

Most Japanese young people persevere patiently through the pressure of school and the tedium of work, because they feel that is how life is. A few Japanese, like those in the film, are questioning the given order and are trying to find a more creative and personally satisfying life.



Points for Clarification

• Juvenile suicide. In Japan it has come to be widely believed that the pressures of the "examination hell" are a leading cause of juvenile (age 15-24) suicide. Statistics, however, indicate that only about 25 percent of juvenile suicides are school related. More importantly, when suicides are school related they are seldom a consequence of the exam preparation pressure-cooker. Rather, suicides are highest at the beginning of the school year and among those who regularly show poor academic performance. The poor achievers and the drop-outs are the failures in a society where education is invested with the highest value and where there are few legitimate alternative routes to future success. School-related suicides are less often the result of cracking under pressure than the result of a profound despair over the inevitability of a life at the bottom of society.

• Casual labor in the cities. There is nothing new in the need for farmers to leave their homes to look for additional work. There is a long tradition of farmers, particularly from the snowy north and west coast of Japan, to seek seasonal work during the slack winter period. Diminishing self-sufficiency and growth of the consumer economy, however, have increased the demand for cash. Men from the farms now must be gone much of the year, leaving the farms to wives, children, and aged parents. More recently, wives have had to take part-time jobs, too. Women's control of the farmstead and of part of the cash income has raised their status within the family. For many men, the period away from the farm is a great hardship. Sometimes it means living in rooming houses in the skid row districts where they show up each day for a labor call. These skid row catchments for transient laborers exist in most major cities and are one of the truly dark spots on the Japanese economy.

• The Japan Overseas Corps of Volunteers in the Philippines. It would be interesting to know how the members of the JOCV are generally received in the Philippines. The Japanese invaded the Philippines in World War II and committed many atrocities. Many Filipinos of that generation still hate the Japanese. The effect of the JOCV might be like the Peace Corps going to Vietnam thirty years from now. While young Filipinos may not have any strong feelings about Japanese because of World War II--anymore than most young Americans do--many resent Japanese deeply, in part because of their economic success and in part because Japanese are often boorish tourists in the Philippines (the new "ugly Americans"), particularly when they travel as large sex tours of men visiting prostitutes.

• Nippon Steel factory. Notice the benefits, in particular recreational facilities like the swimming pool and track, that are made available to all workers. Such facilities are certainly much less common in the United States and are more often reserved for executives.

This short section raises many of the contradictions of industrial progress that may be bothering your students, just as they do the workers. What intangible elements of the "quality of life" have been exchanged for material security? The workers know they have a job until they retire, but they may have given up autonomy and spontaneity. Is it a gilded cage? They receive numerous creature comforts as employees, but are surrounded by pollution. They have money, but have lost the satisfaction of seeing things grow.

• Salt harvesting. The case of the salt harvesters may be used to raise issues of the changing American work ethic. Certainly through the 1950s American attitudes toward work were more conservative and much closer to those of Japanese. People did not change companies, much less careers, as often as they do today.

The salt harvester's life is a reminder, though not a parallel, of elements in the American youth movement of the seventies. The salt harvesters were once involved in politics and protest movements, but now, presumably disenchanted with mass movements, they have withdrawn to a commune. They believe that refined salt is unhealthy, so they are trying to produce "natural" salt.

Questions for Discussion

1. In what ways are the concerns of Japanese youth similar to or different from those of American youth?
2. How does the importance of education in Japan compare with the importance of education in the United States?

Do you think it is possible to secure a job in the United States with a poor education?

3. What factors will determine your choice of a job or career?

Will you place greater emphasis on the salary or the type of work?

4. Describe the features of the lifetime employment system mentioned in the film.

What are some of the benefits of the lifetime employment system?

The disadvantages?

How would you feel about working under the lifetime employment system?



Video Letters from Japan

A highly recommended series of videotapes distributed by the Asia Society depicting the daily life of Japanese youth. Two sequences of tapes are now available covering:

- School life
- Family
- Festivals
- Traditional arts and culture
- The high school years
- College
- The work world

For more information, see the unit VIDEOLETTERS FROM JAPAN in the INTRODUCTION section of the workbook.

Growing Up Japanese

Three excellent audio-visual resources with accompanying teacher's guides, exploring Japan from the perspective of Japanese children.

VIDEOLETTERS FROM JAPAN

Two excellent series of videocassettes prepared by The Asia Society, one for grades 5-7 and a newly-released series for high school students, which are distributed in packages of a videocassette, classroom poster and a teaching manual. The programs cover all aspects of Japanese society and culture.

Series I

- MY DAY
- TOHOKU DIARY
- MAKING THINGS
- MY FAMILY
- LIVING ARTS
- OUR SCHOOL

Series II

- SUBURBAN TOKYO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
- THE COLLEGE YEARS
- THE EARLY WORKING YEARS

Programs may be ordered separately. See unit of the same title in the INTRODUCTORY SECTION of the workbook for further information.

Available from: Education Department
The Asia Society
725 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Price: \$22.95 per package; \$130 for all six
tapes of Series I (pre-paid).

GROWING UP JAPANESE/2

AT THE FOOT OF MT. FUJI (for grades K-6)

Highly recommended film (16 mm, color, 18 minutes, release date 1975) with teacher's guide and supporting class materials available from the Japan Project at Stanford University. The film follows a day in the life of a Japanese child.

Available from: The Japan Project/SPICE
Room 200, Lou Henry Hoover Bldg.,
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305

Teacher's guide: \$2.00

Film rental: \$15.00 for California residents only. In other states, consult your local distributor for film availability.

GROWING UP JAPANESE (for grades 7-12)

A second film (16 mm, color, 25 minutes, release date 1975) unit from Stanford that focuses on the socialization process in Japan. Teacher's guide with class activities available.

Available from: The Japan Project/SPICE
Room 200, Lou Henry Hoover Bldg.,
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305

Teacher's guide: \$2.00

Film rental: Extension Media Services
University of California
2176 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, CA 94704

Tel. (415)642-0460

Rental fee: \$17.00, plus \$6.00 postage and handling.



Social Change

SOCIAL CHANGE: JAPAN TODAY

(Reading/Discussion)

How is Japan changing? Will traditional family relations remain strong in urban Japan? Are young people willing to work long hours as did their parents? Is there increasing conflict between individualism and the group ethic? These and other aspects of a dynamic Japan are explored in this exercise.

Social Change: Japan Today

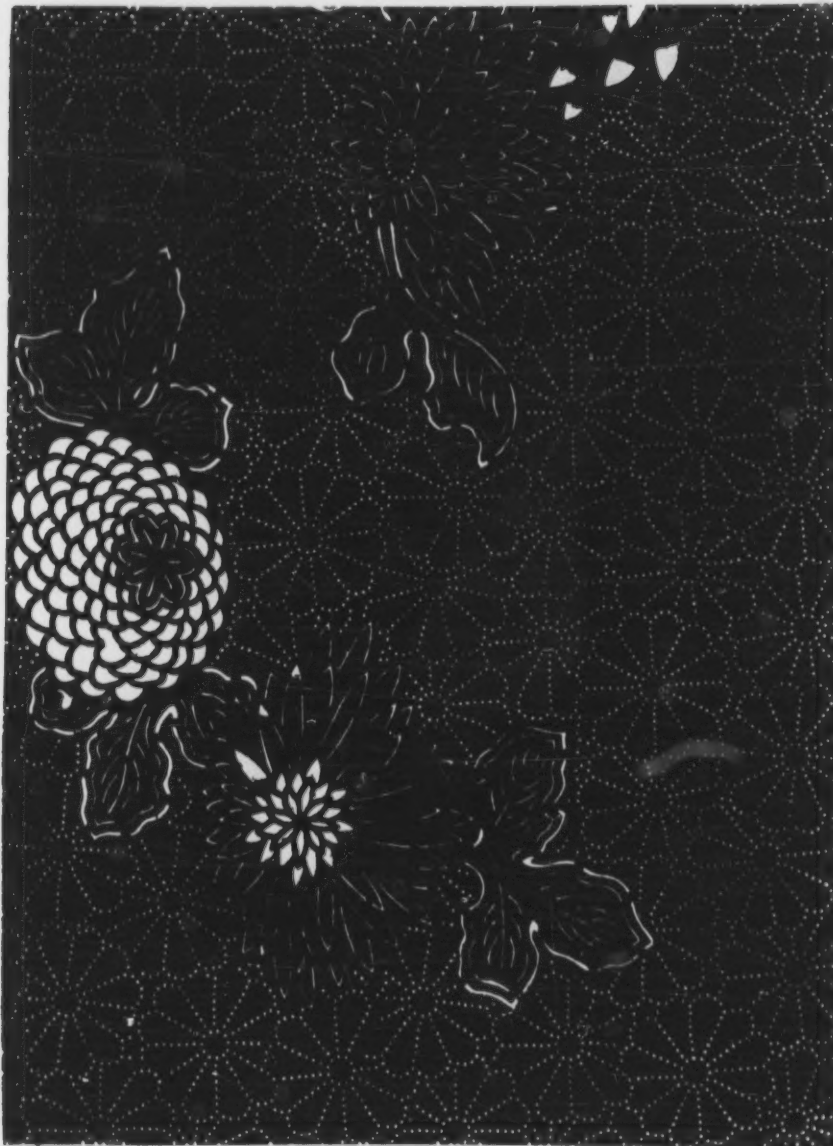
TO THE TEACHER Societies consist of individuals, each trying to make the best of his life out of shifting circumstances which are given meaning by culture. Conditions change, lives change, and so do social patterns. The last one hundred years have seen precipitous transformation in Japan, and it should come as no surprise to your students that even while they try to fix their understanding of Japan, that complex society continues to change.

This section may work well as a review and closing exercise for your studies on Japan. The article, from The New York Times by a specialist on Japan, touches on many aspects of Japanese society and culture that your students will be familiar with, such as the roles of women, family relations, youth, the conflict between group identity and individualism, attitudes toward work, and urban crowding. In these and other areas, the author cites evidence of change in Japan and concludes that the future holds further synthesis of Japanese tradition and Western patterns.

As well as providing an opportunity to speculate on the future of Japan (and reflect on what that says about America), the article contains good material on two other subjects for discussion: First, this may be a good time to consider the drawbacks, or costs, of living in a prosperous, low-crime society like that of Japan. Many of the changes cited in the article deal with the dissatisfactions the Japanese feel with their lives. Women want more flexible roles and greater opportunities. Men are reevaluating the sacrifices they are expected to make for their companies. Young people are striking out in rage at an educational system that marks them for life.

A second subject for discussion on the basis of the article is the interrelationship of different elements in the society and culture, a lesson which extends beyond the single case of Japan.

Consider, for example, the issues raised when the birth rate goes down (demographics), which means that there are fewer male entrants into the labor force (economics), thus improving the opportunities for women (sex roles), and since many of the working women have children, the government supports day care centers (politics), which alters the pattern of childbearing and mother-child relationship (psychology, national character). Similarly, issues like the changing attitudes toward work could raise vigorous debate on the chicken-and-egg question of whether cultural values mold behavior, or whether attitudes are merely rationalizations for making the best of given circumstances.



The New York Times Magazine, March 27, 1983

Changing Face of Japan

Prosperity is altering the very values that led to Japan's economic ascendancy.

By Robert C. Christopher

It was 10:30 at night, and on the stool next to mine in the Orchid Bar of Tokyo's Hotel Okura a British businessman was sipping moodily at a snifter of brandy. He was, he explained, about to head home to London empty-handed, having failed to land a big contract because the product his company made did not meet the standards of reliability insisted upon by a potential Japanese client.

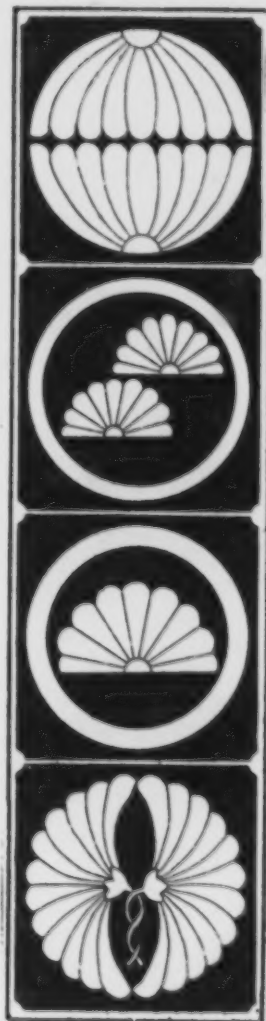
He ordered a second brandy and savored it in silence. Then he jumped off his bar stool abruptly and, just before disappearing into the night, said loudly to no one in particular: "They are so damned efficient, these people, it's bloody frightening."

The frustrated Briton was voicing a sentiment shared by most of the world's non-Japanese population: that the Japanese are incurable workaholics who uncomplainingly accept constraints that subordinate their personal interests to the achievement of collective purposes.

There is one country, however, in which this view is often dismissed as obsolete — or at least obsolescent. That country, somewhat ironically, is Japan itself.

"The kind of society we have had up till now cannot endure," said Yoshiya Ariyoshi, one of the elder statesmen of the Japanese shipping business, shortly before his death last year. "Our youngsters nowadays are born with silver spoons in their mouths and, as a result, Japanese industry is doomed to be Americanized." A professor at Kyoto University put the point even more succinctly: "We follow you Americans with a lag of about 10 years in all things — including your most counterproductive social attitudes and practices."

The fact is that Japanese society is changing extraordinarily quickly. Arrests for drug abuse increased 20-fold between 1970 and 1980, and though the crime rate in the country has actually decreased in recent years, juvenile crime rose by 48 percent between



Robert C. Christopher, the administrator of the Pulitzer Prizes, has been a close observer of Japan since World War II. This article is adapted from his book "The Japanese Mind: The Goliath Explained," to be published in April.

1978 and 1979. Women, once the solid foundation of Japanese homelife, are entering the work force in great numbers — more than half of all women over the age of 15 hold jobs, and 57 percent of all working women are married. In addition, the movement of women into the workaday world is significantly altering child-rearing practices — as of 1980, approximately one-fifth of all Japanese children of 6 and younger were attending day-care centers, and the percentages are growing. Finally, the postwar urbanization of Japan means that 87 percent of the population now lives in cities — and most inhabit tiny apartments too small to provide any privacy at all, let alone the calm sanctuary that the Japanese home has symbolized for centuries. Many of these changes reflect the emergence of attitudes and behavior patterns long familiar in the West — but new to Japan. And all are having an impact on what most Westerners think of as immutable Japanese social and economic practices.



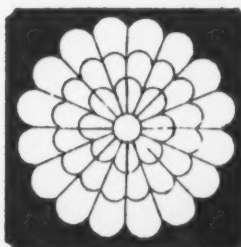
Perhaps the most significant of the changes confronting Japan is the transformation of the status of women, because it affects so many different aspects of Japanese life. Most Westerners believe that the Japanese male is lord of all he surveys. In fact, that has not been the case for a long time. Even before World War II, when they had almost no legal rights at all, Japanese wives were not the powerless, purely decorative creatures of legend. I first learned the Japanese phrase for henpecked — *kaka denka* — in the 1940's, when a Japanese friend applied it to his country's dreaded military leader, Gen. Hideki Tojo.

To be sure, a Japanese husband is rarely visibly henpecked. But often, he spends so little time at home that he is essentially a nocturnal boarder in his own house. Partly for that reason, the typical Japanese household is a rather thinly disguised matriarchy. In the majority of Japanese families, the husband turns over his entire salary to his wife, who then doles out to him a daily allowance — usually a rather modest one — for cigarettes, drinks and sundries. And in most Japanese homes, it is the wife who decides such matters as where the family will live, what car it will buy and what schools the children will attend. (In one 1979 survey, 41 percent of the men polled admitted they left the education and disciplining of their children entirely to their wives.)

But now all that is changing. To a great extent, the fact that so many women are joining the work force simply reflects new economic realities. Japanese have become avid consumers: As of 1981, for example, there were 1.4 color television sets in use in Japan for each man, woman and child in the country. (In the United States, there are only .3 color sets per household.) And many Japanese families now count among their "necessities" automatic rice cookers, money-guzzling automobiles and expensive vacations.

But it is not just the appetite for material possessions that has driven so many married women in Japan to find jobs. Though many Japanese men will heatedly deny it, their country today is in the midst of a kind of underground feminist revolution. Among younger women who have been to college, aspirations for significant achievement outside the home are increasingly common and aggressively pursued. And in some degree at least, this attitude on the part of the educated elite has been transmitted to the rest of the female population. In the early 1970's, polls showed that 80 percent of Japanese women believed that a husband should work and a wife should take care of the home. By 1979, however, only 36 percent of them still accepted that proposition and, even more significantly, some 60 percent of the female population had come to believe that women with the desire and ability should be allowed to enter fields previously reserved for men.

As in most other countries, the majority of working women in Japan occupy lower-level jobs and are relatively poorly



paid. Some Japanese companies that freely employ young unmarried women deliberately ease out those who are still on the job at 27 or 28, and still others simply decline to hire women for career-track positions in the first place.

Yet despite all this, career prospects for Japanese women are steadily improving. In recent years, largely because a declining birthrate has created a shortage of new male entrants into the labor force, there has been a sizable influx of women into the highly technical field of computer programming. Some of the most prestigious Japanese Government agencies now routinely include at least a few women when they hire recent university graduates earmarked for the upper reaches of the bureaucracy. And a growing number of women in their 30's and 40's now hold influential positions in retailing and the service industries — a matter of particular significance since these are among the fastest-growing sectors of the Japanese economy.

In their struggle for equality, Japan's feminists have for the most part scrupulously avoided the kind of hard-nosed political pressure and confrontational rhetoric that have characterized the women's movement in the United States. Their methods reflect a difference in the nature of society in Japan and the United States. "If you want to change the social structure in Western culture," explains Asahi Shimbun's Mitsuko Shimomura, the first woman correspondent ever stationed abroad by a Japanese newspaper, "you first have to fight — to challenge the system. But in our culture, once you start to fight, that's the end; you have lost the game. In Japan, you have to try to do everything without big friction and to change the consensus in quiet, even tricky ways." And there is, in fact, ample evidence that in their quiet and

tricky ways Japanese women have already significantly modified the national consensus on the status of women, most particularly where the marital relationship is concerned.

To be sure, traditional patterns still prevail in the great majority of Japanese marriages where the partners are middle-aged or older. But this sort of marriage is becoming much less prevalent among couples in their 20's and 30's. More and more young Japanese husbands now spend a significant part of their free time on family activities such as weekend barbecues, visits to parks and playgrounds and summer excursions to the mountains or the seashore. And deference to husbandly whims is on a marked decline among younger Japanese wives. A woman, particularly a working woman, who has decided to appease her kids by giving them spaghetti or hamburgers for dinner — those now being the favorite dishes of virtually all Japanese children — is unlikely to offer Daddy an entirely different menu. The result is that a young Japanese married man who has a craving for a nice old-fashioned plate of grilled fish in soy sauce will often stop off after work at one of the burgeoning restaurants that specializes in *o-fukuro no aji* — "food like Mama used to make."

Even more horrifying, from the traditionalist's point of view, is the loss of the Japanese husband's immunity to such mundane chores as dishwashing and shopping. "Since I sometimes can't get home in time to make dinner," one young career woman confided, "I've been teaching my husband how to cook for himself. The idea shocks his mother, but he rather seems to enjoy it."

□

One result of these changes in the roles of both women and men is a new trend in Japanese parent-child rela-

tionships. Historically, Japanese children under school age have enjoyed the undivided, almost obsessive attention of their mothers. In the traditional Japanese family, an infant or toddler basks in an all-embracing maternal love which, at least on the surface, is utterly supportive and uncritical. Rarely denied a wish, the child seldom has cause to cry, and if he does, he is immediately comforted. At bedtime, Mama croons him to sleep. And when the family goes out in public, he is indulgently forgiven for behavior that would earn most American youngsters a sharp parental reproof.

But permissiveness as practiced by Japanese mothers is akin to jujitsu in the sense that it turns the natural emotional responses of the child into devices for his control. Specifically, it fosters a sense of dependence on Mama and induces powerful feelings of guilt about ever disappointing her. And this has far-reaching consequences. Carried over into adult life, these deeply ingrained psychic patterns — a taste for dependence and a horror of failing to meet the expectations of others — become major tools for the maintenance of social discipline in Japan.

At the moment, this is still the kind of character molding that the majority of Japanese children receive. But as the number of working women increases, a growing percentage of Japanese no longer get all their early upbringing at Mother's knee.

Since 1960, the number of day-care centers has doubled; it now stands at well above 20,000 and the end is by no means in sight. The majority of day-care centers, moreover, are operated by local governments and nearly all receive at least some governmental support.

Despite this implicit governmental endorsement, there has been considerable

controversy in Japan over the ultimate effect of this development on the Japanese character. Traditionalists like Jun Eto, a professor at the Tokyo Institute of Technology, who has argued — without data — that children dispatched to day-care centers lag in everything from speech skills to dexterity in origami (the art of Japanese paper folding), insist that it spells doom for the classic Japanese virtues. Though his view is somewhat extreme, it is possible that children who cease to be totally mother-oriented at 3 or 4 might be somewhat less likely to be imbued with a dependency complex than those who first venture out of the nest at 6.

Another element contributing to the trend toward independence among members of the Japanese family is the country's rapid urbanization. After World War II, the Japanese population was almost evenly divided between country dwellers and city dwellers. Today, because of the postwar process that one top Japanese business executive describes as "the second industrialization of Japan," all but 13 percent of Japanese live in cities. The result is that, in terms of effective living space, by my calculation, all 118 million Japanese are now crammed into an area slightly smaller than the state of Connecticut.

Inevitably, this has caused the price of real estate and of housing in Japan's major cities to skyrocket. In the Tokyo area, a house with a total living area of 600 or 700 square feet — the equivalent of two or three modest-sized rooms in an American development house — sold in 1980 for five or six times the annual income of a highly paid industrial worker. Thus, a typical young Japanese bureaucrat or junior executive lives with his wife, their two children and a mind-boggling array of household possessions in an apartment consisting of a small kitchen with

dining area plus two additional rooms of perhaps 9 by 12 feet each. A few years ago, a sharp-tongued Common Market official, Sir Roy Denman, called this kind of apartment "a rabbit hutch." Unkind as it was, the phrase quickly caught on in Japan itself.

Because of such crowding, Japanese family members are moving their formerly home-centered activities elsewhere. Unless he is prosperous enough to rent a midtown studio, the father who wishes to do serious reading or research in his spare time must take refuge in a public library or reading room. If he is addicted to a pastime requiring concentration, such as board games like go or shogi, his best course is to betake himself to one of the special recreation centers that have sprung up in major cities. In some cases, the lack of privacy at home inhibits the sexual activity of married couples to such a degree that they are driven to patronize Tokyo's "love hotels" to escape the observation of their children.

Inadequate housing is just as hard on Japan's children. Because few urban homes have yards, small children mostly have to go to parks or private playgrounds that charge admission for their outdoor play. And older ones, unless they come from unusually prosperous families, cannot hope for a room of their own. If they wish to study in relative peace and quiet, they too must resort to a library or an after-hours tutoring school.

Because it has weakened the bonds of family unity, all this has induced in younger Japanese a greater sense of individual choice — and with that a greater insistence on self-gratification as a primary goal. In a 1980 survey of Japanese between 15 and 19, more than 71 percent of the youngsters polled said that they craved "an individual life style," and fewer than 10 percent professed the desire to lead lives useful to society, almost exactly the reverse of a similar poll taken in 1960.

Carried to extremes, these attitudinal changes have contributed to a disturbing devel-



Before women joined the work force, Japanese children would rarely have been seen playing without their mothers nearby.

opment in contemporary Japan. Foreigners marvel at the law-abiding nature of Japanese society — and rightly so. At last report, New York had 279 times as many armed robberies as Tokyo does — and Japanese crime rates have actually decreased somewhat over the past decade. But a closer look reveals some trends in the pattern of crime in Japan that, in the words of a National Police Agency white paper, almost certainly constitute "pointers to future social problems."

One such pointer is a major increase in drug abuse. In 1980, some 20,000 Japanese were arrested for using illegal drugs, most often am-

Even if they cease working quite so hard, most Japanese will likely feel more responsibility toward their employers than Westerners do.

phetamines — or speed. By American standards, this is a minuscule figure, but Japanese police believe that the total number of drug addicts in their country may now run as high as several hundred thousand.

More than half the drug-related arrests currently involve people under 24, many of them high-school students. And the growing abuse of drugs by youngsters is only one aspect of a recent upsurge in juvenile crime of all kinds. In 1979, juvenile arrests jumped by a startling 48 percent to a total of more than 140,000. By 1981, 14- to 16-year-olds had outstripped adults as Japan's most fre-

quent lawbreakers. What troubles older Japanese more than anything else is the increasing frequency with which schoolchildren are resorting to violence against their teachers — a special kind of blasphemy in a society whose teachers have traditionally been held in particularly high esteem.

Presumably, it will be some years before it becomes clear just how much of a threat to Japan's social order the current juvenile crime wave represents. But already, in far less aggravated form, the tendency of younger Japanese to seek instant gratification has begun to take its toll.

"Young people in this country have changed significantly since I first began to teach here in 1954," says the Rev. Joseph Pittau, an engaging Italian Jesuit who spent more than 20 years as an educator in Japan and at one time was the president of Tokyo's Sophia University. "The kids back in those days," he says, referring to the children of World War II, "had suffered when they were small and felt a compulsion to change Japan. But nowadays the motivation to be a leader or start something new is extremely rare even in brilliant students.

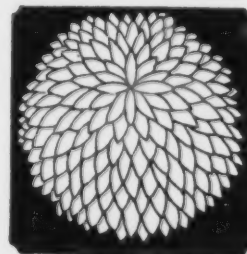
"The prevalent ambition, in fact, is to become a 'salary-man,'" Father Pittau adds, using the fractured-English term that Japanese apply to white-collar workers, "and to achieve more balance than previously existed between one's personal life and the demands of the job."

One of the most striking evidences for this change is the amount of time that today's Japanese actually devote to work. As recently as 1971, only one-fifth of Japan's workers took all the paid vacation time to which they were entitled. Today, the willingness to forego vacations, while still common among management personnel, is far less prevalent among blue-collar workers.

Even when they are not on holiday, Japanese do not work as hard as they used to. The number of hours the average Japanese spends on the job dropped from 186 a month in 1970 to 175 a month in 1980. Those figures, moreover, include overtime, which is an increasingly sore subject with Japanese bosses. "People my age used to work Saturdays even if we weren't paid," says Kazuo Nukazawa, a Tokyo executive in his middle 40's. "Today's young people not only don't work on Saturdays, they don't even do overtime on weekdays unless they get paid."

As commitment to work begins to diminish, the emphasis on personal desires increases. As a nation, Japan has long had the highest rate of personal savings in the world — and it still does. Currently, the average Japanese puts about 20 percent of his disposable income into savings, roughly four times as much as the average American saves. But executives of Japanese finance companies report that they do a disproportionate amount of their business with people under 35; instead of saving for years to buy a car as their parents did, more and more young Japanese are prepared to go into debt to buy the things that they want right now.

Still another sign of this new emphasis on immediate gratification is the growing fussiness which young Jap-



anese display about the kind of jobs they will take. With easy abortion and the prevalence of birth control, Japan is a rapidly aging nation: In 1970, more than 2.4 million Japanese turned 20, but in 1980, only 1.6 million did so. This means increasing competition among employers for recent high-school and university graduates — and young Japanese are taking advantage of their seller's market. Fewer and fewer are willing to work for the small manufacturing enterprises that are the backbone of Japanese industry — primarily because smaller enterprises cannot match the wages, benefits or working conditions offered by such major corporations as Toyota or Sony.

Just as important as their choosiness about the jobs they will take is the attitudes young Japanese display toward those jobs they do find acceptable. "They're taking things easier and have begun to ask, 'Why should we sacrifice for the company?'" said Yoshiya Ariyoshi, the late shipping magnate. And this "laid-back" approach goes well beyond the mere reluctance to put in unpaid overtime. Young workers are beginning to question such seemingly immutable principles of Japanese corporate life as the necessity of spending one's entire career with a single company and of being paid according to age and seniority rather than personal performance.

The most dramatic manifestation of these new attitudes occurred in early 1980 when 80 computer technicians walked away from lifetime jobs with Ishikawajima-Harima Heavy Industries, a major shipbuilder and maker of heavy machinery, and established their own systems-design consulting firm in which they were stockholders as well as employees. The move sent a tremor through Japan's industrial establishment.

"Up till now," Father Pittau told me shortly after the Ishikawajima-Harima episode, "companies and Government agencies have been able to take these youngsters and reshape them, giving them the traditional social formation in which loyalty to one's company or ministry is paramount. But already it is not so easy as it used to be to instill a spirit of service in young people in this country — and I'm afraid that it may get harder and harder."



A Detroit auto maker or the chief executive of a European electronics company can scarcely mourn the fact that his Japanese competitors may one day face much the same kind of personnel and productivity problems that already confront Western industry. But before such people grow too euphoric at the prospect of a less dynamic Japan, they should carefully consider certain aspects of Japanese economic life and the Japanese character that seem likely to reduce significantly the impact of some of these social trends.

To begin with, contrary to Western legend, the current competitiveness of Japanese industry does not fundamentally rest upon cheap labor or the exploitation of armies of indefatigable production-line workers. In fields ranging from steel to silicon memory chips, Japan's true competitive advantage lies in the fact that in the last couple of decades Japanese companies have been prepared to invest far more heavily than their Western rivals in automation and high technology. And as the rapid pace of robotization in today's Japan demonstrates, Japanese entrepreneurs are doing everything in their power to retain and even strengthen that edge.

It is important to remember that decadence is a relative matter. There is, I am convinced, every reason to believe that Japan's doomsayers are right when they predict that the Japanese of tomorrow will not work as hard as those of the 1960's and 1970's and will show markedly less readiness to subordinate their personal ambitions and private lives to the success of the company that employs them. It is also likely — particularly if robotization creates significant unemployment or other forms of social dislocation — that Japan's labor unions will become more militant than in the past. It is one thing for the leaders of a union to moderate their demands in order to assure the continued survival of a corporation that guarantees their membership permanent employment; it is quite a different matter to do so for a company that is in the process — however gradual — of phasing out the bulk of its human employees.

Yet even assuming all these things do occur, it still seems highly improb-

able that the competitive imbalance that now exists between Japan and the other major industrialized nations will be redressed. For even at their new, diminished levels of effort, the Japanese will probably still work harder and feel more responsibility for the success of the enterprise that employs them than Americans or Europeans.

Despite the self-absorption of so many young Japanese these days, the great majority of the population finds it almost impossible to conceive that anyone can achieve real stature or success except as part of a group. A salaried executive in a major corporation still enjoys more prestige — simply because of his affiliation — than the owner of a thriving medium-sized business, even though the latter may have a considerably larger income and more real power. And to let down the group to which one belongs by failing to observe its accepted standards of performance is to court ostracism by one's co-workers — the most appalling thing most Japanese can imagine.

Admittedly, there are eminent Japanese thinkers who criticize the group orientation of their countrymen, arguing that it produces less desirable behavior patterns than the West's individual motivations. Indeed, Naohiro Amaya, at one time the top bureaucrat in the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, points out that ever since Japan opened itself to Western influences more than a century ago, it has been living in a state of ambivalence on this score.

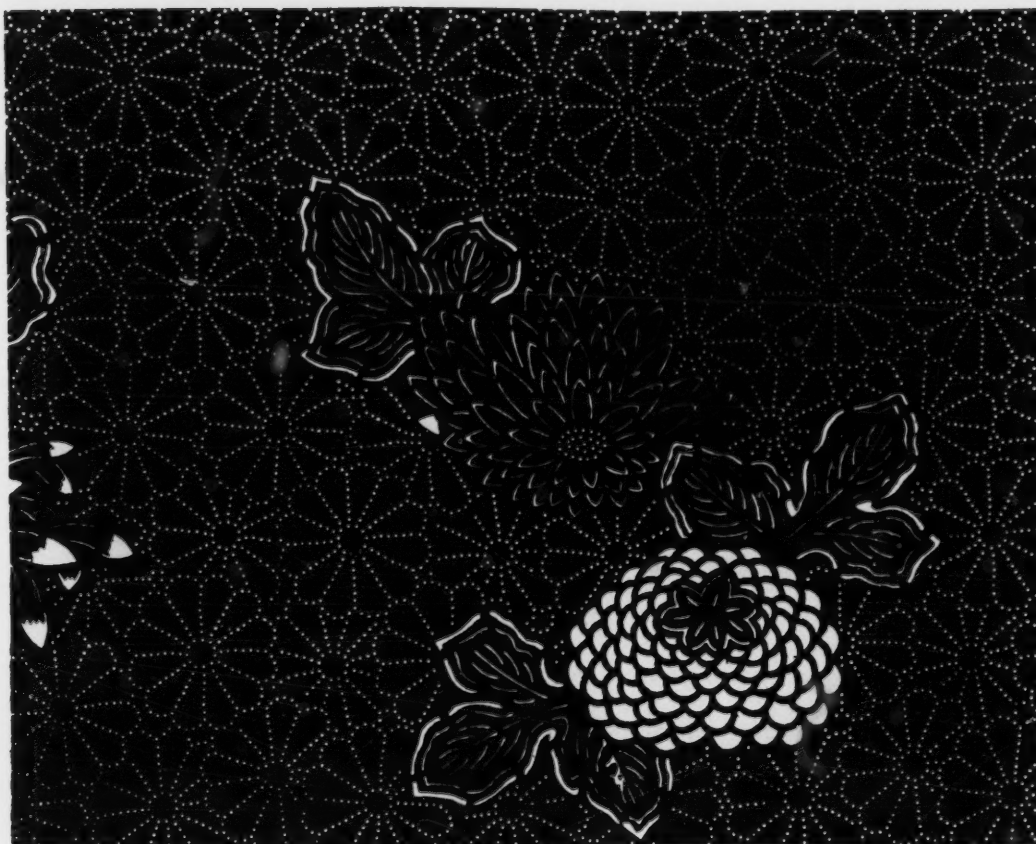
My own view is that what is currently taking place in Japan so far as value systems are concerned is the classic Japanese process of synthesis. One of Japan's greatest strengths in its extraordinary evolution from the feudal society that it was at the time

of Commodore Perry's arrival to the advanced technological one it is today has been that instead of totally accepting destabilizing and often unsuitable Western ideas and institutions, the Japanese have been remarkably successful in adapting these influences to their own needs and imperatives.

One example of the way in which almost all things foreign are subtly transformed when they are absorbed into Japanese culture can be found in the workings of the Japanese parliamentary system. To all outward appear-

ances, it closely resembles that of Great Britain. But while a British prime minister with even a paper-thin parliamentary majority feels free to ram through his or her programs with total disregard for the most deeply held convictions of the opposition, any sensible prime minister in Japan will go to great lengths to avoid such action. In the Japanese ethic, it is abhorrent for anyone, even if he is legally entitled to do so, to brush aside the feelings of his opponents and decline to make at least token concessions to them.

In politics, in other words, the Japanese have succeeded in synthesizing two seemingly opposed principles, majority rule and government by consensus. And now, I believe, they are performing the same sort of Hegelian trick with the concepts of personal gratification and group responsibility. What will emerge from this process, it seems safe to predict, is a "softer," more individualistic Japan — which will still boast the most purposeful and productive society of any great industrial nation in the world. ■



Questions for Discussion

1. According to the author of this article, Japanese society is changing. What are the different areas of Japanese society in which he cites change?

What kinds of change?

What does the author mean by his conclusion that what will emerge is a "softer" Japan?

Do you think this is good or bad?

2. There has long been a misconception in the West that Japanese women are totally subservient. In the past, despite appearance, in what area were women often the master?

In what areas have women until recently suffered discrimination?

How are things changing, and why?

Are these changes the result of Japan's women's liberation movement?

Can women's roles change without men's roles changing too? In other words, can there be a successful women's lib movement without a men's liberation movement?

3. According to the author, there are several forces that are increasingly eroding the unity of the Japanese family. What are those forces?

Some people say that these changes will produce psychological differences in the Japanese, undermining the classical virtues and, perhaps, even altering the national character. Explain what they mean.

4. Although Japan still has one of the lowest crime rates of of the industrialized nations, the author cites the abrupt increase in certain crimes in recent years. What kinds of crimes are increasing and among what segment of the population?

Why do you think that this kind of crime might be on the rise?

5. As the rate of population growth in Japan slows down, there are fewer young people entering the job market and, thus, companies must compete to attract them. Today's young people, in contrast with their parent's generation, have grown up in an age of material affluence. How might these, and other factors,

influence Japanese attitudes?

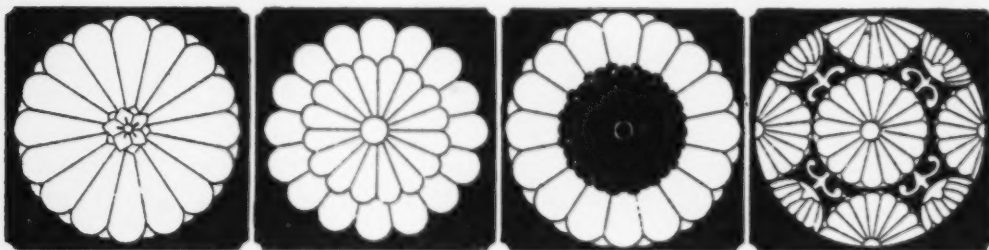
Toward work?

Toward satisfying personal desires and long-term goals?

Toward personal life versus responsibility to the group?

Additional Exercises

1. Imagine you are a tourist visiting Japan in the year 2001. Write a postcard to your family describing what you see.
2. Draw a picture or a cartoon showing one of the changes the author describes.



Additional Resource

Daily Life and Work Life in Japan Today
The Japan of Today Series, No. XV

a slide set with cassette and guide.

Available from: International Society for Educational
Information, Inc.
Koryo Building
18 Wakaba 1-chome
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
JAPAN

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS / CONTENTS

THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN

(Chart)

A one-page chart for reference.

THE EMPEROR AND THE CONSTITUTION (Reading/Primary Source Selection)

A reading exercise that brings the student from Japan's modern history to the present. It clarifies the place of the Emperor in contemporary Japan and provides an opportunity for students to explore the constitution of another democratic nation, noting the similarities and differences between the Japanese constitution and that of the United States.

ELECTIONS IN JAPAN

(Reading/Film Guide)

Allows students a first-hand view of Japan's parliamentary system of democracy, where more than one candidate from the same party can be elected in an election district and personal networks figure prominently in the election strategy of individual candidates. The unit addresses the questions:

- What are Japanese political parties like?
- What are the factions and why do they exist?
- What are *kōenkai*?
- What is the relationship between electoral seats per district and the campaign system?

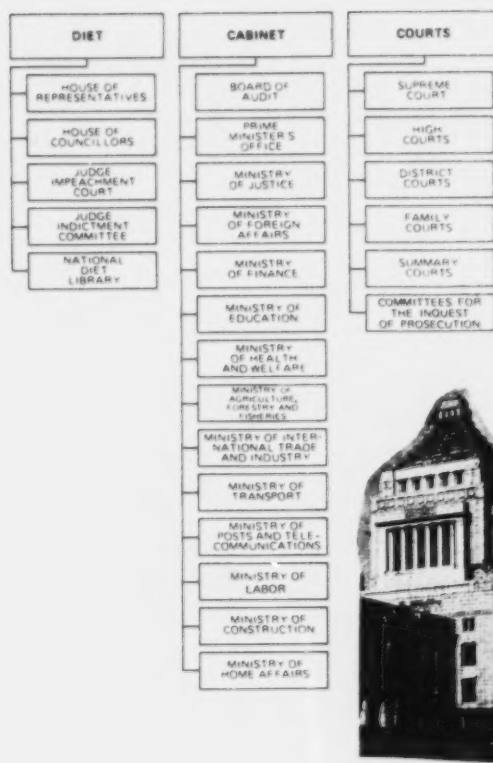
A short film on an election, available free-of-charge, is recommended to accompany the unit.

DECISION-MAKING IN THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

(Reading/Role Play)

selects the issue of taxation, an important issue to citizens in any society, to demonstrate the interaction between the prime minister, the political parties, interest groups, and the bureaucracy in Japan's parliamentary system. An introductory reading is followed by a role-playing exercise in which students take on the roles of different actors in the Japanese political system--civil servants, Dietmen, business executives--attempting to resolve this issue of current concern in Japan. The unit is designed to give students a more sophisticated appreciation of the Japanese political system than they might otherwise hold and also to provide some background for students on the similarities and differences between the political systems of Japan and the United States.

GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN



Acknowledgment: From Japan Today, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, 1981.

Emperor and Constitution

- Introduction: Power and Politics in Modern Japan
(Reading)
 - The Emperor (Reading/Exercise)
 - The Constitution (Primary Source Selection/Exercise)
-

READING

POWER AND POLITICS

Isolated from the world, feudal Japan was ruled for two and a half centuries under the shoguns* of the Tokugawa family. When pressure from the West opened Japan to trade and commerce, the shogun's regime fell in 1867 and modern Japan faced the question of who would rule.

The small band of samurai who led the revolution to reform and strengthen Japan decided to rule in the emperor's name. At this time the Japanese emperor had little power. The emperor, believed by legend to be a descendant of the Sun Goddess, had once actually ruled Japan, but political power had been lost to the military lords many centuries earlier.

As Japan faced the challenge of the powerful Western nations, the emperor was a natural choice to become Japan's sovereign again. He commanded respect and admiration and provided a powerful symbol to unite the Japanese people. His government, however, was created and operated by the group of samurai who had overthrown the shogun. By 1889, after the new government was established, these samurai statesmen wrote a constitution which was given to the people in the emperor's name. This constitution established a political framework where the emperor (or really his advisers) controlled the military and the civil bureaucracy, issued orders called ordinances, and held sovereign power. A democratically elected parliament (called the Diet) was created, which had the right to draw up the national budget and make national law.

Under this constitution (called the Meiji Constitution after the Meiji Emperor), the emperor was supreme but did not actually make political decisions. Political power was divided between the parliament, the civil bureaucracy, the military, and the imperial household. In the 1920s the parliament's power gradually expanded, but it was suddenly overcome by the actions of the Japanese military, who were responsible only to the emperor.

After World War II, Americans occupied Japan and helped create a more peaceful and democratic nation. They did this by assisting the Japanese in drafting a new constitution, which removed all power from the emperor. This constitution, which took effect in 1947, states: "The Emperor shall be the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people, deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power." (underlining added)

*The shogun was the highest military ruler, supreme over all other samurai (warriors), during Japan's feudal period.

To strengthen the power of the people, the new constitution guaranteed many basic freedoms, such as the right to free speech and elections, the right to marry whomever one chooses, and the right to work and to organize and bargain and act collectively. It also made the Japanese parliament, the Diet, the supreme law-making body in the nation.

Today the emperor is viewed by much of the Japanese public with respect and affection as a symbol of Japanese culture and unity. Like British royalty, he must carry out state duties, but he much prefers to retreat to his laboratory and carry out research in his hobby of marine biology.



Questions for Discussion



1. Why did the samurai who set out to reform and strengthen Japan decide to restore the emperor?

2. What was the traditional source of the emperor's legitimacy?

How is he viewed today?

3. Discuss the "Meiji Constitution":

What was the emperor's position as defined by the Meiji Constitution?

How did his actual power coincide with this?

What was the position of the parliament under the Meiji Constitution?

Was the parliament powerful? Why or why not?

4. Why was Japan's constitution rewritten after World War II?

5. Compare the revised constitution of 1947 with the old Meiji Constitution.

Where does "sovereign power" reside in the 1947 Constitution? In the Meiji Constitution?

Explain what "sovereign power" is.

What is the position of the emperor in the 1947 Constitution?

How does this compare with the position of the emperor under the Meiji Constitution?

How are laws made under the 1947 Constitution?

Explain how this differs from the way in which laws were made under the Meiji Constitution.

6. List some of the rights guaranteed by the 1947 Constitution.

Can you explain how such rights would strengthen the power of the people?

7. Other countries besides Japan have emperors or kings and queens. Can you name three such countries?

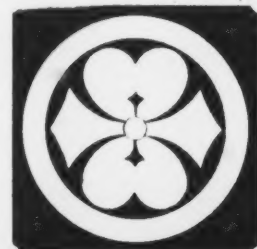
What function does the emperor or king/queen perform?

Who performs these functions or duties in the United States?

What are the historical reasons you can think of for there being no king/queen in the United States?

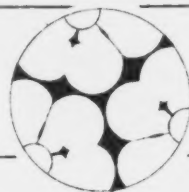
8. What is the name of the current emperor of Japan?

How long has he held this title? (See the article that follows on "The Japanese Emperor in the 1980s.")



THE EMPEROR

Time Magazine, August 1, 1983. Special Issue: JAPAN



An Enigmatic Still Life

Impassive as ever, Hirohito prefers jellyfish to politics

Dressed in battered Panama hat, short-sleeved shirt, Bermuda shorts and ancient tennis shoes, he seems most in his element while pottering around the seashore inspecting biological specimens. His evenings are generally spent at home with his wife watching soap operas and sumo wrestling on TV. In conversation, he rarely ventures anything more voluble than "*Ah so desu ka* [Is that so]?" Such are the salient features of the still, shy life of Emperor Hirohito, born as the 124th Imperial Son of Heaven in an unbroken line stretching back 2,643 years. Schooled since birth in the remoteness and reticence that become a deity, Japan's 82-year-old monarch remains to this day as impassive and impenetrable as the stone walls of Tokyo's Imperial Palace.

Only twice in his life, indeed, has Hirohito publicly displayed emotion: in 1936, when the military assassinated two of his most trusted aides, and again in 1945, when he announced Japan's surrender by declaring, with broken-voiced dignity, "We must bear the unbearable."

With the war Hirohito lost all but symbolic power. Installed as Crown Prince in 1916 and enthroned as Emperor ten years later, he was pressed by General Douglas MacArthur to relinquish his claims to divinity in 1946. Under the 1947 constitution the Emperor was identified as nothing more than "the symbol of the state and of the unity of the people." Commoners were no longer forbidden to speak his name or look at his face; 90% of his wealth, estimated at \$250 million, was confiscated. Characteristically, the bespectacled monarch absorbed such indignities without comment, let alone complaint. Taking cheerfully to frugality, he began donating food from the imperial household to his beleaguered countrymen.

Hirohito now seems to relish his restricted but ritualized duties. Each year, he symbolically plants seedlings of rice on

the 284-acre palace grounds; at least 20 times annually he dons flowing traditional costume as the nation's highest-ranking Shinto priest. In addition, each weekday he diligently repairs to his office to rubber-stamp government appointments, welcome foreign envoys and brushstroke his signature on an annual flood of 2,000 state papers. In return, the state devotes \$41.1 million a year to the upkeep of palace property, including a taxable stipend of \$936,000 for the Emperor.

The royal couple lives in the modest 15-room Fukiage Palace near the sumptuous \$36.1 million official palace. Their compound includes a two-story lab in which the Emperor pursues his one consuming passion: marine biology. As the world's leading authority on hydrozoans (jellyfish and related creatures), he has written 16 books in the field.

Hirohito's other favorite subject is his 1921 voyage to Europe, which made him the first member of the Japanese royal family to set foot outside his homeland. During that trip the 20-year-old Crown Prince played golf with the dashing Prince of Wales and, Hirohito later recalled, "first experienced freedom" after having been raised "like a bird in a cage." Upon his return, he permanently adopted the Western style of dressing, eating and sleeping. Even now the Emperor treasures his first purchase, a 1921 Paris Métro ticket.

In 1975 Hirohito finally visited the U.S. Over 15 days, the Emperor traveled from Williamsburg to Hawaii, attending a professional football game, meeting John Wayne and delightfully visiting the Marine Biological Laboratory in Woods Hole, Mass. For years after his trip to Disneyland he sported a Mickey Mouse wristwatch.

But Hirohito remains haunted by the war that claimed the lives of 2.3 million Japanese soldiers and 800,000 civilians. As he told *TIME* in a rare interview in 1975, "The saddest thing in my reign was the Second World War." Some revisionists now say that the Emperor's melancholy reserve masks the spirit of a shrewd and scheming warmonger. Most historians, however, contend that in spite of, or indeed because of, his unassuming pacifism, the unworldly scholar was often unable to dominate his nation's ruthless army. In 1941, for example, Japan's leaders turned to Hirohito while deliberating whether to join the war. Without explanation, the poker-faced monarch proceeded to recite a gnomic *waka* (a tradi-

tional 31-syllable poem) composed by his grandfather, the Meiji emperor: "On the seas surrounding all quarters of the globe/ All people are kin to each other/ Why then do winds and waters of conflict/ Disturb peace among us?" He said no more on the subject.

The Emperor has shared his quiet life with Empress Nagako, 80, whom he married, by traditional arrangement, in 1924. A merry music lover who has enjoyed command performances by Mahalia Jackson and Marian Anderson, Nagako is also a distinguished painter. On walks, the royal couple like to collect plants, which, it is said, he studies and she sketches. Together they incar-

nate the classical Japanese ideal of mutual devotion.

Of the couple's seven children, both Crown Prince Akihito, 49, and his brother Hitachi, 47, have inherited their father's hobby.* The handsome, retiring elder son has published 23 monographs on ichthyology; Hitachi specializes in fish tumors. Second in line to the throne is Akihito's eldest son Hiro, 23, who recently left Tokyo to study medieval European history at Oxford.

Under the terms of the constitution, Hirohito's successor will have little opportunity to extend imperial power. Meanwhile, though most of Hirohito's subjects regard him with fond bemusement, some are beginning to suggest privately that he should abdicate. But the Emperor remains steadfast. When questioned once about his long reign, His Imperial Majesty simply recited a proverb: "Not even under the heaviest snowfall will willow trees snap."

—By Pico Iyer

*Of the Emperor's five daughters, Princess Teru died in 1961 at the age of 35, and Princess Hisa died within six months of her birth in 1927. Kazuko Takatsukasa, 54, became a Shinto priestess after her husband died. Atsuko Ikeda, 52, is a businessman's wife; and Takako Shimazu, 44, is married to a banker.



ATTITUDES TOWARD THE EMPEROR IN JAPAN TODAY

Popular attitudes toward the emperor are mixed. The results of a poll taken by a Japanese newspaper, Asahi Shimbun, on January 1, 1979, are as follows:

• *Feeling toward the Imperial family by age*

	Feel affection	Don't feel affection
Total	44%	47%
Age group		
20-24	15	79
25-29	24	68
30-34	22	67
35-39	33	59
40-49	48	43
50-59	57	34
60 and over	76	15

• *Evaluation of the Emperor system*

The Emperor's status should be elevated	6%
The Emperor should remain a "symbol" of the state as today.....	82
The Emperor system should be abolished	8
Other response	1
Can't say	3

Source: *Asahi Shimbun*, January 1, 1979.

• *Overall feeling toward the Imperial family*

Feel affection	44%
Don't feel affection	47
Other response	6
Can't say	3

1. What type of people (age group) is most likely to feel affection for the emperor? Least likely?
2. What do most people feel should be done with the emperor system?

Acknowledgment: From Facts and Figures of Japan, 1980 Edition, published by Kinji Kawamura, Foreign Press Center/Japan, 6th floor Nippon Press Center Building, 2-2-1, Uchisaiwai-cho, Chiyoda-ku Tokyo, Japan.

Additional Resource

The Japanese Emperor Through History

This paperback booklet offers an interesting overview of the origins and historical development of Japan's imperial institutions as well as a brief discussion of the emperor's role today.

Available from: International Society for
Educational Information, Inc.
Koryo Building
18 Wakaba 1-chome
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
JAPAN

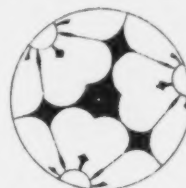
Tel. Tokyo (358)1138,1506

THE CONSTITUTION

PRIMARY SOURCE SELECTION/EXERCISE

TO THE TEACHER A text of the 1947 Constitution follows below.
As a supplementary exercise students should be asked to locate a copy of the United States Constitution in the appendix of an American history textbook or in the school library. Make a comparison of the two constitutions, using the following questions for discussion.

Questions for Discussion



1. In the Japanese Constitution, what passages would you choose to show that Japan is a democracy where power lies with the people and their elected representatives?
2. What lessons of Japanese history are reflected in the preamble (introductory section) to the Japanese Constitution?
3. Would you say that the history of the American colonists is reflected in the preamble of the United States Constitution? Explain.
4. In the Japanese Constitution, what powers does the emperor have? Not have?
5. What are the reasons for Article 9 in the Japanese Constitution?

6. Look at chapter 3 of the Japanese Constitution on the Rights and Duties of the People. Now look at the first ten amendments of the U.S. Constitution that are called the Bill of Rights.

Draw a chart and list the rights specified in the Japanese Constitution and those specified in the American Constitution.

Japan

United States

How are the lists similar?

How are they different?

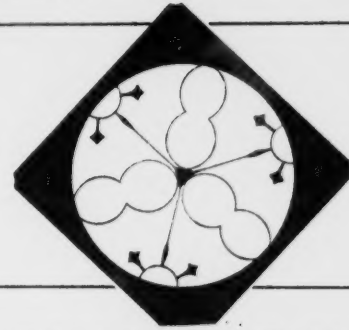
7. Why would the Japanese Constitution of 1947 resemble the American Constitution?

8. Look at articles 65, 66, 67, 68 and 69 of the Japanese Constitution on the executive branch of the Japanese government.

What type of democratic system does the Japanese Constitution establish?

How is this different from the type of democratic system established by the American Constitution?

Can you find the articles on the executive branch in the United States Constitution? Show how these differ from the comparable articles in the Japanese Constitution.



THE CONSTITUTION

We, the Japanese people, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet, determined that we shall secure for ourselves and our posterity the fruits of peaceful cooperation with all nations and the blessings of liberty throughout this land, and resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government, do proclaim that sovereign power resides with the people and do firmly establish this Constitution. Government is a sacred trust of the people, the authority for which is derived from the people, the powers of which are exercised by the representatives of the people, and the benefits of which are enjoyed by the people. This is a universal principle of mankind upon which this Constitution is founded. We reject and revoke all constitutions, laws, ordinances and rescripts in conflict herewith.

We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationship, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world. We desire to occupy an honoured place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth. We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want.

We believe that no nation is responsible to itself alone, but that laws of political morality are universal; and that obedience to such laws is incumbent upon all nations who would sustain their own sovereignty and justify their sovereign relationship with other nations.

We, the Japanese people, pledge our national honour to accomplish these high ideals and purposes with all our resources.

CHAPTER I. THE EMPEROR

ARTICLE 1. The Emperor shall be the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people, deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power.

ARTICLE 2. The Imperial Throne shall be dynastic and succeeded to in accordance with the Imperial House Law passed by the Diet.

ARTICLE 3. The advice and approval of the Cabinet shall be required for all acts of the Emperor in matters of state, and the Cabinet shall be responsible therefor.

ARTICLE 4. The Emperor shall perform only such acts in matters of state as are provided for in this Constitution and he shall not have powers related to government.

The Emperor may delegate the performance of his acts in matters of state as may be provided by law.

ARTICLE 5. When, in accordance with the Imperial House Law, a Regency is established, the Regent shall perform his acts in matters of state in the Emperor's name. In this case, paragraph one of the preceding article will be applicable.

ARTICLE 6. The Emperor shall appoint the Prime Minister as designated by the Diet.

The Emperor shall appoint the Chief Judge of the Supreme Court as designated by the Cabinet.

ARTICLE 7. The Emperor, with the advice and approval of the Cabinet, shall perform the following acts in matters of state on behalf of the people:

Promulgation of amendments of the constitution, laws, cabinet orders and treaties.
Convocation of the Diet.
Dissolution of the House of Representatives.
Proclamation of general election of members of the Diet.
Attestation of the appointment and dismissal of Ministers of State and other officials as provided for by law, and of full powers and credentials of Ambassadors and Ministers.
Attestation of general and special amnesty, commutation of punishment, reprieve, and restoration of rights.
Awarding of honours.
Attestation of instruments of ratification and other diplomatic documents as provided for by law.
Receiving foreign ambassadors and ministers.
Performance of ceremonial functions.

ARTICLE 8. No property can be given to, or received by, the Imperial House, nor can any gifts be made therefrom, without the authorization of the Diet.

CHAPTER II. RENUNCIATION OF WAR

ARTICLE 9. Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.

CHAPTER III. RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE PEOPLE

ARTICLE 10. The conditions necessary for being a Japanese national shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE 11. The people shall not be prevented from enjoying any of the fundamental human rights.

These fundamental human rights guaranteed to the people by this Constitution shall be conferred upon the people of this and future generations as eternal and inviolate rights.

ARTICLE 12. The freedom and rights guaranteed to the people by this Constitution shall be maintained by the constant endeavour of the people, who shall refrain from any abuse of these freedoms and rights and shall always be responsible for utilizing them for the public welfare.

ARTICLE 13. All of the people shall be respected as individuals. Their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness shall, to the extent that it does not interfere with the public welfare, be the supreme consideration in legislation and in other governmental affairs.

ARTICLE 14. All of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin.

Peers and peerage shall not be recognized.

No privilege shall accompany any award of honour, decoration or any distinction, nor shall any such award be valid beyond the lifetime of the individual who now holds or hereafter may receive it.

ARTICLE 15. The people have the inalienable right to choose their public officials and to dismiss them.

All public are servants of the whole community and not of any group thereof.

Universal adult suffrage is guaranteed with regard to the election of public officials.

In all elections, secrecy of the ballot shall not be violated. A voter shall not be answerable, publicly or privately, for the choice he has made.

ARTICLE 16. Every person shall have the right of peaceful petition for the redress of damage, for the removal of public officials, for the enactment, repeal or amendment of laws, ordinances or regulations and for other matters, nor shall any person be in any way discriminated against for sponsoring such a petition.

ARTICLE 17. Every person may sue for redress as provided by law from the State or public entity, in case he has suffered damage through illegal act of any public official.

ARTICLE 18. No person shall be held in bondage of any kind. Involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime, is prohibited.

ARTICLE 19. Freedom of thought and conscience shall not be violated.

ARTICLE 20. Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all. No religious organization shall receive any privileges from the State, nor exercise any political authority.

No person shall be compelled to take part in any religious act, celebration, rite or practice.

The State and its organs shall refrain from religious education or any other religious activity.

ARTICLE 21. Freedom of assembly and association as well as speech, press and all other forms of expression are guaranteed.

No censorship shall be maintained, nor shall the secrecy of any means of communication be violated.

ARTICLE 22. Every person shall have freedom to choose and change his residence and to choose his occupation to the extent that it does not interfere with the public welfare.

Freedom of all persons to move to a foreign country and to divest themselves of their nationality shall be inviolate.

ARTICLE 23. Academic freedom is guaranteed.

ARTICLE 24. Marriage shall be based only on the mutual consent of both sexes and it shall be maintained through mutual co-operation with the equal rights of husband and wife as a basis.

With regard to choice of spouse, property rights, inheritance, choice of domicile, divorce and other matters pertaining to marriage and the family, laws shall be enacted from the standpoint of individual dignity and the essential equality of the sexes.

ARTICLE 25. All people shall have the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living.

In all spheres of life, the State shall use its endeavours for the promotion and extension of social welfare and security, and of public health.

ARTICLE 26. All people shall have the right to receive an equal education correspondent to their ability, as provided by law.

All people shall be obligated to have all boys and girls under their protection receive ordinary education as provided for by law. Such compulsory education shall be free.

ARTICLE 27. All people shall have the right and the obligation to work.

Standards for wages, hours, rest and other working conditions shall be fixed by law.

Children shall not be exploited.

ARTICLE 28. The right of workers to organize and to bargain and act collectively is guaranteed.

ARTICLE 29. The right to own or to hold property is inviolable.

Property rights shall be defined by law, in conformity with the public welfare.

Private property may be taken for public use upon just compensation therefor.

ARTICLE 30. The people shall be liable to taxation as provided by law.

ARTICLE 31. No person shall be deprived of life or liberty, nor shall any other criminal penalty be imposed, except according to procedure established by law.

ARTICLE 32. No person shall be denied the right of access to the courts.

ARTICLE 33. No person shall be apprehended except upon warrant issued by a competent judicial officer which specifies the offence with which the person is charged, unless he is apprehended, the offence being committed.

ARTICLE 34. No person shall be arrested or detained without being at once informed of the charges against him or without the immediate privilege of counsel; nor shall he be detained without adequate cause; and upon demand of any person such cause must be immediately shown in open court in his presence and the presence of his counsel.

ARTICLE 35. The right of all persons to be secure in their homes, papers and effects against entries, searches and seizures shall not be impaired except upon warrant issued for adequate cause and particularly describing the place to be searched and things to be seized, or except as provided by Article 33.

Each search or seizure shall be made upon separate warrant issued by a competent judicial officer.

ARTICLE 36. The infliction of torture by any public officer and cruel punishments are absolutely forbidden.

ARTICLE 37. In all criminal cases the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial tribunal.

He shall be permitted full opportunity to examine all witnesses, and he shall have the right of compulsory process for obtaining witnesses on his behalf at public expense.

At all times the accused shall have the assistance of competent counsel who shall, if the accused is unable to secure the same by his own efforts, be assigned to his use by the State.

ARTICLE 38. No person shall be compelled to testify against himself.

Confession made under compulsion, torture or threat, or after prolonged arrest or detention shall

not be admitted in evidence.

No person shall be convicted or punished in cases where the only proof against him is his own confession.

ARTICLE 39. No person shall be held criminally liable for an act which was lawful at the time it was committed, or of which he has been acquitted, nor shall he be placed in double jeopardy.

ARTICLE 40. Any person, in case he is acquitted after he has been arrested or detained, may sue the State for redress as provided by law.

CHAPTER IV. THE DIET

ARTICLE 41. The Diet shall be the highest organ of state power, and shall be the sole law-making organ of the State.

ARTICLE 42. The Diet shall consist of two Houses, namely the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors.

ARTICLE 43. Both Houses shall consist of elected members, representative of all the people.

The number of the members of each House shall be fixed by law.

ARTICLE 44. The qualifications of members of both Houses and their electors shall be fixed by law.

However, there shall be no discrimination because of race, creed, sex, social status, family origin, education, property or income.

ARTICLE 45. The term of office of members of the House of Representatives shall be four years. However, the term shall be terminated before the full term is up in case the House of Representatives is dissolved.

ARTICLE 46. The term of office of members of the House of Councillors shall be six years, and election for half the members shall take place every three years.

ARTICLE 47. Electoral districts, method of voting and other matters pertaining to the method of election of members of both Houses shall be fixed by law.

ARTICLE 48. No person shall be permitted to be a member of both Houses simultaneously.

ARTICLE 49. Members of both Houses shall receive appropriate annual payment from the national treasury in accordance with law.

ARTICLE 50. Except in cases provided by law, members of both Houses shall be exempt from apprehension while the Diet is in session, and any members apprehended before the opening of the session shall be freed during the term of the session upon demand of the House.

ARTICLE 51. Members of both Houses shall not be held liable outside the House for speeches, debates or votes cast inside the House.

ARTICLE 52. An ordinary session of the Diet shall be convoked once per year.

ARTICLE 53. The Cabinet may determine to convoke extraordinary sessions of the Diet. When a quarter or more of the total members of either House makes the demand, the Cabinet must determine on such convocation.

ARTICLE 54. When the House of Representatives is dissolved, there must be a general election of members of the House of Representatives within forty (40) days from the date of dissolution, and the Diet must be convoked within thirty (30) days from the date of the election.

When the House of Representatives is dissolved, the House of Councillors is closed at the same time. However, the Cabinet may in time of national emergency convoke the House of Councillors in emergency session.

Measures taken at such session as mentioned in the proviso of the preceding paragraph shall be provisional and shall become null and void unless agreed to by the House of Representatives within a period of ten (10) days after the opening of the next session of the Diet.

ARTICLE 55. Each House shall judge disputes related to qualifications of its members. However, in order to deny a seat to any member, it is necessary to pass a resolution by a majority of two-thirds or more of the members present.

ARTICLE 56. Business cannot be transacted in either House unless one-third or more of total membership is present.

All matters shall be decided, in each House, by a majority of those present, except as elsewhere provided in the Constitution, and in case of a tie, the presiding officer shall decide the issue.

ARTICLE 57. Deliberation in each House shall be public. However, a secret meeting may be held where a majority of two-thirds or more of those members present passes a resolution therefor.

Each House shall keep a record of proceedings. This record shall be published and given general

circulation, excepting such parts of proceedings of secret session as may be deemed to require secrecy.

Upon demand of one-fifth or more of the members present, votes of the members on any matter shall be recorded in the minutes.

ARTICLE 58. Each House shall select its own president and other officials.

Each House shall establish its rules pertaining to meetings, proceedings and internal discipline, and may punish members for disorderly conduct. However, in order to expel a member, a majority of two-thirds or more of those members present must pass a resolution thereon.

ARTICLE 59. A bill becomes a law on passage by both Houses, except as otherwise provided by the Constitution.

A bill which is passed by the House of Representatives, and upon which the House of Councillors makes a decision different from that of the House of Representatives, becomes a law when passed a second time by the House of Representatives by a majority of two-thirds or more of the members present.

The provision of the preceding paragraph does not preclude the House of Representatives from calling for the meeting of a joint committee of both Houses, provided for by law.

Failure by the House of Councillors to take final action within sixty (60) days after receipt of a bill passed by the House of Representatives, time in recess excepted, may be determined by the House of Representatives to constitute a rejection of the said bill by the House of Councillors.

ARTICLE 60. The budget must first be submitted to the House of Representatives.

Upon consideration of the budget, when the House of Councillors makes a decision different from that of the House of Representatives, and when no agreement can be reached even through a joint committee of both Houses, provided for by law, or in the case of failure by the House of Councillors to take final action within thirty (30) days, the period of recess excluded, after the receipt of the budget passed by the House of Representatives, the decision of the House of Representatives shall be the decision of the Diet.

ARTICLE 61. The second paragraph of the preceding article applies also to the Diet approval required for the conclusion of treaties.

ARTICLE 62. Each House may conduct investigations in relation to government, and may demand the presence and testimony of witnesses, and the production of records.

ARTICLE 63. The Prime Minister and other Ministers of State may, at any time, appear in either House for the purpose of speaking on bills, regardless of whether they are members of the House or not. They must appear when their presence is required in order to give answers or explanations.

ARTICLE 64. The Diet shall set up an impeachment court from among the members of both Houses for the purpose of trying those judges against whom removal proceedings have been instituted.

Matters relating to impeachment shall be provided by law.

CHAPTER V. THE CABINET

ARTICLE 65. Executive power shall be vested in the Cabinet.

ARTICLE 66. The Cabinet shall consist of the Prime Minister, who shall be its head, and other Ministers of State, as provided for by law.

The Prime Minister and other Ministers of State must be civilians.

The Cabinet, in the exercise of executive power, shall be collectively responsible to the Diet.

ARTICLE 67. The Prime Minister shall be designated from among the members of the Diet by a resolution of the Diet. This designation shall precede all other business.

If the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors disagree and if no agreement can be reached even through a joint committee of both Houses, provided for by law, or the House of Councillors fails to make designation within ten (10) days, exclusive of the period of recess, after the House of Representatives has made designation, the decision of the House of Representatives shall be the decision of the Diet.

ARTICLE 68. The Prime Minister shall appoint the Ministers of State. However, a majority of their number must be chosen from among the members of the Diet.

The Prime Minister may remove the Ministers of State as he chooses.

ARTICLE 69. If the House of Representatives passes a non-confidence resolution, or rejects a confidence resolution, the Cabinet shall resign en masse, unless the House of Representatives is dissolved within ten (10) days.

ARTICLE 70. When there is a vacancy in the post of Prime Minister, or upon the first convocation of the Diet after a general election of members of the House of Representatives, the Cabinet shall resign en masse.

ARTICLE 71. In the cases mentioned in the two preceding articles, the Cabinet shall continue its functions until the time when a new Prime Minister is appointed.

ARTICLE 72. The Prime Minister, representing the Cabinet, submits bills, reports on general national affairs and foreign relations to the Diet and exercises control and supervision over various administrative branches.

ARTICLE 73. The Cabinet, in addition to other general administrative functions, shall perform the following functions:

Administer the law faithfully; conduct affairs of state.

Manage foreign affairs.

Conclude treaties. However, it shall obtain prior or, depending on circumstances, subsequent approval of the Diet.

Administer the civil service, in accordance with standards established by law.

Prepare the budget, and present it to the Diet.

Enact cabinet orders in order to execute the provisions of this Constitution and of the law.

However, it cannot include penal provisions in such cabinet orders unless authorized by such law.

Decide on general amnesty, special amnesty, commutation of punishment, reprieve, and restoration of rights.

ARTICLE 74. All laws and cabinet orders shall be signed by the competent Minister of State and countersigned by the Prime Minister.

ARTICLE 75. The Ministers of State, during their tenure of office, shall not be subject to legal action without the consent of the Prime Minister. However, the right to take that action is not impaired hereby.

CHAPTER VI. JUDICIARY

ARTICLE 76. The whole judicial power is vested in a Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as are established by law.

No extraordinary tribunal shall be established, nor shall any organ or agency of the Executive be given final judicial power.

All judges shall be independent in the exercise of their conscience and shall be bound only by this Constitution and the laws.

ARTICLE 77. The Supreme Court is vested with the rule-making power under which it determines the rules of procedure and of practice, and of matters relating to attorneys, the internal discipline of the courts and the administration of judicial affairs.

Public procurators shall be subject to the rule-making power of the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court may delegate the power to make rules for inferior courts to such courts.

ARTICLE 78. Judges shall not be removed except by public impeachment unless judicially declared mentally or physically incompetent to perform official duties. No disciplinary action against judges shall be administered by any executive organ or agency.

ARTICLE 79. The Supreme Court shall consist of a Chief Judge and such number of judges as may be determined by law; all such judges excepting the Chief Judge shall be appointed by the Cabinet.

The appointment of the judges of the Supreme Court shall be reviewed by the people at the first general election of members of the House of Representatives following their appointment, and shall be reviewed again at the first general election of members of the House of Representatives after a lapse of ten (10) years, and in the same manner thereafter.

In cases mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, when the majority of the voters favors the dismissal of a judge, he shall be dismissed.

Matters pertaining to review shall be prescribed by law.

The judges of the Supreme Court shall be retired upon the attainment of the age as fixed by law.

All such judges shall receive, at regular stated intervals, adequate compensation which shall not be decreased during their terms of office.

ARTICLE 80. The judges of the inferior courts shall be appointed by the Cabinet from a list of persons nominated by the Supreme Court. All such judges shall hold office for a term of ten (10) years with

EMPEROR AND CONSTITUTION/17

privilege of reappointment, provided that they shall be retired upon the attainment of the age as fixed by law.

The judges of the inferior courts shall receive, at regular stated intervals, adequate compensation which shall not be decreased during their terms of office.

ARTICLE 81. The Supreme Court is the court of last resort with power to determine the constitutionality of any law, order, regulation or official act.

ARTICLE 82. Trials shall be conducted and judgment declared publicly. Where a court unanimously determines publicity to be dangerous to public order or morals, a trial may be conducted privately, but trials of political offences, offences involving the press or cases wherein the right of people as guaranteed in Chapter III of this Constitution are in question shall always be conducted publicly.

CHAPTER VII. FINANCE

ARTICLE 83. The power to administer national finances shall be exercised as the Diet shall determine.

ARTICLE 84. No new taxes shall be imposed or existing ones modified except by law or under such conditions as law may prescribe.

ARTICLE 85. No money shall be expended, nor shall the State obligate itself, except as authorized by the Diet.

ARTICLE 86. The Cabinet shall prepare and submit to the Diet for its consideration and decision a budget for each fiscal year.

ARTICLE 87. In order to provide for unforeseen deficiencies in the budget, a reserve fund may be authorized by the Diet to be expended upon the responsibility of the Cabinet.

The Cabinet must get subsequent approval of the Diet for all payments from the reserve fund.

ARTICLE 88. All property of the Imperial Household shall belong to the State. All expenses of the Imperial Household shall be appropriated by the Diet in the budget.

ARTICLE 89. No public money or other property shall be expended or appropriated for the use, benefit or maintenance of any religious institution or association, or for any charitable, educational or benevolent enterprises not under the control of public authority.

ARTICLE 90. Final accounts of the expenditures and revenues of the State shall be audited annually by a Board of Audit and submitted by the Cabinet to the Diet, together with the statement of audit during the fiscal year immediately following the period covered.

The organization and competency of the Board of Audit shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE 91. At regular intervals and at least annually the Cabinet shall report to the Diet and the people on the state of national finances.

CHAPTER VIII. LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

ARTICLE 92. Regulations concerning organization and operations of local public entities shall be fixed by law in accordance with the principle of local autonomy.

ARTICLE 93. The local public entities shall establish assemblies as their deliberative organs, in accordance with law.

The chief executive officers of all local public entities, the members of their assemblies, and such other local officials as may be determined by law shall be elected by direct popular vote within their several communities.

ARTICLE 94. Local public entities shall have the right to manage their property, affairs and administration and to enact their own regulations within law.

ARTICLE 95. A special law applicable only to one local public entity cannot be enacted by the Diet without the consent of the majority of the voters of the local public entity concerned, obtained in accordance with law.

CHAPTER IX. AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE 96. Amendments to this Constitution shall be initiated by the Diet, through a concurring vote of two-thirds or more of all the members of each House and shall thereupon be submitted to the people for ratification, which shall require the affirmative vote of a majority of all votes cast thereon, at a special referendum or at such election as the Diet shall specify.

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Amendments when so ratified shall immediately be promulgated by the Emperor in the name of the people, as an integral part of this Constitution.

CHAPTER X. SUPREME LAW

ARTICLE 97. The fundamental human rights by this Constitution guaranteed to the people of Japan are fruits of the age-old struggle of man to be free; they have survived the many exacting tests for durability and are conferred upon this and future generations in trust, to be held for all time inviolate.

ARTICLE 98. This Constitution shall be the supreme law of the nation and no law, ordinance, imperial rescript or other act of government, or part thereof, contrary to the provisions hereof, shall have legal force or validity.

The treaties concluded by Japan and established laws of nations shall be faithfully observed.

ARTICLE 99. The Emperor or the Regent as well as Ministers of State, members of the Diet, judges, and all other public officials have the obligation to respect and uphold this Constitution.

CHAPTER XI. SUPPLEMENTARY PROVISIONS

ARTICLE 100. This Constitution shall be enforced as from the day when the period of six months will have elapsed counting from the day of its promulgation.

The enactment of laws necessary for the enforcement of this Constitution, the election of members of the House of Councillors, and the procedure for the convocation of the Diet and other preparatory procedures necessary for the enforcement of this Constitution, may be executed before the day prescribed in the preceding paragraph.

ARTICLE 101. If the House of Councillors is not constituted before the effective date of this Constitution, the House of Representatives shall function as the Diet until such time as the House of Councillors shall be constituted.

ARTICLE 102. The term of office for half the members of the House of Councillors serving in the first term under this Constitution shall be three years. Members falling under this category shall be determined in accordance with law.

ARTICLE 103. The Ministers of State, members of the House of Representatives, and judges in office on the effective date of this Constitution, and all other public officials who occupy positions corresponding to such positions as are recognized by this Constitution, shall not forfeit their positions automatically on account of the enforcement of this Constitution unless otherwise specified by law. When, however, successors are elected or appointed under the provisions of this Constitution, they shall forfeit their positions as a matter of course.

Source: Facts About Japan, Public Information Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan. Additional copies of the constitution are available free of charge from Japan Information Service of the Consulate of Japan, offices in Anchorage, Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Guam, Honolulu, Houston, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New Orleans, New York, Portland (Oregon), San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.

Elections in Japan

READING

Japan has a democratic system of government as does the United States. The electoral system in Japan is different, however, from that with which Americans are familiar.

THE DIET

In Japan, representatives are elected to the national parliament, the Diet (Di-et). The Diet is divided into an upper house (House of Councillors) and a lower house (House of Representatives). The real political power lies in the lower house--the upper house can only delay, not veto, decisions taken by the House of Representatives. Because Japan has a parliamentary political system like that of England, the House of Representatives elects a prime minister by majority vote. He is usually a leader of the majority party. The prime minister is the head of the government. To help him direct the government, he forms a cabinet made up of people who are his political allies.

ELECTIONS IN JAPAN

Multimember districts. Representatives have been elected to Japan's parliament for almost a hundred years. The election system for the House of Representatives in Japan is different from the American system. In the United States, representatives are elected from a congressional district where each voter has one vote and only one person is elected. If there are only two candidates, the winner is the one with the majority of votes cast. In Japan, there are usually three to five representatives from each district, so there can be three to five "winners" in each district, although each voter has only one vote. The winner in a Japanese election may often have only 10 percent of all votes cast in his or her district.

Because the election system is different, Japanese election candidates have different problems and use different methods from those of American candidates. There are six important political parties in the

House of Representatives, and candidates usually join one of these parties to receive the support of its organization and of voters who favor that party. But because there is more than one representative or winner from each district, there may be other candidates who belong to the same party and compete for the same votes. A large political party such as the Liberal Democratic party (LDP) or the Japan Socialist party (JSP) must make complicated calculations to decide how many candidates it can support in a district that can elect three to five representatives to the Diet. The party would like to win all these seats, but if it supports too many candidates it may divide its voters too many ways and all its candidates might lose. Each voter can vote for only one candidate.

Kōenkai: personal support organization. Because a candidate must compete with candidates from other political parties as well as with those from his or her own political party, the candidate will often try to build a personal organization of supporters among voters in the district. Candidates encourage people to join their organization, called a kōenkai, by doing them small favors--helping their children get into a good school or get a good job, sending flowers if they open a new store, sending them cards on holidays--and by financing kōenkai parties or vacation trips. Candidates also try to recruit leaders of local organizations, such as agricultural cooperatives, temple associations, business groups, and women's groups, in hopes that they will encourage their members to join the kōenkai and support the candidate in elections. A kōenkai is a personal support organization for a particular candidate.

Issues seem to play a smaller role in Japanese campaigns than they do in the United States. Candidates depend heavily on support from their personal organizations and ties to groups such as unions, neighborhood associations, and religious groups. One reason for this may be strict government control over campaigns. Candidates are allowed only one campaign car and a small number of posters and other printed material. The campaign itself lasts only three weeks. Therefore, it is difficult to communicate broadly on the issues, aside from simply declaring a party affiliation.

The cost. In American elections, many candidates pay for television and radio commercials to communicate with the voters. Strict rules in Japan control such advertisements, and candidates are only allowed a few, government-financed commercials or television appearances. They thus spend less money than American candidates on commercials but more on their personal support organizations. As in the United States, elections in Japan can be very expensive for the candidates.

POLITICAL PARTIES

A majority of the members of the House of Representatives elect the prime minister, who heads the government; therefore, members join together to form political parties that try to get majority control of the House. Within the parties, some members join together to form smaller groups, called factions. Factions form for two reasons. One

is to control the party: important party members try to create a group of supporters to help them gain control of the party and perhaps even be elected prime minister. The second reason is that newly elected members want the faction leader to help them during the elections. The faction leader can do this by helping them raise money, giving them his personal support in speeches and campaigning, or using his influence in the party to stop it from supporting other candidates in the same district who might attract votes.

There are a number of "independent" candidates and very tiny "parties" in the Japanese Diet, but the six more important are:

Liberal Democratic party. This conservative party was formed in 1955 by two smaller parties, the Liberal party and the Democratic party. It has held the majority in the Diet and controlled the government ever since. Its major support is among voters outside the major cities and businessmen.

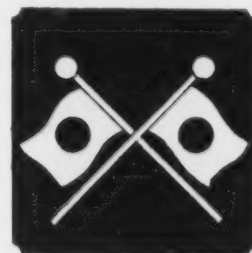
Japan Socialist party. This is the second most popular party. Its major source of support is the Sōhyō labor union federation, which represents many workers in government-owned firms as well as some in private sector businesses.

Kōmeitō, or Clean Government party. This party was originally part of a recently formed religious organization, the Sōkagakkai. It is now separate but still receives most of its support from that organization.

Democratic Socialist party. This party is more centrist in its policies than the Japan Socialist party, which is considered more left wing. Its core supporters are members of Dōmei, Japan's second largest labor union federation, which is made up mostly of private sector unionists.

Japan Communist party. This small party is considered less radical than many European Communist parties. It emphasizes criticism of the conservatives rather than plans for revolution. Its representatives are supported by the largest and most efficient party organization in Japan. The party also publishes an extremely popular (and profitable) newspaper, Akahata, read by many Japanese who are not party members and do not vote for its candidates.

New Liberal Club. This very small party was formed recently by former members of the Liberal Democratic party who were critical of some of its conservative policies and factional warfare.



In 1983, following the December elections to the lower house of the Diet, each party held the following number of seats:

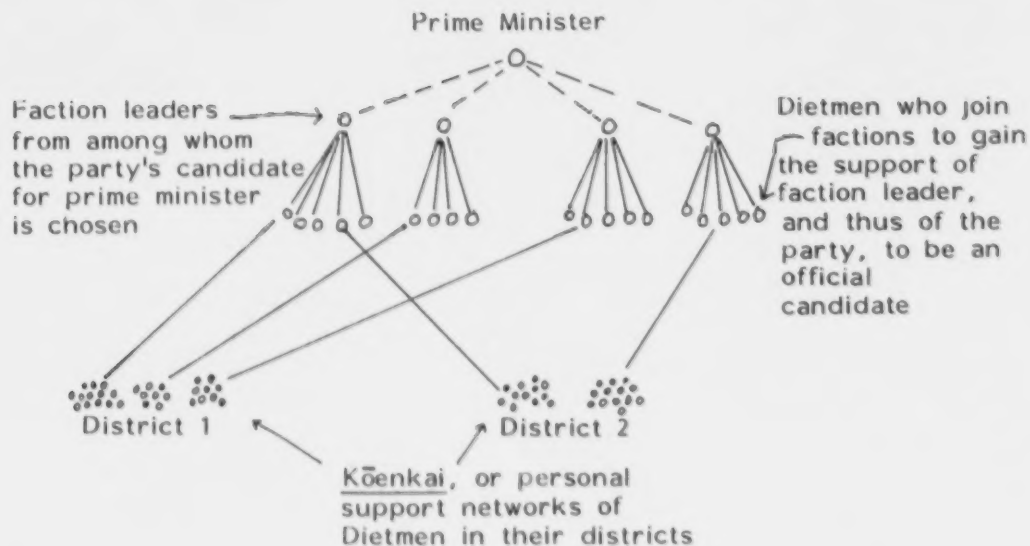
**Results of the December 18, 1983 election
to the lower house of the Japanese Diet**

Liberal Democratic party (LDP)	250	(48.9%)
Japan Socialist party (JSP)	112	(21.9%)
Clean Government party (CGP)	58	(11.4%)
Democratic Socialist party (DSP)	38	(7.4%)
Japan Communist party (JCP)	26	(5.1%)
New Liberal Club (NLC)	8	(1.6%)
Social Democratic League (SDL)	3	(0.6%)
No party affiliation	16	(3.1%)
TOTAL:	511	(100.0%)

After the election, nine of the nonaffiliated representatives joined the LDP, giving it a total of 259 members (50.7%). Prime Minister Nakasone, president of the Liberal Democratic party, formed a coalition cabinet based on the LDP and the NLC which provided a more stable majority and greater control of house committees. Thus the government coalition totaled 267 members (52.3%).



A Japanese Political Party



Questions for Discussion

1. Looking at the chart of a Japanese political party, can you explain in more detail the relationships between:

--Dietmen and kōenkai?

--Dietmen and faction leaders?

--Faction leaders and the prime minister?

Be certain to explain how both sides in each pair benefit from the relationship.

2. How does the Japanese electoral process compare with the electoral process in the United States? Draw a chart showing the similarities and differences.

3. Are there any groupings resembling factions in American political parties?

If yes, how are these groupings similar to Japanese factions? How are they different? Explain.

If no, explain why not.

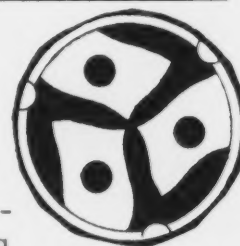
4. Suppose you are running for class president at your school. You know you will have only one day for official campaigning. Write a plan of how you would organize your own personal support network to help you get elected.

A DAY FOR ALL PEOPLEFilm Guide

This short film is useful in illustrating the long history of elections in Japan and their central importance in modern Japan's political system. A list of QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION is appended to the film guide. The questions can be distributed to students prior to the film showing in order to focus their attention on the material in the film.

<u>Film Title:</u>	A Day for All People
<u>Format:</u>	16 mm, color, 15 minutes
<u>Available from:</u>	Extension Media Center University of California 2176 Shattuck Avenue Berkeley, CA 94704
<u>Rental fee:</u>	\$17.00, plus \$6.00 postage and handling

Points for Clarification



As the narrator notes, "political rallies are the same everywhere," and the picture of Japanese politicians campaigning should be a familiar one to American students.

There are a number of differences between Japanese and American elections, however, and some of these the film does not elaborate on. While some differences are rather technical, you may want to explain some of the following points:

- The election in the film is that for the House of Councilors (upper house) in June 1974. This house has a different system of elections from that of the lower house: half of its 250 members are elected every three years, with 75 members elected from local constituencies similar to the multimember districts of the lower house and 50 members elected from a national constituency with the entire nation as the only "district." Each voter casts two votes, one for a local candidate and one for a national candidate. To win, local candidates need hundreds of thousands of votes; national candidates need millions of votes. "Mr. Satō" in the film is a national candidate who is using his famous father's success and organization in his campaign (his father, Eisaku Satō, was prime minister in the 1960s.)

• In embarking on his campaign, Satō paints in one eye of a "Daruma" doll. This doll is from a Buddhist story about a saint who wished to attain enlightenment so much that he sat in a lotus position for years, until he had no legs remaining. He is a symbol of persistence leading to victory, and many Japanese embarking on a difficult task (students preparing for a major exam or a company beginning a new expansion) paint in the first eye, to be followed by the second eye after success is attained.

• Voting participation in Japan is always very high. In this election 73 percent of those eligible voted, compared with approximately 50 percent in recent U.S. national elections. While this reflects support for the election system, other important reasons for the high voter turnout are that:

- elections are always held on a Sunday;
- all citizens are automatically registered to vote at age twenty;
- and voting as a civic duty is strongly emphasized in Japanese society.

• The 1974 election took place during a time of great concern over inflation, which was running 30 percent annually, the oil crisis, and the rapidly approaching economic recession of 1974-75. Issues, however, seem to play a smaller role in Japanese campaigns than they do in the United States. Candidates depend heavily on support from their personal organizations and ties to groups such as unions, neighborhood associations, and religious groups. The slogan on the LDP banner in the film, promising "prosperity," is the most common appeal on the basis of issues. One reason for this may be strict government control over campaigns. Candidates are only allowed a few short television and radio appearances, often together with other candidates. As the film notes, they are allowed only one campaign car and a small number of posters and other printed material. The campaign itself lasts only three weeks. Therefore, it is difficult to communicate broadly on the issues, aside from simply declaring a party affiliation.

• Candidates in the national constituency, who must attract over a million votes, have a particular problem. Former television and movie stars, or others who have attained fame in previous careers, have a real edge in this kind of election, sometimes referred to as a popularity contest. In addition, real political power is held by the lower house, which elects the prime minister. The "national constituency" was changed in 1982, and voters now cast their ballot for a political party, not an individual. Parties then appoint individuals listed in order on their nomination lists, according to the percentage of the total vote.

This list can be distributed to students prior to showing the film in order to focus their attention on the material in the film. Answers have been supplied to this particular list of questions. You may wish to photocopy the list and strike the answers from the student copy before distribution.

Questions for Discussion

1. For how many years have there been elections in Japan?

Answer: almost 100 years, since 1889.

2. Do many people vote in a Japanese election? **Answer:** Yes, usually around two-thirds or more in a national election.

3. How many Americans vote in national elections? **Answer:** Usually around 50 percent of those eligible.

4. Voting participation is always very high in Japan. (In this election, 73 percent of the voters voted.) What factors do you think would contribute to high voting turnout in Japan or other democracies? Discuss.

5. Who can vote in Japan? **Answer:** All citizens, men and women, twenty years old or older.

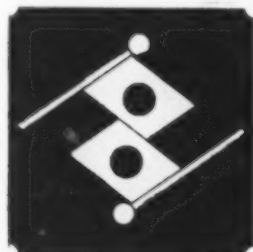
6. How long does a Japanese election campaign last? **Answer:** Three weeks.

Do you think it is a good idea to limit campaigns to a specified period? Discuss the advantages and disadvantages.

7. How do the Japanese cast their ballots? **Answer:** They use paper ballots and mark the name of their candidate on them.

8. When do people find out the results of the election? **Answer:** Most results are published the next day.

9. When do Americans find out the results of their national elections? **Answer:** Because many districts use voting machines, the results are often announced the same day, sometimes even predicted before the voting is finished.



Decision-making in the Government

TO THE TEACHER

There are two parts to this unit, a background reading and a role play exercise. The reading can be used as a basis for class discussion even if the role play is not conducted.

HOW DECISIONS ARE MADE (Background Reading)

THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PARLIAMENT (DIET)

The head of the Japanese government is called the prime minister. He is elected by Japan's parliament, the Diet, and is a leading member of a political party. The prime minister appoints a cabinet of politicians from his own or allied political parties, the members of which head the different sectors of the government, called ministries or agencies. These ministries and agencies are manned by professional bureaucrats who usually spend their entire career in one ministry, making them very knowledgeable, experienced, and powerful.

OTHER GROUPS

People and organizations outside the government are sometimes involved in decision-making.

- Specialists with specific knowledge or experience may advise a ministry in writing legislation.

- Organizations with a particular interest in a decision, including business groups, unions, occupational groups (such as doctors or engineers), farm cooperatives, and consumer organizations, often advise or pressure the government.

- Political leaders who oppose the prime minister and his administration may also pressure the prime minister and his cabinet ministers to make a particular decision. This includes both political leaders who are in opposition political parties and important leaders in the prime minister's own party or coalition.

- Mass media--newspapers, radio and television stations--by expressing (or shaping) public opinion, can influence the government's decisions.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

In the American system, the president and Congress are separate and independent, and the president must persuade Congress to vote his proposals into law. In a parliamentary system such as Japan's, the prime minister is elected by a majority vote in the Diet. He is usually selected in advance by the most powerful leaders of the majority party. Anytime a Diet majority votes to remove its support in a "vote of no confidence," the prime minister must give up his position. In this type of system the legislature is not as active in decision-making as Congress is in America; but unlike Congress, a majority in the Diet can force a complete change in the government at any time. The prime minister and his cabinet are less restricted in making their decisions in this system, but they must be careful not to lose their political support in the Diet.

DRAFTING NEW LAWS

In the United States, individual congressmen propose much new legislation. Bills are debated and voted on in committees and in the whole Congress, just as is the legislation proposed by the president and his administration. In Japan, the prime minister proposes almost all legislation; it is usually drawn up by career government bureaucrats. Therefore, those who want the government to pass a particular law usually go to one of the ministries, or to a politician belonging to the coalition supporting the prime minister, rather than to individual members of the Diet. The Diet has a complicated committee structure, not unlike that of the Congress, but LDP control of the Diet since 1948 has meant that it is primarily important as a place to publicly debate the government's bills.

DEBATE

Debate in the Diet is aimed mostly at the public. Members of the prime minister's party or coalition almost always support his proposals, because failure to do so would indicate his weakness in the diet and lead to new government leadership or a new election. Debate in the Diet is important, however, because it provides a public platform for critics of the administration's proposals, and if the government and the LDP feel that opposition is very strong, they may decide not to use their Diet majority to pass the proposal.

Questions for Discussion

1. What is the Diet?

How is it similar to the U.S. Congress?

Different?

2. Who heads the government in a parliamentary system like Japan's?

In the U.S. system?

3. Who elects the head of the government in each system?

4. What is a "vote of no confidence"?

5. In what ways does the head of the Japanese government have more freedom to make decisions than the U.S. president?

In what ways does he have less freedom?

6. Who drafts new laws in Japan?

In the United States?

7. Is debate in the Diet as important as debate in the Congress?
Why?

GOVERNMENT DECISIONS: A ROLE PLAY

SHOULD INCOME TAXES BE RAISED OR LOWERED?

TO THE TEACHER

This role play uses a real issue to illustrate the dynamics of decision-making in Japan. The introductory reading emphasized the contrasts between the U.S. president and Congress and the Japanese prime minister and Diet. The main point to be illustrated in the role play is the greater freedom of the Japanese prime minister to "decide"--he does not need the Diet's cooperation in the same way as the U.S. president needs Congress's. Equally important is the counter to this greater freedom: the prime minister must pay a political price for any unpopular decision and is more vulnerable than a president who is elected separately from other officials and cannot be removed during his four-year term.

Students may be assigned one of the roles listed under Decision-makers. The real decision-maker is the prime minister: he will listen to the arguments of others, but the decision is his alone. The actors will present their arguments to him, both their "economic justifications and their "political" reasons for their position.

After the arguments are presented and the prime minister has decided to raise taxes, lower taxes, or do nothing, the class should consider questions like those below to bring out who can influence decisions and to what degree; the consequences of the decision that is made; and the contrasts to the American system, where the same issue is being dealt with.

Nine Roles Prime Minister (Liberal Democratic party)
Minister of Finance (Liberal Democratic party)
Minister of Foreign Affairs (Liberal Democratic party)
President of Keidanren (org. of large corporations)
President of Chamber of Commerce (org. of small businesses)

Union Leader
Opposition Party Leader (Socialist party)
Newspaper Editor
Faction Leader (Liberal Democratic party)

Time Allotment 1-2 class sessions.

DIRECTIONS

1. Assign the above background reading **How Decisions are Made** to all students prior to the role play (An optional discussion comparing the U.S. and Japanese government could be conducted after students have done the reading. This would offer further preparation for the role play exercise.)
2. Assign the roles to nine individual students or nine teams. Ask them to study their positions prior to the class session and to be prepared to present their positions.
3. At the beginning of the exercise, read out the "situation" as it appears and then pose the question: "Should the prime minister decide to raise or lower taxes?"
4. Class members not playing roles should take notes on each presentation, listing the arguments of the actors in four columns:

	Political Arguments		Economic Arguments	
	<u>Pro</u>	<u>Con</u>	<u>Pro</u>	<u>Con</u>
Actor				

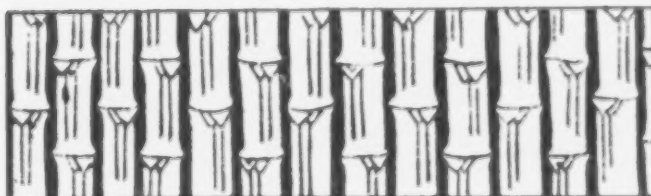
5. Following the presentations by all actors, the class should consider the arguments and vote "yes" or "no" by signed paper ballot on the question "Should the prime minister decide to raise or lower taxes?"
6. The prime minister should then be asked to make his decision public and to explain it to the class.
7. The class vote should be tallied and announced to see if a majority of the students have taken the same position as the prime minister or not.
8. Students who have not taken the same position as the prime minister should be asked to explain their reasons. If students take the same position as the prime minister but for different reasons than the prime minister stated, they should also explain their reasons.

Students should should justify their decisions in light of what they know about the Japanese political system from the introductory reading. Remind students to base their decisions on the economic and political arguments presented by the various actors. What should the prime minister do if he wants to remain in power?

9. Use the questions for discussion to focus class discussion at the end of the exercise. NOTE: Answers have been supplied to this particular list of questions. You may wish to photocopy the list and strike the answers if you plan to distribute the questions to the students.

Questions for Discussion

1. Who had the most direct means of influencing the prime minister? **Answer:** his political supporters--cabinet and businessmen.
2. How did the prime minister's political opponents try to influence him? **Answer:** They argued that their position was best for "Japan" in general and tried to use the mass media and the Diet debates to shape public opinion.
3. If the decision was for a tax cut, what would happen if the economy continued its slow growth, government interest payments increased rapidly, and Japan was faced with a much bigger budget deficit? **Answer:** The prime minister would be criticized for trying to be "popular" and not showing "leadership" and might have to take an unpopular action in raising taxes significantly.
4. If the decision was for a tax increase, what would happen if the economy continued its slow growth and the standard of living dropped even further? **Answer:** The prime minister would be criticized for not helping to boost the economy and foreign governments might restrict Japanese exports to retaliate against low Japanese imports.
5. What did the United States do recently on this issue? **Answer:** This answer will obviously vary year by year. As of the date of publication of this workbook, the latest tax action in the United States was the major tax cut proposed by President Ronald Reagan and passed by Congress in the early 1980s.
6. In Japan, groups try to pressure the prime minister and his cabinet when they want to influence a decision. Who do they pressure in the United States? **Answer:** They usually try to pressure Congress, because the president cannot pass legislation, he can only propose or veto it. Members of Congress are free to vote as they wish without concern for bringing on a change of government or new elections.



GOVERNMENT DECISIONS: A ROLE PLAY

SHOULD INCOME TAX BE RAISED OR LOWERED?

THE SITUATION

Japan is in a period of slow economic growth. Income tax rates are at their highest level since the war, but because of the weak economy, tax revenues are not enough to cover government spending. There is, however, pressure for tax cuts to increase spending by consumers and businesses. The prime minister has avoided taking a position on this difficult and politically dangerous problem, but pressure for a decision is building both publicly and in the mass media and the Diet, and informally from his political allies and cabinet members. Should the government raise or lower taxes?

ACTORS: THE DECISION-MAKERS

Prime Minister (Liberal Democratic party): As leader of the majority party in the Diet and head of the administration, you must make the final decision on such an important issue. Should you lower taxes (popular in the short run) or raise taxes (which may avoid even bigger problems in the future)? The other decision-makers will try to influence your decision, but you must decide on the basis of what is good, not just for Japan, but also for your political party and your own political future.

Minister of Finance (Liberal Democratic party): You are leader of a powerful faction (group of politicians) in the majority Liberal Democratic party and an ally of the prime minister. Your ministry's professional finance specialists tell you that a tax increase is essential. Budget cuts are becoming increasingly difficult to make, and budget deficits continue to grow. The government must spend more and more of each year's budget just on interest on its previous borrowing. To stop the chain of budget deficits-government borrowing-larger interest payments, it is essential to raise taxes now. You must convince the prime minister that this politically unpopular move is essential to avoid even greater and more dangerous financial problems in the future.

Minister of Foreign Affairs (Liberal Democratic party): One of your primary responsibilities is to maintain good relations with the United States and Europe, Japan's primary markets for its industrial products. However, relations are becoming tense because of Japan's massive exports of cars, electronic equipment, and other industrial goods and its much lower imports of such items. Europe wants to restrict Japan's vital exports, but the Americans are supporting free trade and asking Japan to increase its imports instead. A tax cut would increase spending by Japanese consumers and therefore stimulate them to buy more imported products, so you must persuade the prime minister to cut taxes and improve Japan's foreign relations.

President of Keidanren: Keidanren is an organization that includes almost all big businesses in Japan. These companies provide most of the election money for the ruling Liberal Democratic party, and you know that the prime minister will listen carefully to your opinion. You would like to see a tax reduction that would increase consumer spending and bring greater profits to the companies in Keidanren, but you are worried about the already large national deficit. Therefore, you feel that a tax cut should be matched by a big cut in government spending. You would like to see many government programs reduced or ended and many government activities returned to the private sector. You would also like to see the government restrict pay increases for public employees. Such increases raise the cost of government and encourage workers in private companies to ask for higher wages.

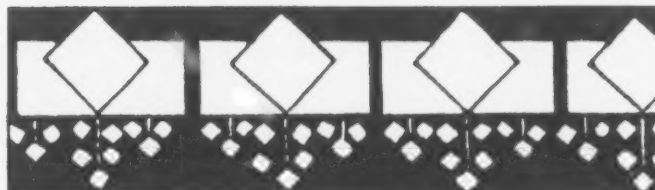
President of Chamber of Commerce: The Chamber of Commerce is the main organization of small businesses in Japan. The recent slow economic growth has increased the number of bankruptcies of small businesses. Profits have been severely reduced, and an immediate tax cut might increase business and profits and allow many small businesses to continue. In pressuring the prime minister for a big tax cut, you will remind him that Japan's small businesses provide many votes for the Liberal Democratic party.

Union Leader: You are head of the major private-sector union federation. Because economic growth has been slow and business has been poor, wage increases are not keeping up with inflation, and government services are being reduced. To maintain the standard of living of union members, you support a big tax reduction. Because your members support the parties in opposition to the Liberal Democratic party, you will pressure the prime minister indirectly by asking the opposition parties to debate the issue in the legislature. You will also use the mass media to argue that a tax cut is good for Japan: by increasing consumer spending, it will boost the slowly growing economy.

Opposition Party Leader (Socialist party): Japanese taxes are the highest in the postwar period, and you strongly support the popular issue of a tax reduction. Moreover, your main support is from the unions, which are pressuring the government for tax reductions. You cannot stop the prime minister in the Diet because he controls the majority party, but you can use the Diet debates to criticize any attempt to raise taxes and even use delaying tactics to slow down passage of other legislation important to the government if your wishes are ignored. Finally, you will threaten a boycott of any vote on tax increases, embarrassing the prime minister by making him seem like a dictator.

Newspaper Editor: You are often critical of the government and the ruling Liberal Democratic party. You argue that the deficits must be reduced through more efficient management of the government; however, you believe that welfare payments and government services should not be reduced during a period of economic hardship. You support a tax reduction as an important step in boosting the economy.

Faction Leader (Liberal Democratic party): You are a leader of a faction (group of politicians) within the ruling party that does not support the prime minister. You must support his legislation in the Diet to maintain party unity, which is essential to your own chances of becoming prime minister one day. But any mistake and sharp drop in popularity of the prime minister would be to your advantage if this threatened his control of the party without threatening the party's control of the Diet. Therefore, you watch the prime minister's actions carefully and prepare your own position in order to benefit politically, if possible. If the prime minister decides on a tax cut, you may criticize him for increasing Japan's debts for short-term political benefits; if, however, he chooses a tax increase, you may argue that this will only hurt an already weak economy and the people's standard of living. If he avoids a decision, you will call him indecisive.



ECONOMY AND TRADE / CONTENTS

The units in this section are designed to confront aspects of Japan's economic success that are currently of great interest to Americans.

RESOURCES

gives information on general economics units, including those prepared by the Joint Council on Economic Education and the SPICE Program at Stanford University. These curricular units contain useful materials for a teacher who wishes to use the Japanese case to introduce general principles of economics to a class.

STATISTICS

(Resource List)

provides a list of very useful pamphlets containing current data and statistics on Japan's economy and trade, population, natural resources and the like, available free of charge from several governmental organizations and business groups in Japan.

JAPAN'S ECONOMY AND TRADE: INTRODUCTORY EXERCISES (Graph Exercises)

uses a series of simple graphs to illustrate the most basic and essential points about Japan's economy. Students develop the skill of graph reading while gaining a visual impression of otherwise dry facts. The graphs can be duplicated and distributed to students individually or reproduced as thermofax sheets for overhead projection.

THE U.S.-JAPAN TRADE IMBALANCE: AN ECONOMIST'S PERSPECTIVE

(Teacher Background)

presents a clearly reasoned explanation for the economics issues that lie beneath the U.S.-Japan trade negotiations. Designed for teachers and advanced students, this unit is meant to provide background for the politically-oriented role play that follows.

U.S.-JAPAN TRADE RELATIONS: A ROLE PLAY

(Class Exercise)

using the technique of a role-play exercise, the unit attempts to present the many actors involved in influencing this very controversial area of U.S.-Japan relations: the trade deficit in favor of Japan. Students take the parts of politicians, interest groups, and government officials in both the U.S. and Japan--thereby gaining a better understanding of the variety of views that render this issue so complex in both Japan and the United States.

SECRETS OF JAPAN'S ECONOMIC SUCCESS

(Reading/Primary Source Selections)

discusses the many elements that have contributed to Japan's economic success through an introductory reading and a selection of newspaper articles on labor relations, management strategy, the role of the Japanese government in fostering economic growth, the Toyota Motor Company, as well as possible flaws in the Japanese system. Teachers can select any one of the articles, all of which are accompanied by questions for discussion. A concluding article addresses the problems that confront Japan as it strives to maintain its leading role in international trade.

THE JAPANESE ECONOMY NOW

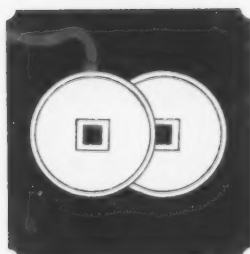
(Film Guide)

is an excellent film, available free of charge, that again discusses the basic aspects of Japan's economy and the prospects for economic growth and change in Japan in the 1980s. It describes the sober approach to continued economic growth that has been adopted by the Japanese in this "post-oil shock" period.

THE COLONEL COMES TO JAPAN

(Film Guide)

discusses an entertaining, Emmy Award winning video/film that provides a look at how one American company, Kentucky Fried Chicken, has penetrated the Japanese market to become an economic success.



ECONOMY AND TRADE / Resources

Resources for Teaching About the Japanese Economy

In addition to the units found in this section of Contemporary Japan: A Teaching Workbook, teachers are referred to several other excellent, highly recommended materials to expand student understanding of the Japanese economy and U.S.-Japan trade.

TEACHING ABOUT THE JAPANESE ECONOMY

Prepared under the auspices of the Joint Council on Economic Education and published in 1986, this 100-page booklet contains fifteen (15) classroom instructional activities for grades 7-12 (with recommended grade level noted on each activity). There is also a section of background information for teachers highlighting basic facts about the Japanese economy and major contrasts in values and attitudes between the United States and Japan.

Available from: Joint Council on Economic Education
432 Park Avenue South
3rd Floor
New York, NY 10016

Tel. (212)685-5499

Price: \$10.95, plus shipping and handling

MASTER CURRICULUM GUIDE IN ECONOMICS FOR THE NATIONS SCHOOLS (1980)

(Part I) A Framework for Teaching Economics: Basic Concepts

(Part II) Strategies for Teaching Economics

(#1) Junior High Level (Grades 7-9)

(#2) World Studies (Secondary Level)

These resources are excellent; the world studies volume in particular has case studies specifically relevant to Japan.

Available from: Joint Council on Economic Education
432 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10016

Tel. (212)685-5499

<u>Price:</u>	Part I	\$3.50
	Part II (#1)	6.00
	Part II (#2)	6.00
		\$15.50
	postage and handling	2.00
		\$17.50

AN INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL TRADE: FOCUS ON JAPAN AND THE U.S.

In this 95-page unit, designed for grades 7-12, students learn the importance of international trade as it relates to their own lives through a series of activities introducing the mechanics of trade and the U.S.-Japan trade relationship.

The materials are designed to answer the following questions: What is international trade? What wouldn't we have without it? How important is trade to our lives? How does international trade work? What is a trading company? Terms such as "tariff," "comparative advantage," "quality of life," and "interdependence" are illustrated.

Available from: The Japan Project/SPICE
Lou Henry Hoover Building, Room 200
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305-6012

Tel. (415)723-1116

Price: \$12.95

INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL TRADE (INTERCOM #108)

This special 64-page issue of Intercom, jointly published by SPICE and Global Perspectives in Education, presents an activity-oriented approach to international trade. Focusing on the U.S.-Japan trade relationship, the activities for grades 7-12 examine why nations trade, effects of trade, global production systems, and alternative government policies.

Available from: The Japan Project/SPICE
Lou Henry Hoover Building, Room 200
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305-6012

Tel. (415)723-1116

Price: \$8.95

THE GLOBAL PRODUCT: INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE AUTO INDUSTRY

Considerations related to internationalizing the sources of raw materials, and the manufacturing and marketing of products are the focus of this 43-page unit for grades 7-12. Interactions between cost, quality control, labor, organizational structure, and marketing strategies are presented. The primary case study is the auto, although reference is made to other products of relevance to students.

RESOURCES/3

The unit is designed to answer these questions: What is a "global product"? Why are autos produced globally? What are the effects of global auto production on consumers, workers, suppliers, car producers and their investors, or on societies in general? The culminating activity is a role-play deciding where to produce cars abroad, in which students are placed in the position of a chief executive officer (CEO) of a company faced with a dilemma. Critical reading exercises and interpretation of editorial cartoons complete the unit.

Available from: The Japan Project/SPICE
Lou Henry Hoover Building, Room 200
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305-6012

Tel. (415)723-1116

Price: \$9.95

LIVING IN A GLOBAL AGE (Trade Simulation Exercise)

In this 18-page unit, designed for grades 7-12, three groups attempt to assemble working flashlights in a simulation of international trade and communication. The interaction typifies the cooperation and conflict among the energy rich, technology rich, developed and developing countries of today.

Available from: The Japan Project/SPICE
Lou Henry Hoover Building, Room 200
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305-6012

Tel. (415)723-1116

Price: \$6.50

UNDERSTANDING THE JAPANESE ECONOMY

This 40-minute video considers the relationship between Japanese education and economic growth, the structure of Japanese corporations, and Japan in the world economy. A study guide is included.

Available from: Center for Economic Education
University of Wisconsin
SSS #481
Eau Claire, WI 54701

Price: \$49.00

Background for Teachers and for Independent Student Reports

- U.S.-ASIAN TRADE AND THE AMERICAN ECONOMY
by T.J. Pempel.

Produced and distributed by the Media Relations
Project, The Asia Society

This readable pamphlet contains a 27-page background
article and ten (10) pages of graphs and appendices.
An excellent resource for students and teachers inter-
ested in U.S. trade relations with both Japan and the
newly industrialized countries of Asia.

Available from: The Asia Society
Media Relations Project
725 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Price: \$5.00

- GREAT DECISIONS 1987

The Pacific Basin: Alliances,
Trade and Bases (Topic #4)

Foreign Investment in the U.S.
The Selling of America?
(Topic #6)

Published by the Foreign Policy Association, the Great
Decisions series for schools introduces students to current
United States policy on selected international issues, with
discussion of alternative options and strategies, maps,
graphs, charts, cartoons, photographs and opinion ballots.

Available from: The Foreign Policy Association
729 Seventh Avenue
New York, NY 10019

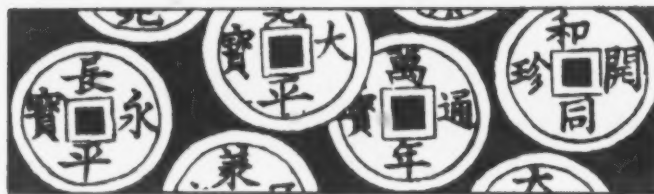
Price: Write for information on the topics
chosen for a given year and for current
prices. There is a discount offered on
quantity orders.

RESOURCES/5

- THE DIMENSIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF U.S.-JAPAN
TRADE AND TRADE FRICTION

This pamphlet contains an excellent visual presentation of the issues in U.S.-Japan trade that can be used on overhead projectors for students. The graphs and simple, clear explanations were prepared by Joseph G. Kuasnicka, vice president and economic adviser for the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago.

Available from: Center for International Security
& Strategic Studies
P.O. Drawer Y
Mississippi State University
Jackson, MS 39262



Statistics

TO THE TEACHER Many of the exercises below use statistics and charts describing Japan's economy. To keep these materials up-to-date and to develop your own exercises on Japan's economy, it is recommended that you send for the following excellent resources which are available free or at very low charge.

- Keizai Koho Center
(Japan Institute for Social and Economic Affairs)
6-1, Otemachi 1-chome
Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo 100, Japan

Japan 1987: An International Comparison

This excellent little pamphlet of statistics is the source of most of the graphs in this workbook. It is issued annually on September 1, so you should request the current year. Check your local Japan Information Service (addresses below), which may have copies available, before writing directly to the Keizai Koho Center.

- Public Affairs Office
Japan Trade Center/JETRO*
1221 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10020

*Office also in Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

The Japan Trade Center/JETRO (or Japan External Trade Relations Organization) publishes a series of pamphlets and loans excellent films free of charge. Contact the office

near you for the packet of materials and listing of available films. See "Energy Conservation in Japan" in the INTRODUCTION and "Kachō" in the SOCIETY section, and "The Japanese Economy Now" in the ECONOMY AND TRADE section of the workbook for exercises based on their films.

- Japan Information Service Center
Consulate General of Japan*
229 Park Avenue, 18th Floor
New York, NY 10171

*Offices also in: Anchorage, Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Guam, Honolulu, Houston, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Portland (Oregon), San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.

- * Statistical Handbook of Japan
(Prime Minister's Office, Statistics Bureau, 1980)
This small pamphlet contains statistics on household budgets and prices of food, housing, durable consumer goods and the like that might be of interest to students. Request the latest edition of this pamphlet from your local consulate.
- * Facts and Figures of Japan
(Foreign Press Center, Japan, 1980)
Statistics and facts on the land, the population, the government, the economy, the family, education, and surveys comparing attitudes of Japanese and American youth toward school, family, leisure activity, and goals. Request the latest edition of this pamphlet from your local consulate.
- * The Japan of Today
(Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1980)
The back cover has several good graphs of foreign trade.
- * Japan's Economy and Japan-U.S. Trade: 100 Questions and Answers
(The Japan Times, Ltd., 1982)
- * Twenty-Five Questions and Answers on Japan-U.S. Relations
(Consulate General of New York, 1983)

- Editor
Japan Institute of International Affairs
19 Mori Building
Toranomon 1-2-20
Minato-ku
Tokyo, Japan

White Papers of Japan: Annual Abstract of Official Reports and Statistics of the Japanese Government

This very useful publication is a compilation of abstracts from the many white papers published by the various ministries of the Japanese government each year. The abstracts are translated from the Japanese and published in English. An excellent source of up-to-date, official information. Contact your local consulate, which may have copies, before writing to Japan.

Japan's Economy and Trade

TO THE TEACHER

This unit provides basic facts about Japan's economy while giving students practice at reading simple graphs. Each graph is accompanied by a short explanation and questions to be answered. The exercise can be conducted in two ways: either reproduce and distribute copies of the student worksheets, containing reduced copies of each graph, to students individually, or make transparencies from the large copies of the graphs at the end of the unit to show to the entire class for general discussion.

The following basic points can be made using the graph exercises:

--Japan is a major economic power in the world. (GRAPH EXERCISE 1)

--Japan's economy has grown very fast over the past thirty years; this growth has been based on increases in worker productivity due to: increased capital (machines, etc.) per worker; advances in technology; education of a skilled labor force; supportive government policies and a good world trade environment. When compared to the growth of the economies of other countries, Japan's growth is often referred to as "a miracle." (GRAPH EXERCISE 2)

--Economic growth has brought a high standard of living to the Japanese people: on the average to about four-fifths of the level of the standard of living in the United States, although income is more equally distributed in Japan. (GRAPH EXERCISE 3)

--Today, Japan has a "postindustrial," extremely advanced economy like that of the United States, and has witnessed

ECONOMY AND TRADE/2

similar changes in what consumers are able to buy and want to buy. (GRAPH EXERCISE 4)

--Japan is an island nation whose land area is very small, but its population is relatively large. Japan is the seventh most populous nation in the world. (GRAPH EXERCISE 6)

--The amount of land in Japan suitable for agriculture (arable) is insufficient to produce enough food for Japan's large population. Therefore, Japan must buy (import) much of its food needs from other countries. (GRAPH EXERCISES 6 and 5)

--Japan lacks many raw materials necessary for industry and energy, such as oil, coal, iron ore, copper, aluminum, and wood. Japan must also import these. (GRAPH EXERCISE 7)

--To enable it to purchase raw materials, energy, and food from other countries, Japan sells (exports) to other countries a variety of manufactured goods, including such products as electronic equipment and cars. (GRAPH EXERCISE 8)

--Trade with other countries (international trade) is therefore very important to Japan. (GRAPH EXERCISE 8 and SUMMARY QUESTIONS 1 and 2)

--The goods that Japan exports as of 1984 reflect its economic growth and the resulting change in the type of goods it can sell competitively on the international market (or areas of "comparative advantage") from agricultural to manufactured goods, and from textiles, to steel and now cars. Japan is not competitive internationally in agriculture because of lack of land; in simple manufacturing that requires relatively large amounts of labor that is now expensive in Japan; or in petrochemicals, aluminum and other areas that use energy, as energy is expensive in Japan. (GRAPH EXERCISE 8)

--Japan sells (exports) to other countries, such as the United States, which need these kinds of products. It buys raw materials from many countries and food from many countries, but particularly the United States.

Japan purchases oil from the Middle East. Since the price of oil rose in 1973, Japan has had to spend the greatest part of its international trade funds to buy oil. Middle Eastern countries cannot use all the products needs to sell or trade for the oil, so Japan has to sell its products elsewhere.

When a country sells more to one nation than it buys from it, the trade between the two countries ("bilateral trade") is not balanced. In a world where many countries trade, it is natural for countries to run bilateral trade deficits with

some countries and bilateral trade surpluses with others. This is because trade encourages nations to specialize in the production of things they produce well and to import those things they cannot produce as well as some other countries can.

The more specialized a nation becomes the more likely it is to run a trade deficit with the nations that supply the inputs, and to run a trade surplus with countries that buy the final product. This pattern holds particularly well for Japan. Japan buys coal and other raw materials from Australia and uses these imports to make high technology items. It cannot sell enough of the finished items to the Australians to pay for the raw materials it buys from them. So, it runs a trade deficit with Australia and pays for it by running a trade surplus with some other nation, for example, France. (GRAPH 8B)

Japan and the United States are very important to each other as trading partners. (GRAPH 8B) However, there is an imbalance in their trade. (GRAPH 9) This is part of the pattern mentioned above. Japan is using its trade surpluses with the United States to pay for its trade deficits with the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Nations) nations.

Related Workbook Units

Japan as an advanced, postindustrial society:

The Japanese Economy Now
Energy Conservation in Japan
Pollution: Japan meets the challenge

all are film-based units that provide excellent visual images of an advanced Japan.

Japan's economic "miracle":

Secrets of Japan's Economic Success

Trade relations:

U.S.-Japan Trade Relations: A Role Play Exercise

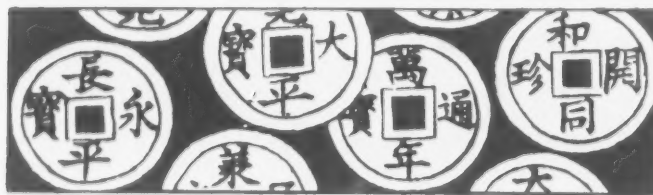


INDEX TO GRAPH EXERCISES

- Graph Exercise 1: How Does the Size of the Japanese Economy Compare with that of Other Countries?
- Graph Exercise 2: How Does the Growth of Japan's Economy Compare with that of Other Countries?
- Graph Exercise 3: Where Does Japan Stand in the World in Terms of the Standard of Living Enjoyed by Its Population?
- Graph Exercise 4: How Advanced is Japan's Economy?
- Graph Exercise 5: Is Japan Self Sufficient in Food Production?
- Graph Exercise 6: Why Does Japan Have to Import Food?
- Graph Exercise 7: How Dependent is Japan on Trade with Other Countries for Natural Resources and Energy?
- Graph Exercise 8: Who are Japan's Leading Trade Partners? and What Does Japan Buy and What Does it Sell?
-

SUMMARY QUESTIONS

9. Why is foreign trade important to Japan?
10. Is Japan's foreign trade important to other countries?



GRAPH EXERCISE 1: HOW DOES THE SIZE OF THE JAPANESE ECONOMY COMPARE WITH THAT OF OTHER COUNTRIES?

A country's economy produces a wide variety of things. Economists usually divide economic production into goods (cars, televisions, gasoline, food) and services (insurance, legal advice, entertainment, education). The total amount of goods and services produced in one year is called the Gross National Product (GNP). GNP translates the value of all things produced in an economy into money, which makes it possible to compare the size of one country's economy with another's.

GRAPH 1

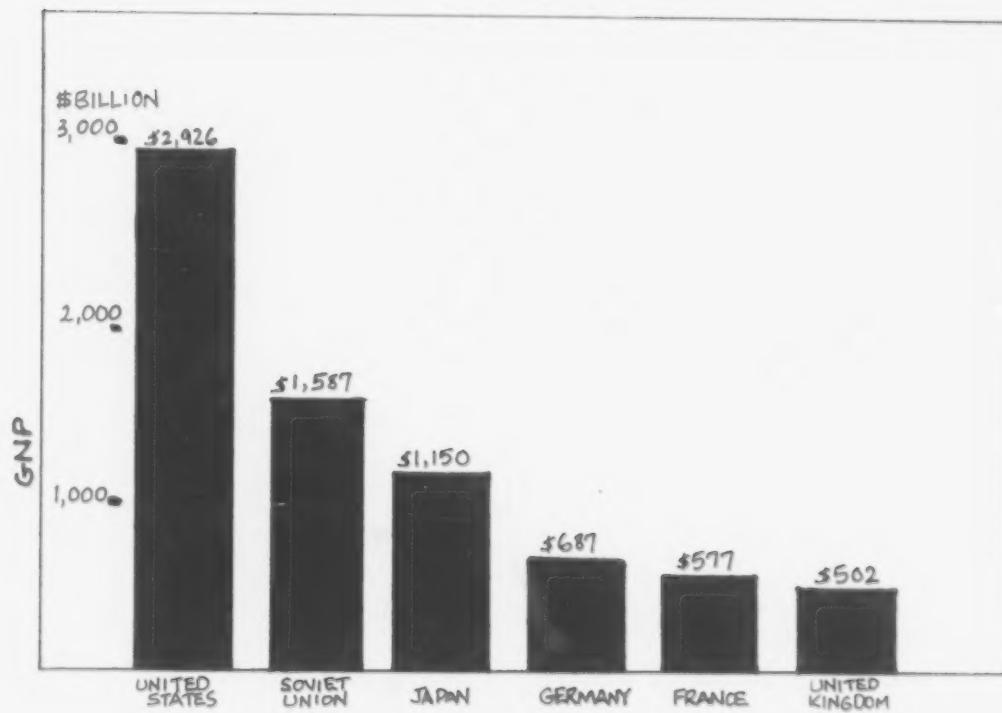
Graph 1 shows the GNP of the United States, the Soviet Union, Germany, France, Britain, and Japan for 1981. These are the six leading economic powers in the world.

1. What does GNP measure?

2. The economy of the United States, with a GNP of almost \$3 trillion, is the largest in the world. What rank would you given Japan among the six leading economic powers?

3. What does the graph not tell us? What else would you have to know about Japan to know how the size of Japan's economy affects such things as the standard of living of the population?

GRAPH 1
Six Leading Economic Powers:
The Size of their Economies
in the 1980s



Source: Keizai Koho Center, Japan 1983, p. 1. Figures are for 1981.

GRAPH EXERCISE 2. HOW DOES THE GROWTH OF JAPAN'S ECONOMY COMPARE WITH THAT OF OTHER COUNTRIES?

Thirty years ago, all the goods and services produced in the United States each year (the GNP, or economy) amounted to much more than those produced by Germany, France, Britain, or Japan. Between 1950 and 1980, although the U.S. economy continued to grow, the economies of these other countries grew at a faster rate. By 1980 the U.S. economy was still the largest, but other countries had begun to catch up.

GRAPH 2A

Graph 2A measures the amount of all goods and services (GNP) produced in each country as a percentage of the amount produced in the United States. The countries whose economies are measured are Britain, France, Germany, and Japan. The years for which they are measured are 1951, 1955, 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975, and 1980.

1. Which of the four countries had the smallest economies in 1950?

Can you explain this with respect to each country?

Which the largest (other than the United States)?

2. Which country had the largest economy in 1980 (other than the United States)? Which the smallest?
3. Which economy grew the most between 1951 and 1980?

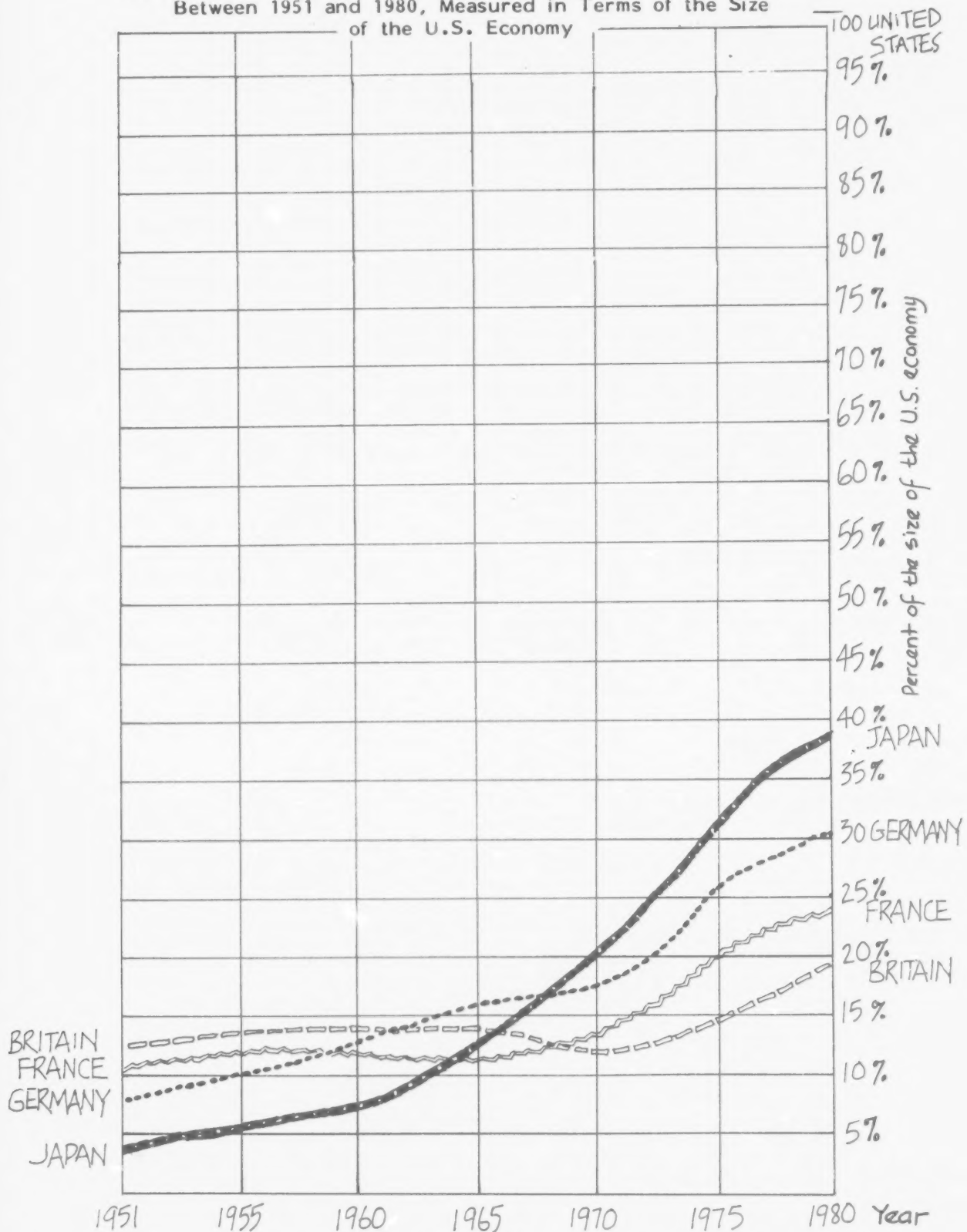
GRAPH 2B

Graph 2B compares the growth of Japan's economy with the economies of five other countries in terms of how much was produced per person per year over 100 years, from 1880 to 1980.

1. Which economy(ies) has(have) shown the greatest growth?
2. Which the slowest?
3. In what way(s) is the information given by this graph different from that given in graph 2A?

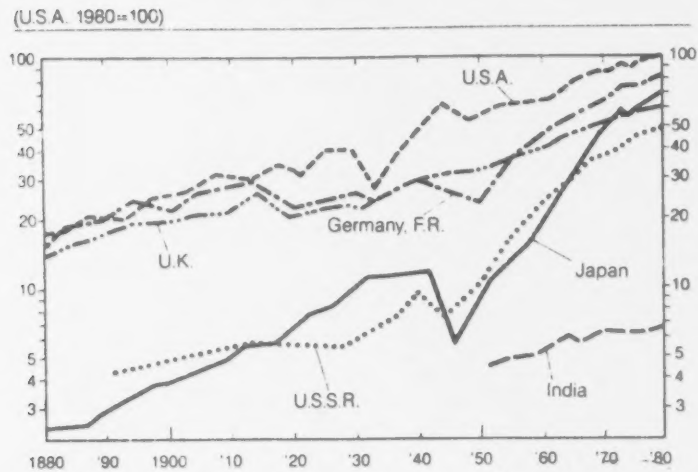
Which information is more important to you?
Turn to Graph Exercise 3.

Graph 2A
Growth of the Economies of Japan, Germany, Britain, and France
Between 1951 and 1980, Measured in Terms of the Size
of the U.S. Economy



Source: Keizai Koho Center, Japan 1983, p. 4.

Graph 2B
Growth of Real Per Capita GNP
in Six Countries, 1880-1980



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Economics, 11th edition, by Paul A. Samuelson. Copyright 1980
by McGraw-Hill, Inc.

GRAPH EXERCISE 3. WHERE DOES JAPAN STAND IN THE WORLD IN TERMS OF THE STANDARD OF LIVING ENJOYED BY ITS POPULATION?

In addition to knowing how large a country's economy is or how fast it is growing, economists like to relate this to the size of the country's population.

Economists divide the total economic production in one year (GNP) by the number of people in the country (the population) to get the amount of production per person, called the GNP per person (or per capita, meaning per head).

GRAPH 3

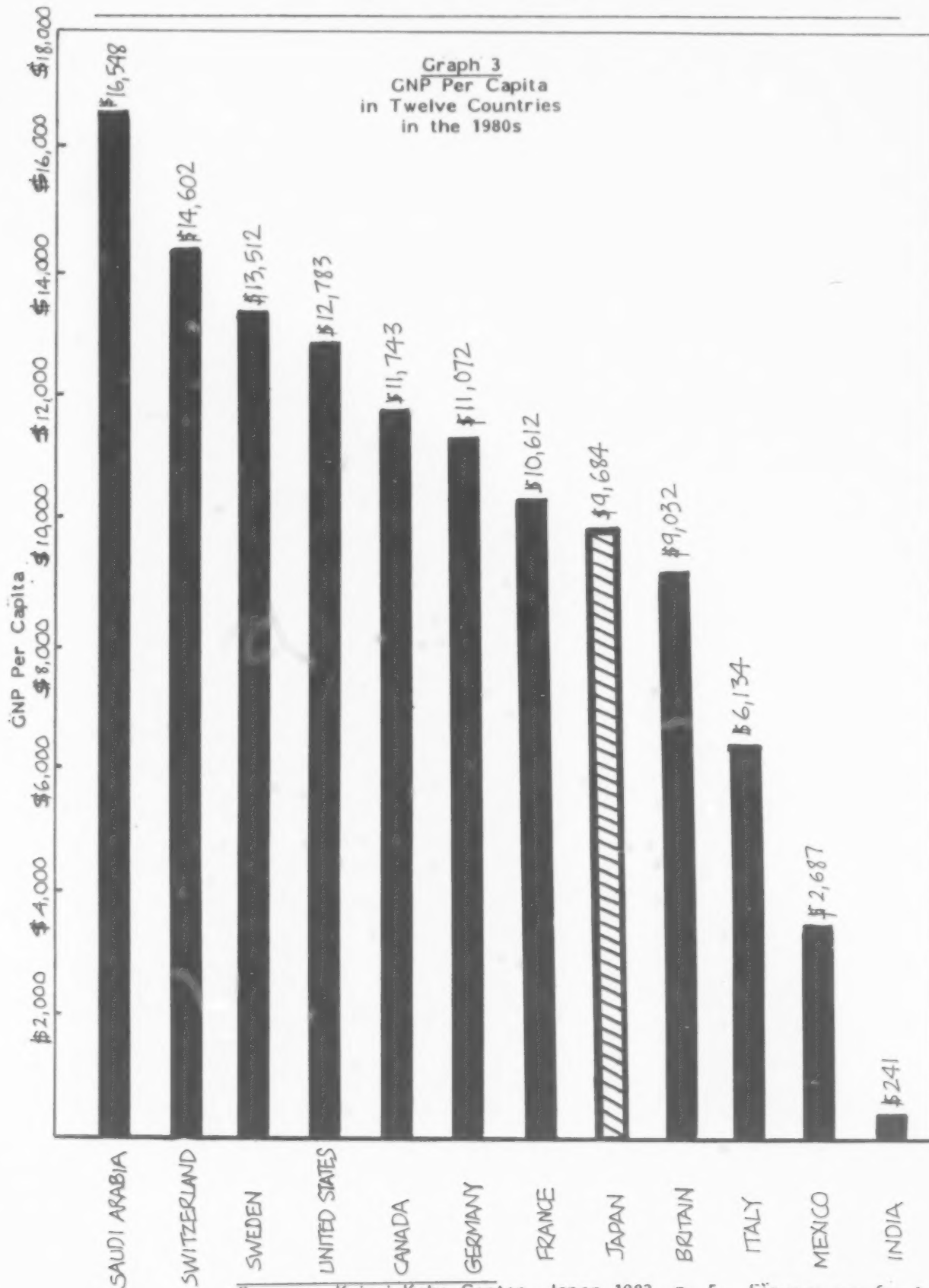
Graph 3 shows GNP per person of twelve countries.

1. What does "per capita" mean?
2. Which country has the largest GNP per person?
3. If we rank these countries, beginning with the one with the largest income per person and ending with the smallest, what is Japan's rank?
4. We know from Graph 1 that Japan's total economic production in one year is greater than that of Germany or France. But on this graph, Japan's GNP per capita is smaller than that of Germany or France. What does this tell you about Japan's population compared with the population of Germany or France?
5. What is the GNP per capita in Japan?
6. What is measured by the graph? What is not measured?
7. What reasons can you give to explain why Saudi Arabia has a higher GNP per capita than a country like India?

Does this necessarily tell you everything you need to know to estimate the people's standard of living in each country?

8. What does the graph tell us about the actual standard of living of each person in Japan?

As you see all that you can learn from this particular economic measure is what the general wealth of the country is and therefore what the average income (standard of living) of each person might be. But the actual standard of living of each person depends on how income is distributed between rich and poor. Thirty years ago, in the early 1950s, Japan had much real poverty; now there is very little. Income is more equally distributed.



Source: Keizai Koho Center, Japan 1983, p. 5. Figures are for 1981.

GRAPH EXERCISE 4. HOW ADVANCED IS JAPAN'S ECONOMY?

Economists determine how advanced a country's economy is by comparing how many people work in agriculture, industry, or services (such as stores, insurance companies, television and radio stations, railways and airlines, or government offices).

According to economic theory, economies become more technologically advanced in stages:

All societies begin as agricultural societies, where most people are involved in growing food to eat (an agricultural society).

When the introduction of fertilizers, better seeds, and farm machinery makes food production more efficient, greater numbers of people can move away from farms to work in industry (an industrial society). At the same time, as people's incomes rise, they spend more money on goods produced by industry.

As manufacturing becomes highly productive through the use of more sophisticated machines (computers and robots included), more people leave manufacturing industries to work in "service industries." This again corresponds with a greater demand for services by the people.

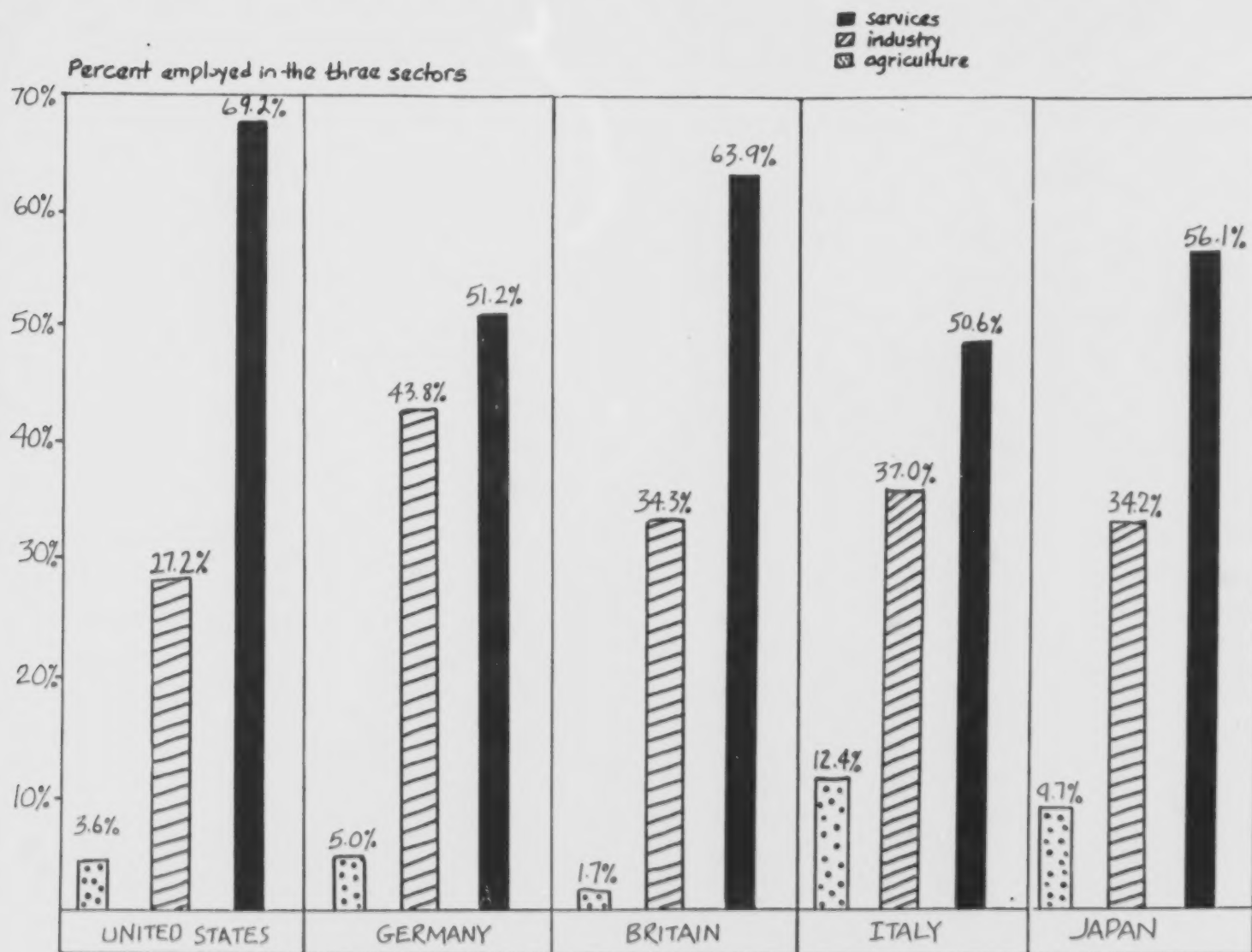
An "advanced" economy is one in which the "service industries" employ the most people, due to a combination of a shift in consumer demand and changes in the production efficiency of agriculture and industry.

GRAPH 4A

Graph 4A shows how many people were employed in agriculture, industry, or services in five countries.

1. Which section of the economy employed the fewest people in each country?
2. Which employed the most?
3. How do economists measure how "advanced" an economy is?
4. According to the definition of an "advanced" economy used by economists, to what extent do these countries all have advanced economies? Explain.
5. Rank the countries in the graph from most advanced to least advanced.
6. How would you draw the profile of an economy much less advanced?

Graph 4A
Employment in Agriculture,
Industry and Services in Technologically
Advanced Economies



Source: Keizai Koho Center, Japan 1983, p. 14 and Japan 1984, p. 20. Figures are for 1982.

GRAPH 4B

Graph 4B shows how many people were employed in each sector of Japan's economy--agriculture, industry, services--in 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980.

1. In which year on the graph did Japan's economy first fit the description of an "advanced" economy?

Why?

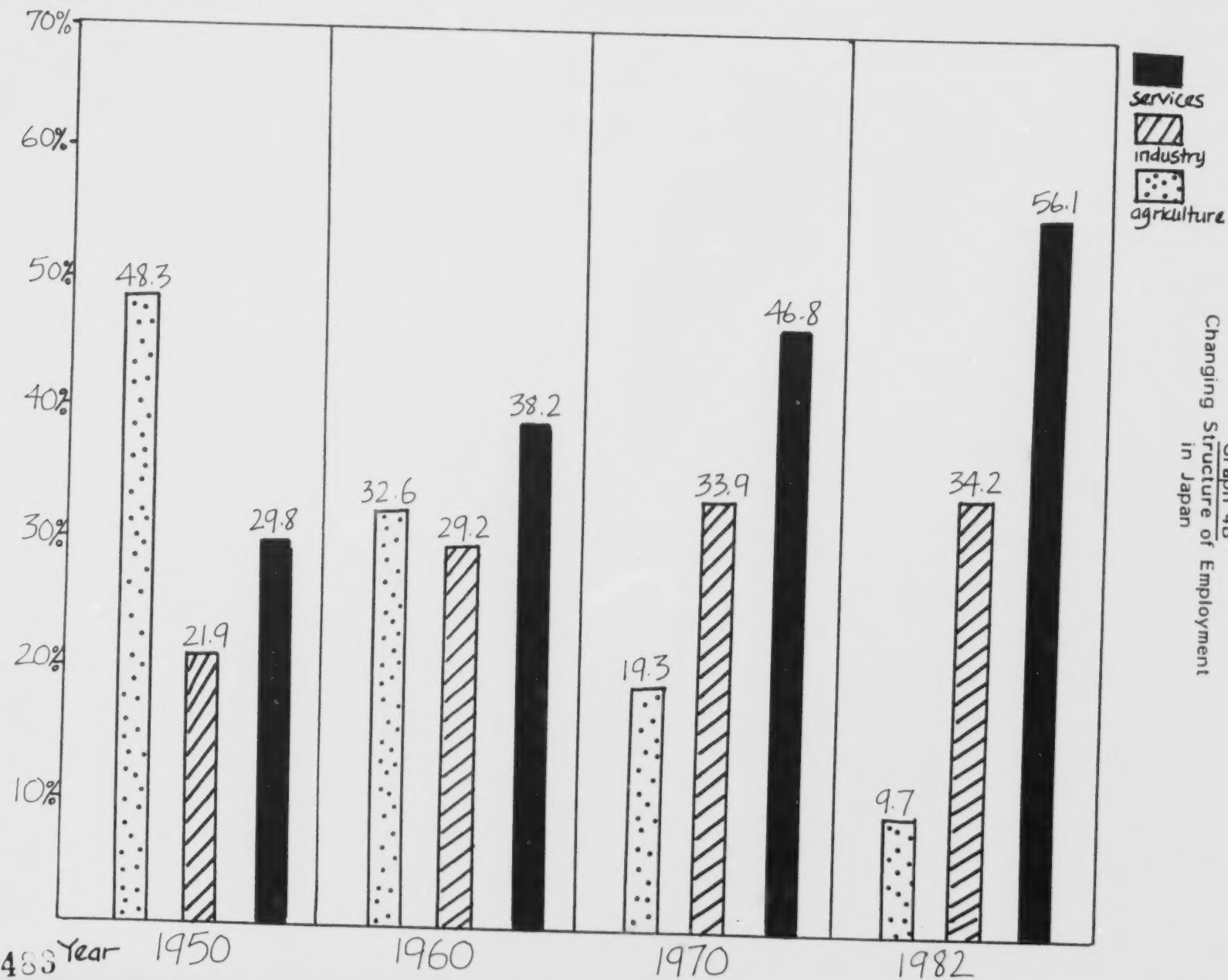
How does the information in the graph tell you this?

2. Why did the changes represented in the graph occur?

3. What changes are likely to occur in Japan in future years?

Graph 4B
Changing Structure of Employment
in Japan

PERCENT EMPLOYED



Source: Keizai Koho Center, Japan 1983, p. 14.

GRAPH EXERCISE 5. IS JAPAN SELF-SUFFICIENT IN FOOD PRODUCTION?

Traditionally, Japanese eat little meat, substituting fish and soy beans as sources of protein. Tofu, soy sauce, and miso bean paste are all made from soy beans. As a staple, Japanese now eat an increasing amount of noodles and bread as well as rice. Noodles and bread are both made from wheat.

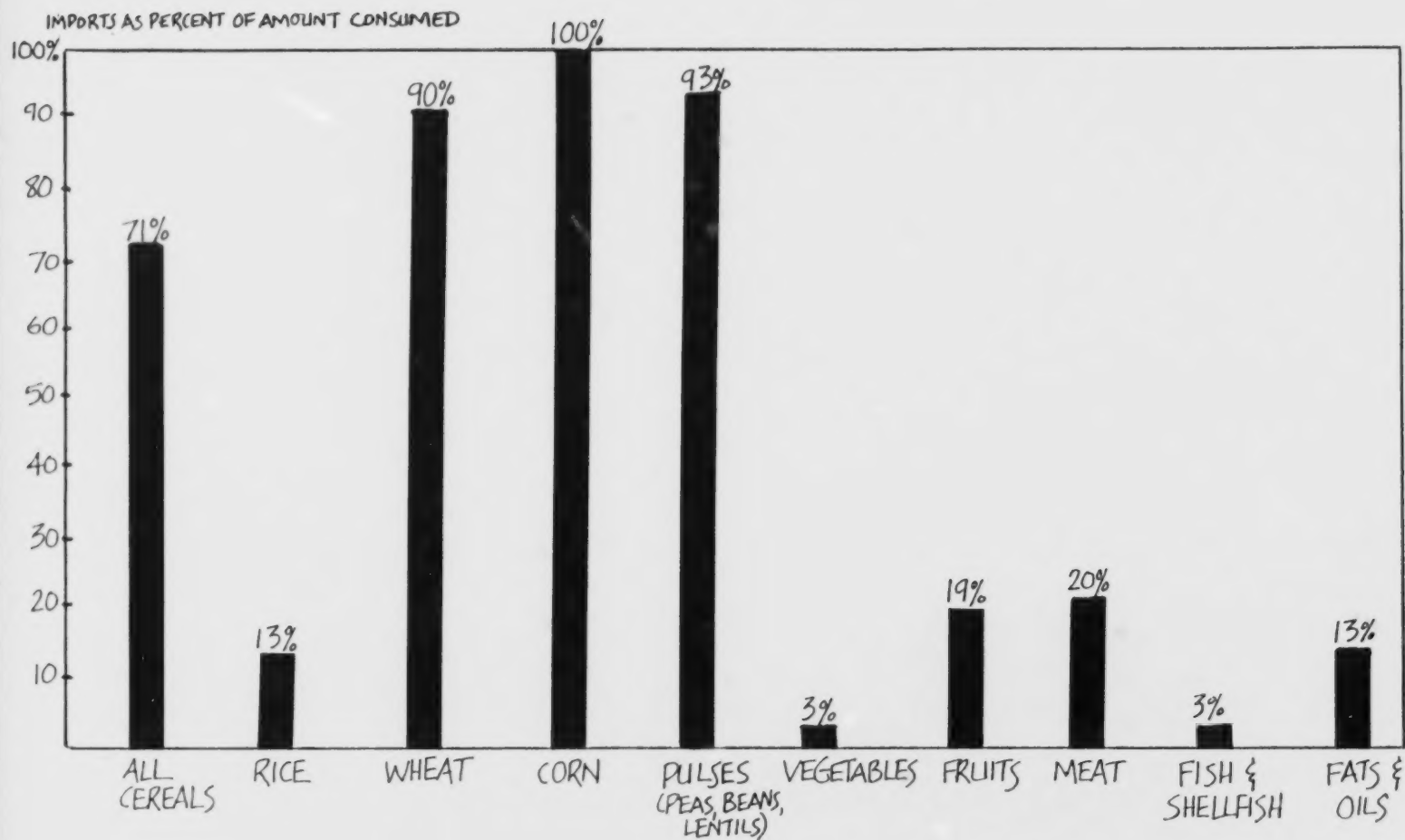
GRAPH 5

Graph 5 shows the degree to which Japan depends on buying (importing) various food items from other countries to feed its population in the 1980s.

1. Soy beans fall into the category of "pulses." What percent of that category was imported by Japan?
2. What percent of the wheat used to make noodles and bread was imported?
3. If soy beans and wheat are important to the Japanese diet, what problems does the graph illustrate? Explain.
4. What reasons can you give to explain why Japan must import food?

Turn to GRAPH EXERCISE 6

Graph 5
Japan's Food Demand and Supply
Imports as a Percent of Total
Amount Consumed in Each Category
in the 1980s



486

487

Source: Keizai Koho Center, Japan 1983, p. 11. Figures are for 1980.

GRAPH EXERCISE 6. WHY DOES JAPAN HAVE TO IMPORT FOOD?

The Japanese islands are small (about the size of Montana or California). Japan's population, however, is very large: Japan is the seventh most populous country in the world. Table 6A shows this.

Chart 6B compares Japan and the United States, as well as eleven other countries, showing how many people live on the land area of each.

Japan's land area is not only small but very mountainous. Four-fifths of the land is covered by mountains. Cities and farms compete for this small amount of land.

TABLE 6A AND CHART 6B

1. Compare Japan's rank on table 6A with its rank on chart 6B. How can you explain the difference?
2. What does chart 6B tell you about Japan's ability to feed its population? What information is missing? See Graph 6C.

GRAPH 6C

Graph 6C shows what percent of land is arable (land on which food can be cultivated) in Japan and the United States and how many people are living off this land.

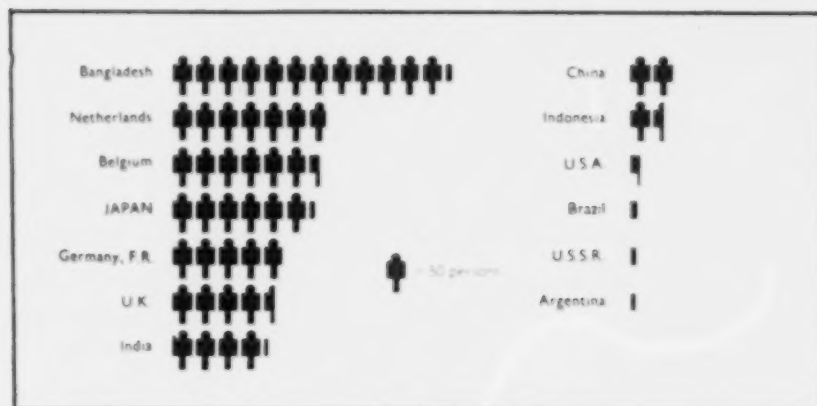
1. What is "arable" land?
2. What percent of the land in Japan is arable?
3. In the United States?
4. How many people are there per square kilometer of arable land in Japan? (A square kilometer is a little smaller than a square mile.)
5. In the United States?
6. In which country would there be a more favorable situation for agriculture?
7. Which country would have more difficulty growing food for its population?

Table 6A
The World's Ten Most Populous Countries
1984

1.	CHINA	1,034.5 billion
2.	INDIA	746.4 million
3.	USSR	274.0 million
4.	USA	236.3 million
5.	INDONESIA	161.6 million
6.	BRAZIL	134.4 million
7.	JAPAN	119.9 million
8.	BANGLADESH	99.6 million
9.	PAKISTAN	97.3 million
10.	NIGERIA	88.1 million

Source: 1984 World Population Data Sheet of the Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C.

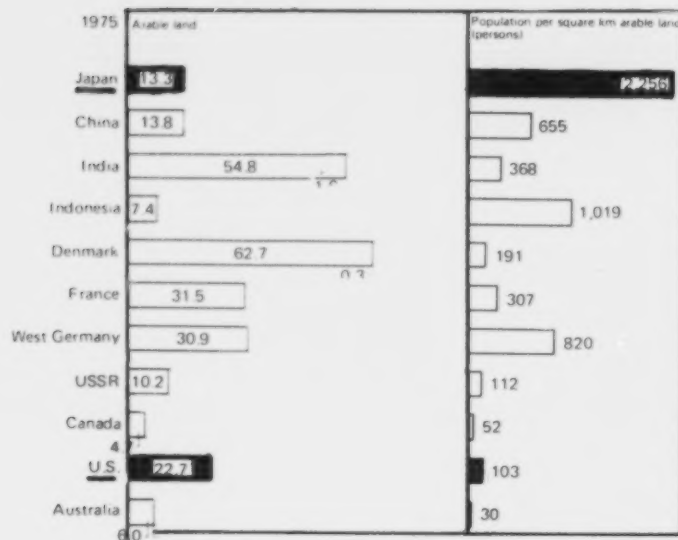
Chart 6B
Population Per Square Kilometer* in Thirteen Countries



*a kilometer is .62 of a mile.

Source: Statistics Bureau, Prime Minister's Office, Japan, Statistical Handbook of Japan, 1982, p. 17. Figures are for 1980.

Graph 6C
Comparison of Land Use,
Japan and the United States



Source: *FAO Production Yearbook*, 1976 Source: *Demographic Yearbook*, U.N., 1976.

Source: Foreign Press Center, *Japan Facts and Figures of Japan*, 1980 edition, p. 13. Figures are for 1975.

GRAPH EXERCISE 7. HOW DEPENDENT IS JAPAN ON TRADE WITH OTHER COUNTRIES FOR NATURAL RESOURCES AND ENERGY?

For industry, every country must have raw materials that can be used to build factories and machinery and make products. In addition to oil, some important raw materials are coal, iron ore, copper, aluminum, and wood. If a country does not have these resources, it must import them from other countries.

Japan's domestic energy sources are small, mostly hydroelectric power and coal. As Japan's economy has grown, it has needed to buy (import) vast quantities of energy, particularly oil and coal, from other countries.

TABLE 7A

Table 7A compares seven countries and shows what percent of each country's energy needs are imported.

1. Rank the seven countries in the table according to the degree to which they are dependent on imports for their energy needs. (Rank them from most dependent to least dependent.)

What rank is Japan?

2. The table shows the degree to which Japan was dependent on foreign imports for its energy in 1976, 1978, 1980, and 1982. What change is there in the percentages shown?

What reason(s) can you give for this change?

3. How do you think Japan's efforts at energy conservation and the development of alternative energy sources will affect Japan's dependence on imported energy in the future?

4. What other raw materials, besides energy sources are necessary for industry?

See Graph 7B.

Table 7A
Energy Requirements, Production, Trade, and
Degree of Dependency on Imports
for Seven Countries, 1982

(million metric tons of oil equivalent, except %)

		Total Energy Require- ments	Production, Primary Sources						Trade		Degree of Dependency on Imports ($\frac{B-C}{A+B-C}$)
			Total (A)	Crude Oil and NGL ^{a)}	Solid Fuels	Natural Gas	Nuclear Power	Hydro, Geothermal, and Solar	Imports (B)	Exports (C)	
Japan	1976	348.72	47.16	0.60	14.26	2.24	8.35	21.71	316.17	0.57	87.0%
	1978	362.34	49.55	0.57	13.64	2.37	14.53	18.44	323.48	1.35	86.7
	1980	362.78	56.99	0.55	11.45	1.97	20.24	22.78	324.75	3.34	84.9
	1982	343.66	58.80	0.52	10.54	1.84	25.10	20.81	294.92	3.72	83.2
U.S.A.		1,750.10	1,599.28	486.42	552.09	422.92	66.95	70.89	289.78	105.52	10.3
Germany, F.R.		254.75	130.91	4.99	94.37	12.96	14.20	4.39	158.45	27.85	49.9
Canada		217.01	238.09	74.03	30.58	66.67	7.82	58.99	30.57	52.92	-10.4
U.K.		196.71	224.60	105.89	75.27	32.37	9.82	1.26	59.21	81.32	-10.9
France		184.92	62.38	2.48	13.98	5.53	24.33	16.06	135.62	14.94	65.9
Italy		134.75	27.93	1.79	1.46	12.70	1.52	10.46	129.31	15.44	80.3
OECD, total		3,586.10	2,706.00	732.52	905.27	647.77	172.30	248.13	1,467.24	509.59	26.1

a) Natural gas liquid.

Source: OECD, *Energy Balances of OECD Countries, 1970-1982*.

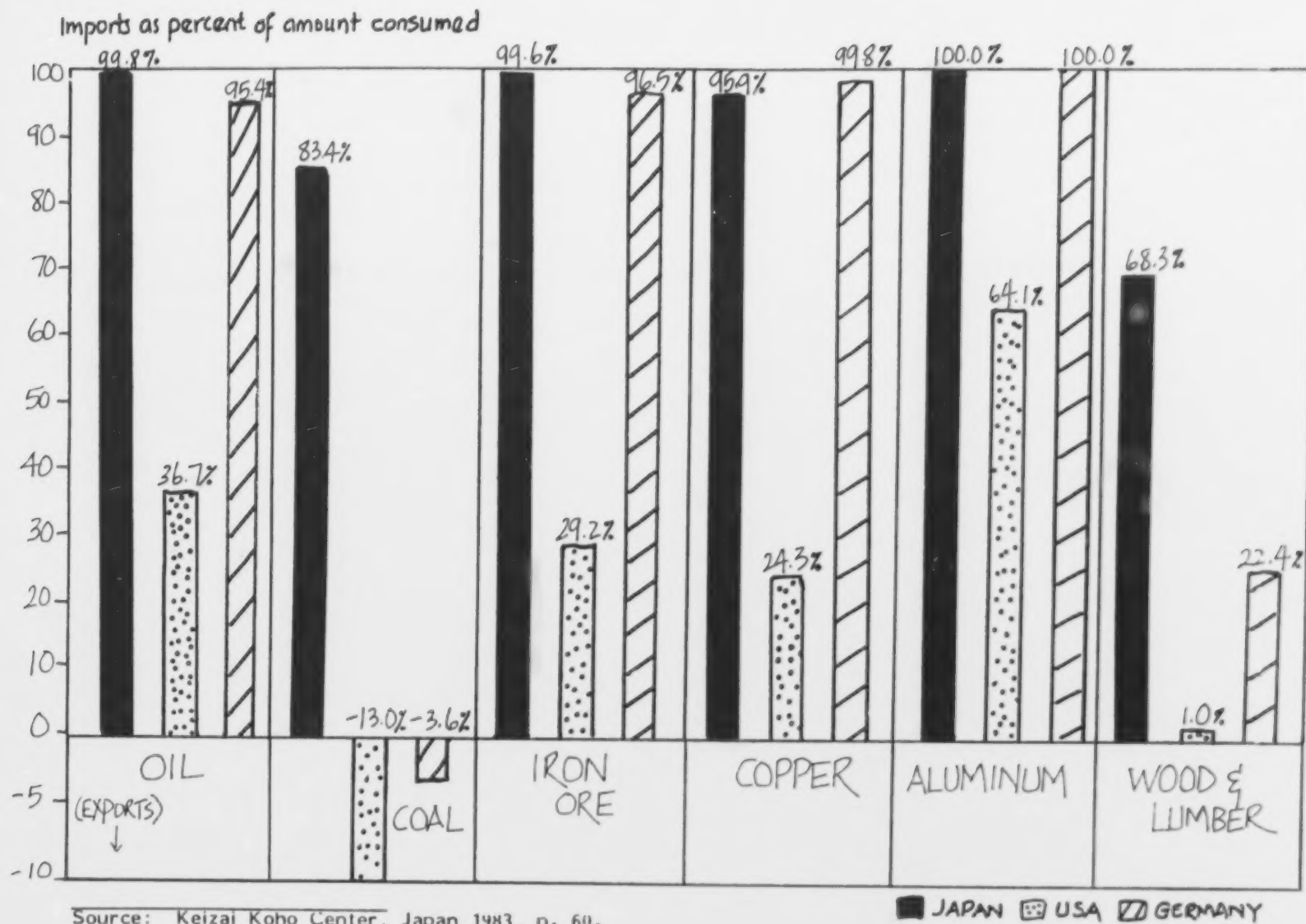
Source: Keizai Koho Center, *Japan 1984*, p. 58. Figures are for 1982.

GRAPH 7B

Graph 7B compares the United States, Germany, and Japan, three very large industrial powers. It shows how much each country must import of certain raw materials.

1. Which country imports the greatest portion of its oil?
2. The greatest portion of its coal?
3. The greatest portion of its iron ore?
4. The greatest portion of its copper?
5. The greatest portion of its aluminum?
6. The greatest portion of its wood?
7. Which country is most dependent on imports of raw materials for its industries?
8. In 1973, when the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) increased the price of oil, Japan suffered what it called the "oil shock." Why?
9. How do you think the continued growth of Japan's economy will affect its dependence on raw materials? Explain.
10. Would this make Japan more or less dependent on international trade? Explain.

Graph 78
Degree of Dependence on Imports for Raw Materials



Source: Keizai Koho Center, Japan 1983, p. 60.
Figures are for 1981.

GRAPH EXERCISE 8: WHO ARE JAPAN'S LEADING TRADE PARTNERS? WHAT DOES JAPAN BUY AND WHAT DOES IT SELL?

As we have seen, much of Japan's food, energy, and raw materials must come from other countries. To have the money to import these items, Japan must sell (export) other goods. This is foreign trade an exchange of goods among countries of the world.

GRAPHS 8A AND 8B

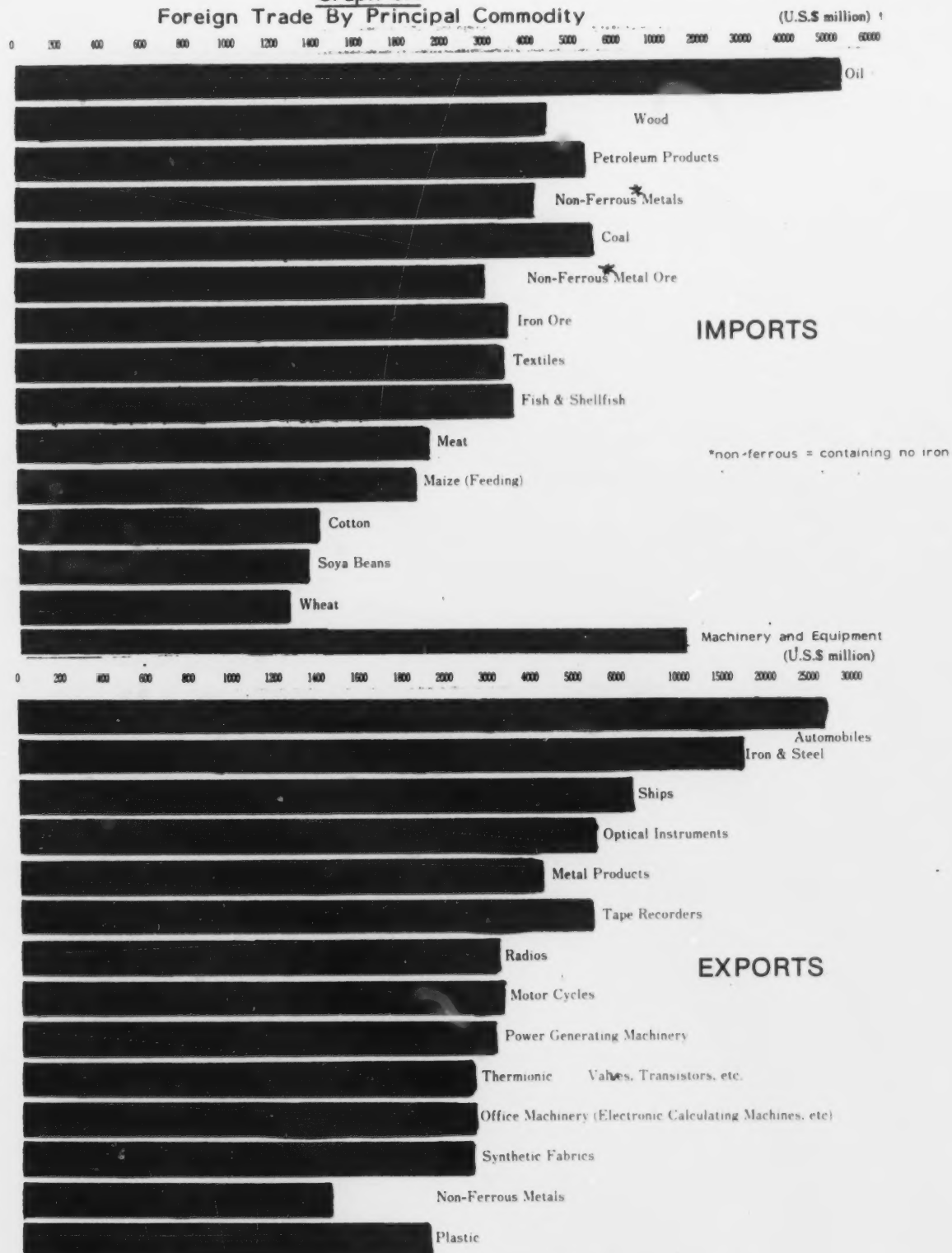
Graphs 8A and 8B show (1) what Japan sells and which countries it sells to (exports); and (2) what Japan buys and which countries it buys from (imports).

1. If you had to put all the items Japan exports into one category, which would it be raw materials, agricultural products, or manufactured goods?
2. Into what category would you put those that Japan imports?
3. Which item accounts for the greatest portion of Japan's exports?
4. Which item accounts for the greatest portion of Japan's imports?
5. Which country buys the greatest portion of Japan's exports? Explain this in terms of the type of goods Japan exports.
6. From which country or world area does Japan buy the greatest portions of its imports? Explain this in terms of the type of goods Japan imports.
7. China is a very large, populous country that is Japan's geographic neighbor in Asia.

Approximately what percent of Japan's imports come from China?

Approximately what percent of Japan's exports go to China? Explain why trade between China and Japan is not larger.

Graph 8A
Foreign Trade By Principal Commodity

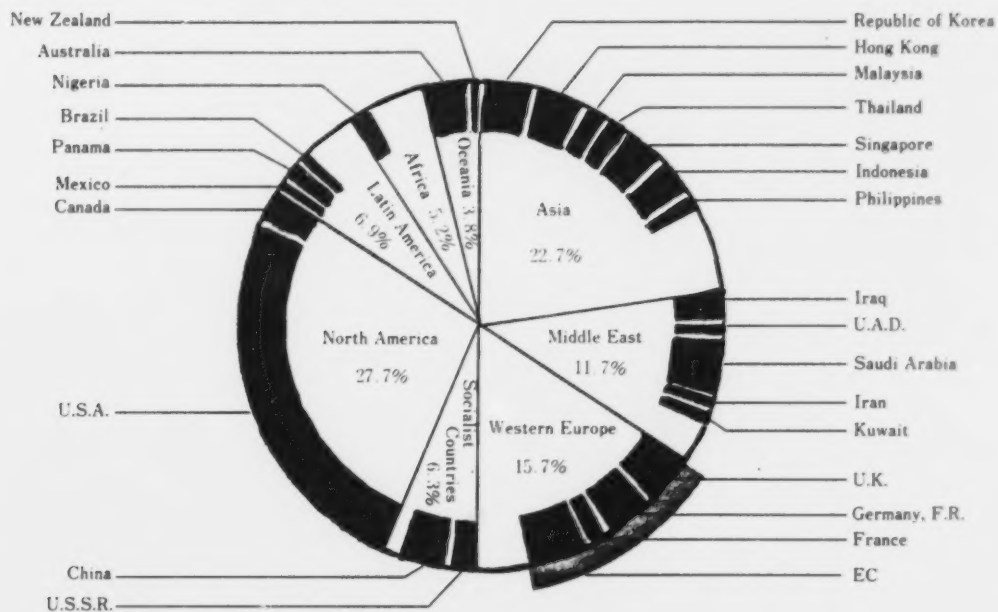


Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, The Japan of Today, 1983, pp. 144-145 and Keizai Koho Center, Japan 1984, p. 43.
Figures are for 1981.

Graph 8B
Foreign Trade by Areas and Countries

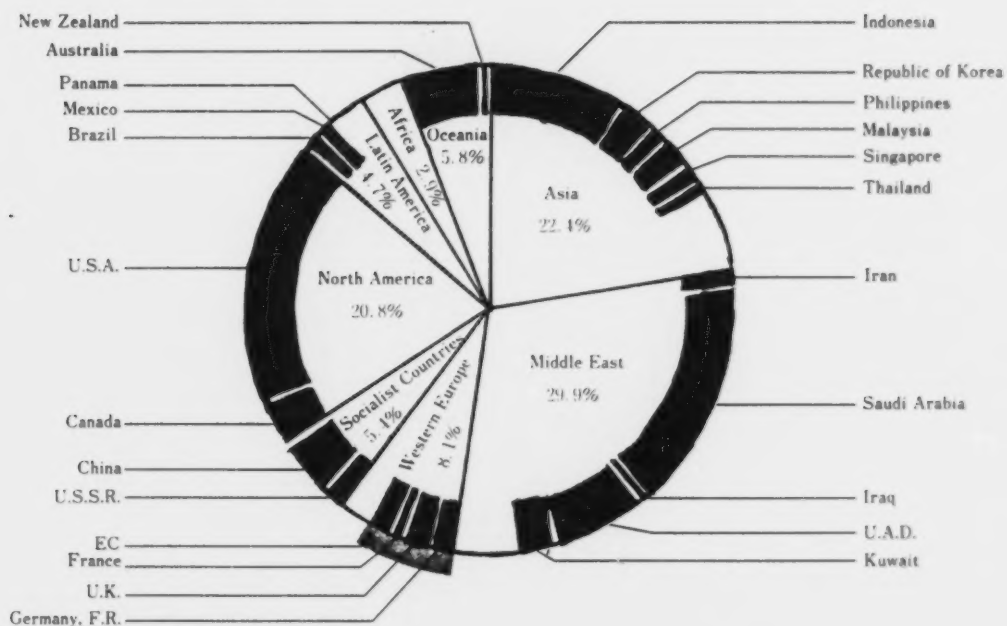
● **EXPORTS**

(U.S.\$ 152,030 million)



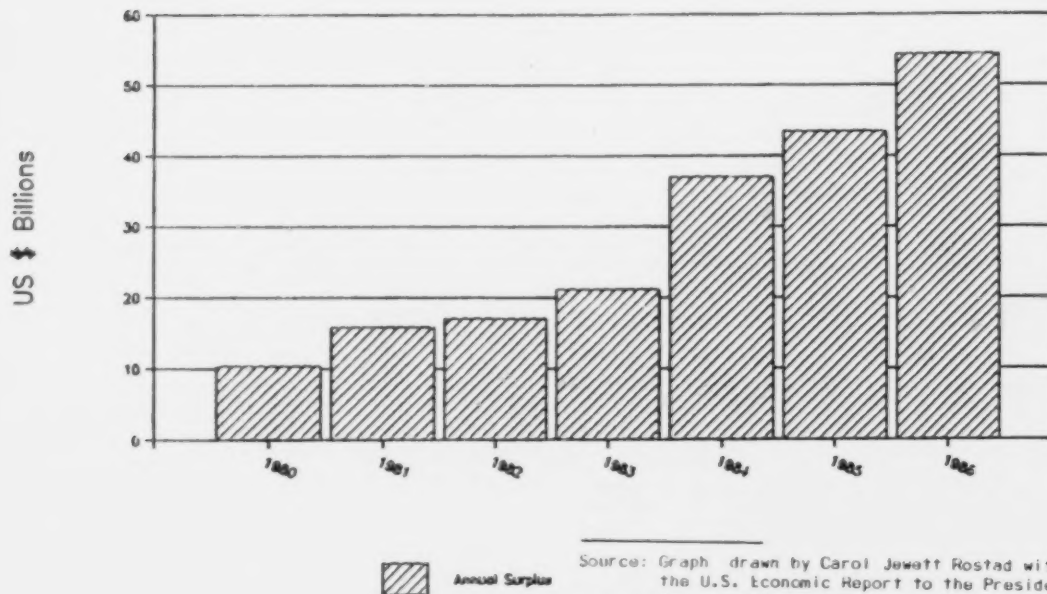
● **IMPORTS**

(U.S.\$ 143,290 million)



Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, The Japan of Today, 1983, pp. 144-145. Figures are for 1981.

Graph 9
Japan's Bilateral Surpluses with the United States



SUMMARY QUESTION 9. WHY IS FOREIGN TRADE IMPORTANT TO JAPAN?

Because Japan needs to buy from other countries items that are essential to its population and economy food, energy, raw materials.

Foreign trade is also important to Japan for two other reasons:

- * there are certain high technology products such as airplanes, that Japan does not produce as efficiently as other countries and therefore wants to import.
- * there are other goods, such as textiles, which Japan cannot produce as cheaply as other countries and wishes to import. In the case of textiles, Japan can no longer compete with other textile producing countries in Asia because of the higher wages paid to workers in Japan.

SUMMARY QUESTION 10. IS JAPAN'S FOREIGN TRADE IMPORTANT TO OTHER COUNTRIES?

Yes. Because Japan has such a large economy, that portion of the goods and services it produces for trade is very large.

Japan is the fourth largest trader in the world, behind only the United States, the Soviet Union, and Germany.

The U.S.-Japan Trade Imbalance: An Economist's Perspective

INTRODUCTION

In 1986 the United States ran a trade deficit with the rest of the world totalling over \$140 billion. The American trade deficit with Japan was over \$50 billion. These numbers are staggering in their size -- few countries in the world have national incomes over \$60 billion. But, in spite of the magnitude of these numbers, there is very little agreement as to what they mean. Nor is there agreement as to what, if anything, should be done about them.

WHAT IS A TRADE DEFICIT?

To understand the issues involved, we need to look at some economic theory. Almost every nation in the world keeps record of its transactions with other nations. These records are called "balance of payments" accounts. A simplified balance of payments account for the U.S. for 1972 is presented below:

U.S. Balance of Payments in Billions of Dollars, 1972*

U.S. sales of goods to foreigners, "exports"	+\$49
U.S. purchases of goods from foreigners, "imports"	-\$56
U.S. purchases of foreign assets (Land, factories, stocks, bonds, etc.)	-\$14
Foreigners' purchases of U.S. assets	+\$21
Other items	\$0
	\$0

*Source, U.S. Economic Report of the President, 1984.

If a country spends more on imports than it receives from the sale of its exports, as the United States did in 1972, it is said to run a "trade deficit." In 1972, the U.S. ran a trade deficit of \$7 billion. Where did the United States get the \$7 billion to pay for that trade deficit? The answer to this question is also revealed in the balance of payments account.

HOW DOES A COUNTRY
FINANCE A TRADE
DEFICIT?

Citizens of the United States bought 14 billion dollars' worth of foreign assets. These assets included things like land and factories and stocks in foreign companies. They also included foreign bonds. What does it mean when an American citizen purchases a foreign bond? It means that he or she has paid money for an I O U. In other words, he or she has lent funds to the foreign bond issuer. So, the \$14 billion on the chart above represents not only the sale of real property, but also American lending abroad. During the same year, foreigners purchased \$21 billion worth of U.S. assets. The difference between the amount of U.S. purchases of foreign assets and foreigners' purchases of U.S. assets was \$7 billion -- exactly the amount of the trade deficit.

In economic jargon, one would say that the U.S. financed a \$7 billion trade account deficit with a \$7 billion "capital account surplus." In layman's terms, American citizens bought more goods from foreigners than they sold to them, and made up the difference by selling off property and by borrowing money from abroad. In general, any time a country runs a deficit on one account, it must run a surplus on another.* Everything that is bought must be paid for. The number at the bottom of a balance of payments statement, reflecting any natural balance, is and must ALWAYS be zero, following the same principle as a natural scale or balance.

*There are other accounts besides the trade and capital accounts.

WHAT USEFUL
FUNCTIONS DO
TRADE DEFICITS
SERVE?

TRADE DEFICITS ARE NECESSARY WHEN NATIONS USE MONEY AND NOT BARTER

If all international trade took place through barter then all countries' trade accounts would be balanced. In order to trade, a country would have to wait until it had the right amount of a particular good to get another country to part with whatever good it would like to purchase. In such a system countries do lots of waiting and relatively little trading. Fortunately, nations are willing to use an international currency, the dollar, instead of relying on barter. In the international monetary system, countries trade goods for money. Later they use that money to buy other goods. In the interim, they have exported more goods than they have imported -- they have run a surplus. At the same time, the countries which have paid money for imported goods have run a trade deficit. If no country were allowed to run a trade deficit, no country would be able to accept money as payment, and nations would be reduced to the use of barter.

TRADE DEFICITS AS ECONOMIC INDICATORS

Trade deficits are valuable economic signals. When the United States runs a trade deficit, it may be a sign that American industry is not producing as efficiently as it might be. For example, competition from Japanese and other foreign steel makers forced the steel industry in the United States to modernize its plants and technology. The American automobile industry has also updated its methods in response to competition from the Japanese. In a way, economic signals are much like the symptoms of a disease, they tell an economy that something is not right, and indicate the proper "treatment," but as with the symptoms of a disease, no nation enjoys the economic symptoms while it suffers from them.

HOW DO MARKET FORCES
CAUSE TRADE IMBALANCES
TO DISAPPEAR?

According to economic theory, we do not need to worry about trade imbalances because market forces cause them to disappear. If a deficit is caused by the use of money instead of barter, then the deficit will vanish when the country holding the money exchanges it for goods. If the deficit is a signal that there is inefficiency in the economy, then the deficit should be eliminated when firms modernize.

Changes in the exchange rates for currencies also work to eliminate trade imbalances. How does this work? Let us look at an example. Suppose that the United States is running a trade deficit. In this case, the American consumer is buying goods from abroad and paying from them with dollars. The foreigner who receives the dollars will use some of them to buy American goods. But because the United States is buying more goods than it is selling, some foreigners will end up holding more dollars than they need to buy the American goods they wish to buy. Suppose the foreigner is Japanese. He takes his excess dollars to a bank and exchanges them for his own currency, yen. In other words, he sells his dollars to buy yen. When many Japanese try to buy yen they drive up the value of the yen. So, for example, it might have cost 6/10 of a U.S. cent to buy a yen before the Japanese started changing their dollars into yen, but 7/10 of a U.S. cent afterwards.

The change in the value of the currency will now change the prices that Japanese and American citizens will have to pay for each others' goods. For example, suppose that an automobile costs 1 million yen in Japan. When the exchange rate was .6 cents per yen, that car would cost \$6,000 in the United States. But when the exchange rate rises to .7 cents per yen, the price of the car will rise to \$7,000. Slowly but surely, American consumers will react to this price increase. Some will decide to buy a Ford or a Chevy. When they do so, they cause the volume of U.S. imports to shrink, and the trade deficit to shrink also.

To put this whole argument more briefly we can say that a trade deficit causes the value of a

country's currency to fall. The fall in the value of the currency makes foreign goods more expensive. Consumers react to these higher prices by buying more domestically produced goods and fewer foreign ones. The fall in the volume of imports shrinks the trade deficit. The result is that trade deficits left to their own accord vanish.

WHY DO U.S. TRADE DEFICITS PERSIST?

Look at the graph of U.S. Trade Deficits on the following page. The deficits are huge. 1985's \$122 billion trade deficit amounted to \$510 for every man, woman, and child in the United States. Worse still, the deficits are growing at an alarming rate. Is theory wrong in predicting that trade imbalances are self-correcting? The answer is probably not. The problem is that the process takes a lot longer than economists first suspected.

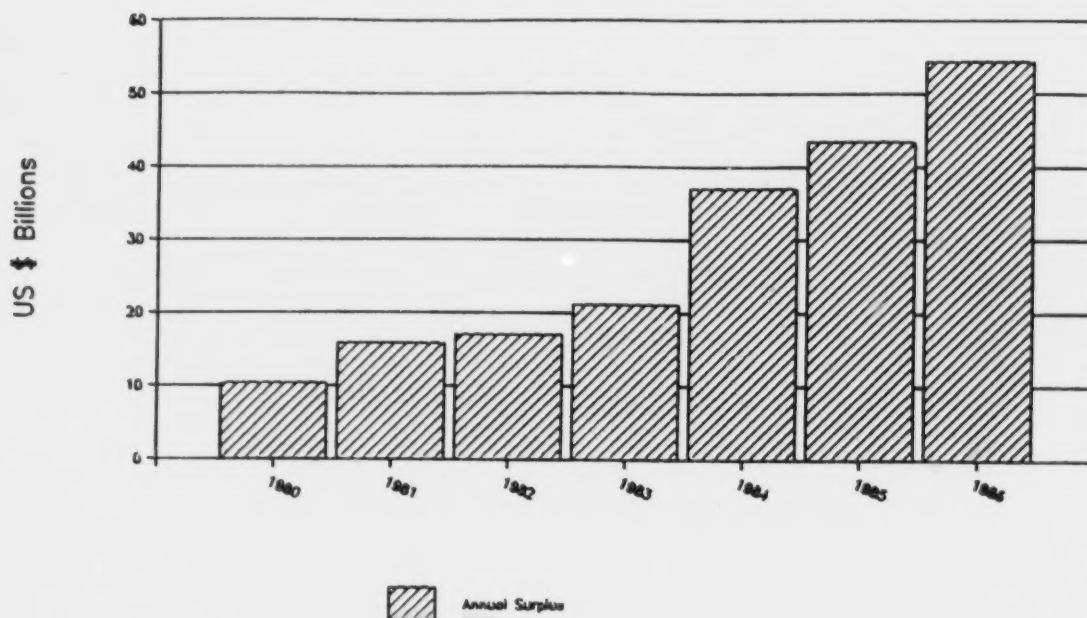
The American economy has reacted to the trade deficits with the appropriate adjustments. After many years of effort, American productivity gains have finally outpaced those of its major trading partners. For example, in 1985 output per man-hour rose by 3.5% in the United States, in contrast to 2.8% in Japan. (New York Times, 6/16/87) The trade deficit has performed its proper function as an economic signal. During 1987 alone the dollar price of a million yen car has increased by more than a thousand dollars. Consumers, however, have been slow to adjust to the new prices.

WHY ARE THE TRADE DEFICITS CAUSE FOR CONCERN?

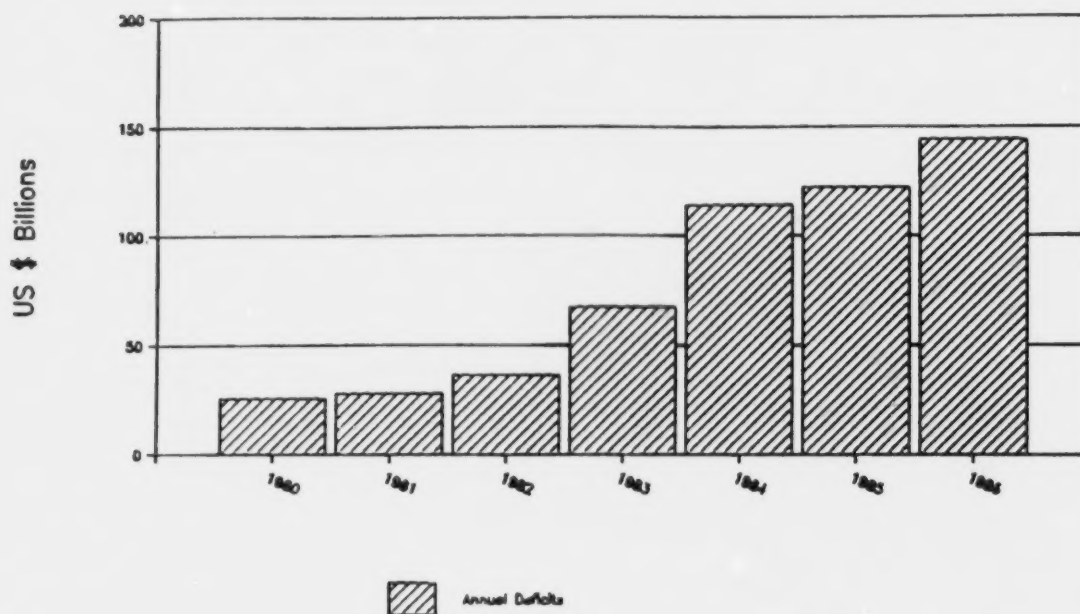
These trade deficits are a burden to the economy. In the short run, they must be financed, primarily by borrowing from other countries. No one knows how much foreign debt it is safe for a country to accumulate. Also, in the long run, it is the nature of the economic system that any large imbalance in one sector will be felt in the others.

Currently, U.S. government officials are concerned that American trade deficits will lead to an overall increase in the price level, inflation. The simplest argument runs like

U.S. BILATERAL TRADE DEFICIT WITH JAPAN



U.S. OVERALL TRADE DEFICIT



Source: Graphs drawn by Carol Jewett Rostad with information from the U.S. Economic Report to the President, 1985 and the Survey of Current Business, U.S. Department of Commerce.

this: The trade deficit causes the value of the dollar to fall. As it does so foreign goods become more expensive. This is the direct effect of the trade deficit on the price level. At the same time, as foreign goods' prices rise, domestic producers are under less pressure to hold their prices down. Their prices also rise. This is a secondary effect, but it is by no means a small one.

WHAT CAN THE U.S.
DO ABOUT THE TRADE
DEFICIT?

No one knows the solution to the trade deficit problem. As of 1988, the Reagan administration has followed the policy of waiting for the dollar to fall enough to cause the trade imbalance to be removed, even at the risk of increased inflation.

REDUCING THE TRADE DEFICIT BY REDUCING THE
BUDGET DEFICIT

Some economists believe that the American trade deficit is caused by the United States' government budget deficit. How can this be? The United States government runs a budget deficit when it spends more on items like defense and welfare than it collects in taxes. It pays for the difference by selling bonds. In order to get people to buy ever larger quantities of bonds it must offer them a higher rate of return on those bonds. But higher interest rates make U.S. bonds attractive to foreigners as well as American citizens. When Japanese discover that they can receive a higher rate of return on investment in the United States than in Japan, they start buying American bonds instead of Japanese ones. This creates a flow of capital, or money, into the United States. The flow of yen into the United States creates a "capital account surplus" on the balance of payments, and gives American citizens the currency with which to buy more Japanese goods. In short, the capital account surplus is causing the trade account deficit. Thus, the way to reduce the trade deficit is by reducing the capital account surplus. This can be done by lowering the U.S. budget deficit. This action will lower U.S. interest rates, and in turn will reduce the flow of foreign funds into the United States. In order to reduce the government budget deficit the government can raise taxes, lower government spending, or both.

REDUCING THE TRADE DEFICIT BY STIMULATING OTHER ECONOMIES

One group of economists believes that the United States trade deficit would be eliminated if the other industrialized nations of the world would get their economies to grow faster. For example, if the Japanese economy grew faster, then Japanese people would have more money to spend. They would use some of that money to buy American goods. This would increase American exports and cause the U.S. deficit to shrink.

The problem with this approach is how to get the Japanese economy to grow faster without causing new and greater problems. Usually, when a government wants to stimulate an economy it increases government spending. The Japanese government has already been extremely active in this area. The Japanese national debt was only 11.3% of Japan's GNP in 1973. By 1985 it had reached 52.1% of Japan's GNP. (The comparable numbers for the U.S. are 35.9% and 48.8%) In spite of this increased spending the Japanese economy has been growing at slower, not faster, rates.

BILATERAL VERSUS OVERALL TRADE DEFICITS

The balance of payments figures shown above display American deficits with the rest of the world. The United States also keeps records of its trade on a country by country basis. This trade is called "bilateral" -- between two (bi) sides (lateral) or two countries.

When a country spends more on goods from a particular country than it sells to that country it is said to run a "Bilateral Trade Deficit" with that country. One can think of an overall trade imbalance as the sum of each of the bilateral trade imbalances.

In general, economists expect a country to run bilateral trade deficits with some countries, while running bilateral trade surpluses with others. Japan, for example, runs bilateral trade deficits with the oil exporting countries of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), but runs surpluses with the United States and other advanced industrialized nations. Japan uses these surpluses on one account to pay for the deficit on another. The United States, however, has been unable to match

its bilateral trade deficits with bilateral trade surpluses.

REDUCING AN OVERALL
TRADE DEFICIT BY
ATTACKING THE
BILATERAL ACCOUNTS

If the United States wants to reduce its overall trade deficit the options open to it are to increase its bilateral trade surpluses with some nations, or to decrease its bilateral deficits with others. The first option is not very practical. Many of the nations with which the United States runs a bilateral trade surplus are less developed nations. However much they might wish to, they cannot afford to buy vast additional quantities of American goods. In addition, most of these countries have borrowed heavily to foster development. They pay for the interest on the loans out of their export earnings. An increase in American sales to these countries would only make it harder for them to pay back their loans. Accordingly, the only realistic option is to reduce the U.S. trade deficit by reducing the size of its bilateral trade deficits.

One reason why U.S.-Japan trade has been the subject of so much controversy over the years is that of all of the United States' bilateral trade deficits, its bilateral trade deficit with Japan is by far the largest. (Graph 9 shows these deficits.) The bilateral trade deficit with Japan is well over one-third the size of the total U.S. trade deficit. If this deficit could be eliminated it would have a significant impact on the rest of the U.S. trade figures.

The table below presents figures from the U.S. Economic Report of the President and the Department of Commerce's Survey of Current Business. All figures are in millions of U.S. dollars:

	U.S. exports to Japan	U.S. imports from Japan	U.S. bilateral trade deficit with Japan
1981	21,796	37,597	10,410
1982	20,694	37,683	16,989
1983	21,789	42,683	21,056
1984	23,240	40,211	36,971
1985	22,145	65,653	43,508
1986	26,361	80,764	54,403

Several interesting facts emerge from this relatively small collection of numbers. First, the U.S.-Japan trade problem is rapidly getting worse. This is not a problem that the United States or government officials can afford to ignore. In fact, at the annual economic summit meetings of the leaders of the United States, Japan, Canada and four European nations, the U.S.-Japan trade imbalance is always a priority item.

Now look at American exports to Japan. Over the past six years, these exports have been rising, but not at a very rapid rate. Some people argue that this is due to Japanese restrictions on imports. (See the following unit on U.S.-Japan Trade Relations.) Other experts argue that the Japanese economy has not been growing that fast in recent years. Japanese have not increased their spending very much on any kind of goods--Japanese or American.

American imports from Japan have been soaring. Economists attribute this to a variety of factors. To begin with, the American economy has been growing, causing American consumers to increase their spending on both domestically manufactured and imported goods. Thus, part of the increase in imports can be explained by an increase in American income.

A second major factor which causes the value of American imports to rise is the falling value of the dollar. This is easiest to show by a simple example. Suppose that a car costs ¥1,000,000 in Japan. (The symbol for yen is ¥) Also suppose that the exchange rate is ¥200=\$1. Then the price of the car in the United States would be \$5,000. ($¥1,000,000 \times \$1/¥200 = \$5,000$) If American consumers purchased 100 cars then the dollar value of those imports would be \$500,000. Now suppose that the value of the dollar falls. \$1 will now buy ¥160. This means an American consumer will need \$6,250 to buy a ¥1,000,000 car. If American consumers continue to buy 100 cars from the Japanese then the value of imports will soar to \$625,000. Of course, when the price of a Japanese car rises, American consumers will buy fewer of them, but it takes time for consumers to adjust to the new prices. In this example, as long as American consumers

buy more than 80 cars the recorded value of American imports will rise as a result of the falling dollar. This is an important explanation for why the United States trade deficit with Japan has increased so much over the past six years. The dollar was over ¥250 in 1980. By the fall of 1987, it had fallen to less than ¥140.

SOME OF THE BASIC
ARGUMENTS ON WHERE
RESPONSIBILITY LIES

The following three arguments are the ones most frequently heard in the discussion of U.S.-Japan trade problems:

A. Japan As a Vulnerable Nation

Many scholars argue that, unlike the United States, the Japanese economy is completely dependent upon international trade for its very survival. Japan can neither feed its people nor fuel its industries without trading on the international market.

Because of this dependence on foreign supplies, Japan is extremely vulnerable to shocks to the international market, such as the oil crises. Japan must therefore take measures to protect itself from these shocks. Such measures include:

- 1) Protecting domestic suppliers even though they may be relatively inefficient. In Japan, the government protects rice growers and coal producers who would otherwise be driven out of business by foreign competition. The costs are great but they feel it is worth it in order to maintain at least one completely reliable source of supply. (In the United States, oil producers are protected for similar reasons.)

- 2) Accumulating cash reserves so that necessities can be purchased on world markets no matter how high their prices rise. The traditional way of accumulating

these reserves is to run trade surpluses. (The United States is the only country that does not need to have cash reserves. Because the U.S. dollar is the international currency, it can acquire more cash by printing it.)

3) Diversifying its sources of supply, so that if a good becomes unavailable from one trading partner it will be available from another. This means that Japan does not wish to solve its bilateral trade imbalance with the United States by buying more from the United States and less from its other allies, e.g. Canada.

Clearly, Japan is justified in taking measures to protect itself from international shocks. Just as clearly these measures tend to exacerbate the U.S.-Japan trade imbalance.

B. Japan as a More Successful Economic Power

In an argument almost diametrically opposed to the preceding one some scholars claim that the reason why Japan runs such large trade surpluses stems not from its attempts to protect itself from its inherent weakness, but results from its position of economic strength. These scholars claim that Japan has pursued "better" economic policies than the United States. The Japanese government, in contrast to the United States government, designs its tax and interest rate policies to stimulate investment and encourage savings. Due to this difference in U.S. government policy, American consumers spend far more of their income than their Japanese counterparts. Some of their excess spending goes to buy foreign goods. The inevitable outcome is a trade deficit for the United States. The scholars in this camp believe that there is very little the Japanese can do to reduce the size of its bilateral trade deficit with the United States. The responsibility lies with the United States government, which ought to adopt measures to stimulate investment and savings.

C. Japan as a Leader in the International
Economic Community

Increasingly, scholars on both sides of the Pacific have argued that Japan should take a leadership role commensurate with its economic might. This means that Japan should make an attempt to solve problems that threaten the international trading system even if Japan is not responsible for the origins of those problems. It does not matter whether the bilateral trade deficit is caused by protectionist policies in Japan or by spending policies in the United States. The fact remains that the deficit poses severe financing problems for the United States. Attempts by the United States to solve this problem unilaterally are likely to result in a recession in the United States and reduced growth in the world at large. Reduced growth can only reduce Japan's trading opportunities. Therefore, it is in Japan's long run interest to take measures to reduce the bilateral trade deficit with the United States. Such measures include stimulating the Japanese economy to increase Japanese spending. Other measures include removing all barriers to trade, even if there are very good reasons for those barriers.

CONCLUSION

As can be seen, U.S.-Japan economic relations are part of an international trade system. There are many opinions on the growing trade deficit between the United States and Japan and how to reduce it. The solutions are often as complicated as the problem.

The unit on U.S.-Japan Trade Relations: A Role Play which follows is designed to help students better appreciate the complexity of the issue and the variety of actors concerned with this problem in both the United States and Japan.

Additional background for teachers, including discussion of the political dimensions of the U.S.-Japan trade negotiations, can be found at the beginning of the unit.

Vocabulary

balance of payments

trade deficit

capital

capital accounts surplus

barter

exchange rates

currency

inflation

bilateral

Questions for Discussion

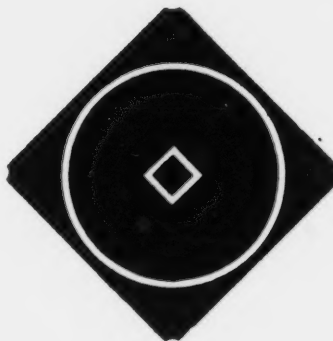
Teacher's note: An answer key to the following questions appears on pages 15-16 of this unit.

1. What is the difference between a bilateral trade deficit and an overall trade deficit?
2. How does Japan "pay" for its bilateral trade deficit with the oil exporting countries, or OPEC?
3. When is a trade deficit a good thing?
4. How do exchange rate changes cause trade imbalances to shrink?

5. What are the main proposals experts have made to solve the problem of the United States trade deficit?
6. Why does a fall in the value of the dollar cause the trade imbalance to worsen in the short run?

Exercise

Each year in early summer the leaders of seven industrialized nations -- the United States, Canada, Japan, Great Britain, France, Italy, and the Federal Republic of Germany -- meet to discuss world economic problems. Read a magazine account of the most recent economic summit. Are any of the arguments presented above mentioned by the Prime Minister of Japan? By the President of the United States? By the leaders of the European nations?



QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION-Teacher's Answer Key

1. What is the difference between a bilateral trade deficit and an overall trade deficit?

A-- A country runs a bilateral trade deficit with another country when it buys more from that country than it sells to it. A country runs an overall trade deficit when it buys more from the rest of the world than it sells to it.

2. How does Japan "pay" for its bilateral trade deficit with the oil exporting countries, or OPEC?

A-- It runs a surplus on the trade account with the United States and Western Europe. How does the United States "pay" for its own overall trade deficit? It runs a surplus on the capital account.

3. When is a trade deficit a good thing?

A-- When it reflects the use of money instead of barter, and when it causes a nation to become more competitive.

4. How do exchange rate changes cause trade imbalances to shrink?

A-- As the dollar falls in value it makes American goods cheaper so foreigners buy more. Also, as the dollar falls in value Japanese goods get more expensive so consumers in the United States buy fewer of them. With exports up and imports down, the trade deficit shrinks.

5. What are the main proposals experts have made to solve the problem of the United States trade deficit?

A-- [1] The United States should allow the value of the dollar to fall until the resulting price changes cause the volume of exports to rise and the volume of imports to fall.

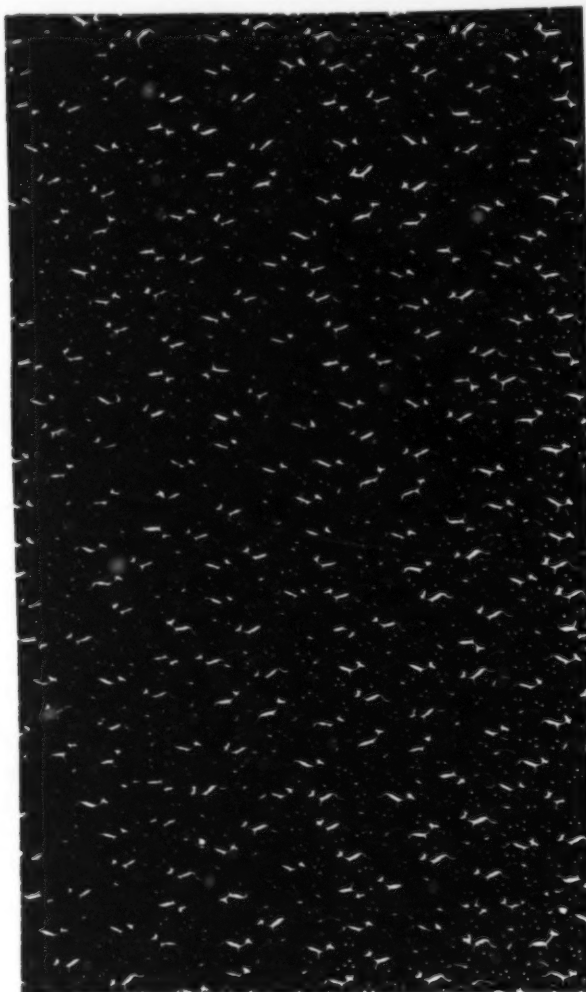
[2] The United States should reduce the size of the U.S. government deficit. This would lower U.S. interest rates and discourage the Japanese from lending money to the United States to pay for trade account deficits.

[3] The Japanese and other industrialized nations should stimulate their economies so there will be a greater demand for American exports.

[4] Japan and the United States should take measures to reduce the bilateral trade imbalance between the two countries.

6. Why does a fall in the value of the dollar cause the trade imbalance to worsen in the short run?

A-- In the short run, price effects cause values to rise before quantities can adjust. This is something known as the "J-Curve Effect."



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

U.S.-Japan Trade Relations

TO THE TEACHER

The economics of international trade is a complex subject, and the subject of U.S.-Japan trade is both complex and controversial. The goal of the following role play is not to provide answers, but to expose students to some of the many arguments presented during negotiations. As H. L. Mencken remarked, every complex problem has a simple, obvious answer that is wrong.

The role play calls for eleven actors. Distribute the student introduction, synopsis and background statistics to the entire class; copy, separate and distribute the individuals roles to those who will play them. Additional students can be added to the lobbyist or assistant roles. In classes of twenty-two or more, two groups could act the role play separately, coming to separate conclusions that could then be compared and contrasted.

As each actor presents only a narrow argument during the negotiations and only the negotiators see the entire picture, the final explanation of the negotiators' decision(s) and lobbyists' criticism is important in exposing the whole range of arguments, pro and con. In a democratic society, the negotiators' decision would be judged by the electorate; in the classroom it might be possible to take a vote on the final decision to replicate this. But the point is not that the decision is right or wrong, but is simply a complex decision balancing many interests, both American and Japanese.

Students who do not play one of the roles can act as newspaper reporters and write an article on the negotiations for their local newspaper.

The introductory exercise and New York Times article at the end of the unit can be assigned prior to the role play for added background.

Teacher Background

The Importance of Bilateral Trade

There is so much discussion of U.S.-Japan trade friction in the press that it is often best to start by reminding the students just how important U.S.-Japan trade is to both nations.

The United States and Japan are among each other's most important trading partners. Consumers in both countries benefit from the bilateral trade between them by getting a wider selection of goods to buy. Consumers also gain by being able to buy goods from abroad which would be more expensive if purchased from domestic producers. International trade makes less expensive automobiles available to consumers in the United States and cheaper food available to consumers in Japan.

Producers also gain from the trade between two nations. They benefit by being able to obtain more diverse and lower cost supplies. As a result, they are able to increase their output without raising their prices or lowering wages. International trade, by lowering costs and by encouraging firms to be more efficient in the face of foreign competition, has been the single most important factor behind the high rates of growth which have taken place in both countries in the postwar period.

The gains from trade are so great that any element which introduces instability into the system is cause for concern. The enormity of the U.S.-Japan bilateral trade deficit is one such element.

The Economic Approach to the Problem of the Deficit

The previous unit, THE U.S.-JAPAN TRADE IMBALANCE, discusses the problem of the bilateral trade deficit from the economist's perspective. It makes the point that in a healthy international economy we expect to see countries running bilateral trade deficits with some countries and financing them by

running bilateral surpluses with others.

Japan runs a large trade deficit with the oil exporting countries -- the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) -- and finances it by running large trade surpluses with the advanced industrialized nations, primarily the United States. This would not be a problem for the United States if it, too, could run a bilateral trade surplus with some third country, say, Saudi Arabia. Unfortunately for the United States there is no country or group of countries rich and populous enough to run the necessary bilateral trade deficits.

Unable to finance its bilateral trade deficit with Japan by running a bilateral trade surplus with a third nation, the United States has had to finance its deficit by borrowing from abroad. This has tended to raise interest rates in the United States and has led to a variety of other problems for the domestic economy.

Because of these difficulties economists in the United States have looked for measures which will attack the problem at its source by directly reducing the size of the U.S.-Japan bilateral trade imbalance. As of 1988, the economic strategy is to let the market drive up the dollar price of the yen, which will cause the price of imports from Japan to rise. These increased prices reduce the demand for Japanese goods which in turn reduces the size of the trade deficit. (For a more detailed explanation of the economics involved, please refer to the previous unit.)

While this strategy appears to be having some success in recent months, (December 1987), it is not without costs. Economic solutions entail economic adjustments. In this case the fall in the value of the dollar is expected to result in higher prices for imported goods in the United States and a higher rate of bankruptcies among small firms in Japan. Clearly,

Political Approaches
to the Problem of the
Deficit

economic solutions can be painful.

Because economic adjustments can be painful, governments often look for political solutions to economic problems. Any solution to an economic problem which calls for government intervention rather than market-induced adjustments is a political solution. Tariffs, quotas, and embargoes are all examples of political solutions to trade balance problems.

Ever since the textile negotiations held during the Kennedy administration, American and Japanese officials have met almost continuously to try to find political solutions to the ever widening U.S.-Japan trade imbalance. The role play that follows is based on the negotiations which took place in the early 1980s. At that time the focus was on two types of quotas. One was the limit that the Japanese government had placed on the importation of beef and oranges or citrus fruits into Japan (an import quota), and the other was a proposed limit on the number of cars the Japanese could export to the United States (an export quota). It was hoped that by removing the former quota and instituting the latter, the U.S.-Japan trade imbalance would be reduced.

The role play is designed to show that political solutions are no easier than economic ones. Each actor in the role play has a legitimate interest to protect. The negotiators must struggle to balance these concerns, and those of consumers who are largely unrepresented. Compounding the problem is the fact that there is no authority that can force both sides to come to an agreement. Stalemate is a common outcome of these negotiations.

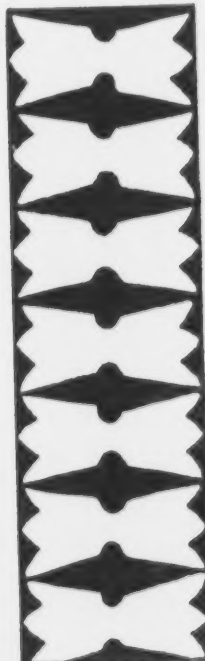
The Actual Outcome
of the Negotiations

At the end of the role play exercise you may be interested in telling the students what the real life results were.

On the issue of limiting sales of

Japanese automobiles in the United States, the Japanese were willing to come to an agreement fairly quickly. Voluntary Export Restraints (VER's), as they were called, were placed on automobiles from 1981 to 1985.

The negotiations surrounding beef and citrus quotas proved to be much more difficult. In April 1984, an agreement was signed which increased both quotas by small amounts. By all accounts these concessions were insignificant. Nevertheless, the agreement was signed because both sides felt that it was important for the sake of good diplomatic relations and "not to give the impression that they were unable to come to an agreement." (The Japan Economic Journal, April 17, 1984, p. 1 and p. 4)



Role Play

TEACHER'S GUIDE

1. **PROBLEM:** The United States wants Japan to increase the amount of American beef and oranges that Japanese are allowed to buy (import quotas). The United States also wants Japan to limit the number of automobiles it sells to the United States (exports).

2. ACTORS:	<u>United States</u>	<u>Japan</u>
	Negotiator	Negotiator
	Assistant to Negotiator	Assistant to Negotiator
	1st Lobbyist--Beef	1st Lobbyist--Beef
	2d Lobbyist--Citrus	2d Lobbyist--Citrus
	3d Lobbyist--Automobile	3d Lobbyist--Automobile
	4th Lobbyist--Corn	

A description of the position to be taken by each actor is given in the student materials.

3. **SEQUENCE:**

- 1st Round: Negotiators meet with domestic lobbyists and assistants.
- 2d Round: U.S. and Japanese negotiators meet, without lobbyists.
- 3d Round: Negotiators meet again with lobbyists and assistants to discuss results.
- 4th Round: Negotiators meet each other alone to present new proposals.
- 5th Round: Process is repeated until decision is reached by one or both negotiators.

The decision of each side will be made by its negotiator, as the representative of the government. Following a decision by either side, or both sides, the decision-maker(s) will be required to explain the decision publicly (to the class) and criticism (if any) will be made by the opposing negotiator and domestic lobbyists.

4. **PLAYING TIME:** Two or three class periods.5. **DECISIONS:** Several decisions are possible.

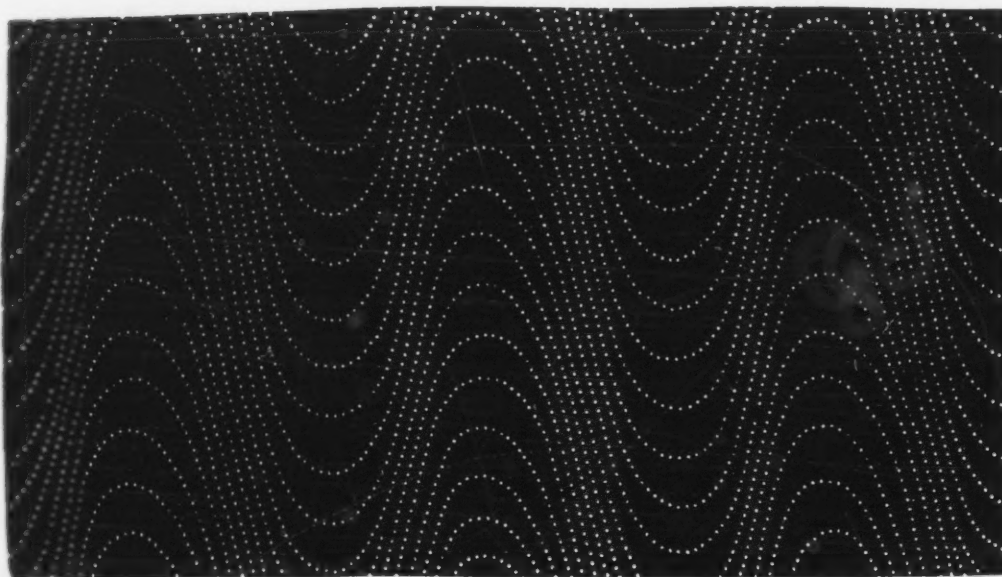
- The U. S. side may decide to withdraw its demands.
- The Japanese side may decide to accept all U.S. demands.
- The Japanese side may decide to accept part of the U.S. demands.
- The Japanese side may refuse all demands and break off negotiations.
- The U.S. side may break off negotiations and establish legal domestic controls over Japanese exports to the United States.

6. **DEBRIEFING:** Ask each of the chief negotiators to give reasons for their final positions. The lobbyists on each side

should then be allowed one minute to critique or affirm the position of their country's chief negotiator. Other members of the class should then write down on a sheet of paper their opinions of the positions taken by each of the negotiators and explain their opinions.

7. CLASS DISCUSSION can follow. Teachers can raise points made in the teacher's introduction to expand the discussion.

8. COMPARISON OF THE DECISION with the current state of economic and trade relations between Japan and the United States might provide an interesting epilogue to the role play. The date of this role play is 1981. Have students gather newspaper articles on current negotiations.



STUDENT HANDOUT (FOR ALL STUDENTS)

U.S.-Japan Trade Relations

INTRODUCTION

World trade has grown very rapidly since World War II, and for many countries foreign trade is a critical part of the economy. In 1981 in the Netherlands, trade was equal to almost half of the country's economic activity for one year, or Gross National Product (GNP). In Switzerland it was about one-third, and in Sweden and Germany it was about one-quarter. Even in very large economies like the United States and Japan, where exports are less than 15 percent of GNP, the economy is dependent on the import of certain strategic materials. Economic theory holds that free and vigorous world trade helps spur greater efficiency and growth in all the trading nations' economies.

To import goods it wants from other nations, a country must have goods or services to export in order to be able to trade, or else they will have to borrow the money. A country such as the United States or Japan is always concerned, therefore, about maintaining a fairly equal balance between what it buys and what it sells. This is called a balance of trade.

A country is not concerned with keeping its trade with one other country in balance, because it may not want to buy as much from that country as it sells to it. It is its balance of trade in the global trading system -- that is, all of what it buys and all of what it sells -- that it wants to keep fairly even. What countries do worry about is whether they have the opportunity to sell their goods and services in each other's markets, without what they consider to be unfair restrictions.

While free trade benefits consumers, it creates difficulties when low-cost goods from an efficient overseas producer threaten to put domestic industries out of business. Economists argue that resources (money, people) tied up in these inefficient domestic industries would be better used elsewhere. Many countries refuse to close down certain industries altogether, however, because

they do not want to become completely dependent on foreign sources for important goods like food or energy, or even basic industrial items like steel.

The rapid collapse of an industry in a particular country can also create social problems such as high unemployment. Because of such problems, while most countries want a vigorous and expanding world trade, they also want to maintain control over their imports and exports.

Within each country, industries or farm groups that are affected by trade policy often employ special representatives whose job it is to make elected officials aware of the views and interests of the particular group. These special representatives are called lobbyists, following the idea that they stand in the lobby of government buildings, waiting to talk to elected officials as they walk to or from their offices.

Complex and difficult negotiations are required to solve the conflict between the benefits of free trade and the need for domestic controls of imports and exports. The following role play was modeled after a few of the real problems in trade between the United States and Japan.

Synopsis

1. **PROBLEM:** The United States wants Japan to increase the amount of American beef and oranges that Japanese are allowed to buy (import quotas). The United States also wants Japan to limit the number of automobiles it sells to the United States (exports).

2. ACTORS:	<u>United States</u>	<u>Japan</u>
	Negotiator	Negotiator
	Assistant to Negotiator	Assistant to Negotiator
	1st Lobbyist--Beef	1st Lobbyist--Beef
	2d Lobbyist--Citrus	2d Lobbyist--Citrus
	3d Lobbyist--Automobile	3d Lobbyist--Automobile
	4th Lobbyist--Corn	

A description of the position to be taken by each actor is given below.

3. **SEQUENCE:**

1st Round: Negotiators meet with domestic lobbyists and assistants.

2d Round: U.S. and Japanese negotiators meet, without lobbyists.

3d Round: Negotiators meet again with lobbyists and assistants to discuss results.

4th Round: Negotiators meet each other alone to present new

proposals.

5th Round: Process is repeated until decision is reached by one or both negotiators.

4. **DECISION/DEBRIEFING:** The decision of each side will be made by its negotiator, as the representative of the government. Following a decision by either side, or both sides, the decision-maker(s) will be required to explain the decision publicly (to the class) and comments will be made by the opposing negotiator and the domestic lobbyists.

5. **EVALUATION:** Class members should take notes on the arguments made by each of the actors and write a one-page evaluation of the final positions of the two chief negotiators. Each student should give his or her opinion of the final positions of the negotiators and explain the reasons for these opinions.

6. **COMPARING YOUR DECISION:** The date of this exercise is 1981. You might wish to check your newspapers or other annual reports of U.S.-Japan trade to see what concessions may have been made by either the U.S. or Japan since 1981. Compare your decisions with those of the real actors conducting trade negotiations between Japan and the U.S.



U.S.-JAPAN TRADE/11

1. Japan's Global (Multilateral) Trade Balance 1978-1982 (in millions of dollars)

	<u>Exports</u>	<u>Imports</u>	<u>Trade Balance</u>
1978	\$ 95,634	\$ 71,038	\$ 24,596
1979	101,232	99,387	1,845
1980	126,736	124,611	2,125
1981	149,522	129,555	19,967
1982	137,663	119,584	18,079

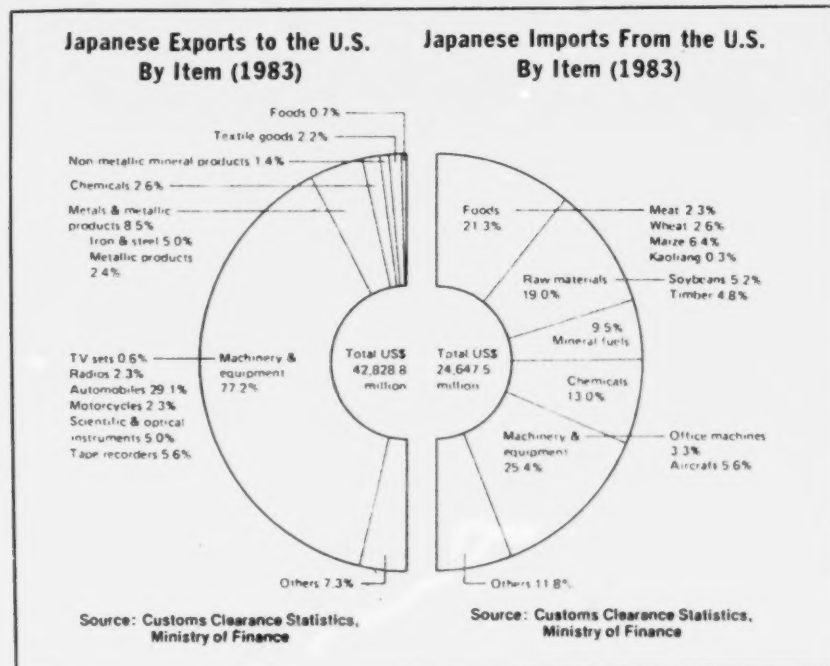
2. United States Global (Multilateral) Trade Balance, 1978-1982 (in millions of dollars)

	<u>Exports*</u>	<u>Imports</u>	<u>Trade Balance</u>
1978	\$143,663	\$176,052	\$-32,389
1979	181,816	210,285	-28,469
1980	220,783	245,262	-24,479
1981	233,739	260,982	-27,243
1982	212,275	243,952	-31,677

3. U.S.-Japan Trade Balance, 1978-1982 (in millions of dollars)

	<u>U.S. Exports** to Japan</u>	<u>Change Over Year-Earlier Period</u>	<u>U.S. Imports from Japan</u>	<u>Change Over Year-Earlier Period</u>	<u>Trade Balance</u>
1978	\$12,885	22.4%	\$24,458	31.8%	\$-11,573
1979	17,579	36.4	26,243	7.3	-8,664
1980	20,790	18.3	30,714	17.0	-9,924
1981	21,823	5.0	37,612	22.5	-15,789
1982	20,966	-3.9	37,744	0.4	-16,778

Source: Yearbook of U.S.-Japan Economic Relations in 1982
published by the Japan Economic Institute of America, 1000
Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. The figures are
as reported by the U.S. Department of Commerce, the Bank of Japan
and the Japanese Ministry of Finance.



From Japan Today (A special report prepared as an educational service special of the Chicago Tribune. Sponsored by the Consulate General of Japan in Chicago, 625 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL, 60611.) and the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Chicago, 230 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL, 60611.

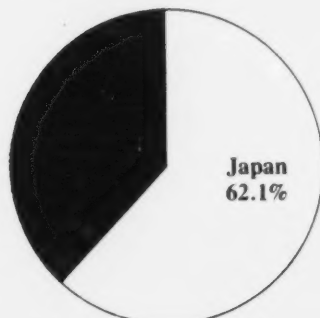
THE POSITION OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

U.S.-Japan Fact Series: No. 1

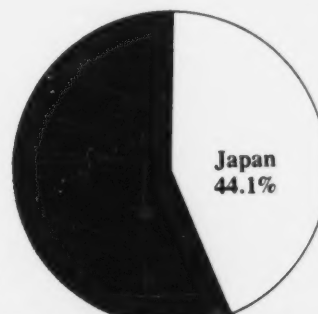
The United States Government is asking Japan to import more American agricultural products. Are American agricultural exports to Japan severely restricted at present?

No. Japan is the world's largest and most reliable market for U.S. farm products. For example, in 1981 Japan imported 62.1 percent of the 85,667 tons of beef exported by the United States and 44.1 percent of the 748,108 tons of U.S. citrus exports. (Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture)

Japan's Share of U.S. Beef Exports (1981)



Japan's Share of U.S. Citrus Exports (1981)



ROLES (DISTRIBUTE TO INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS)

U.S. Positions

THE U.S. TRADE NEGOTIATOR

As the representative of the U.S. government you must consider the interests of the entire nation; as a political representative you must listen carefully to your supporters in the beef, citrus, and automobile industries--they will vote for or against your political party at election time. These industries pay experienced lobbyists to present their demands; you yourself (or your advisers) must determine what the national interests may be, and then try to reconcile them or choose one if they conflict. You must be prepared to explain your decision. A decision that favors your political supporters in these industries, at the expense of other potential supporters or national interests, can possibly lose more votes than it wins.

THE U.S. TRADE NEGOTIATOR'S ASSISTANT

Your job is to make sure the negotiator has all the information he or she needs. The domestic lobbyists and the Japanese representative will present their sides of the issue; therefore, your job is to present any other important factors that may be overlooked by these special interests.

One important factor is the unfavorable trade balance between the United States and Japan. The United States has imported more than it exported to Japan every year since 1975. This is part of the overall worsening of the international U.S. trade balance: (Refer to the page of statistics for figures.)

You wish to make the strongest case for the problem the U.S. faces with its trade deficit and what you are most worried about is the basic trend of a widening gap. To close the gap you want fewer restrictions imposed on American exports to Japan. At the same time you would like the Japanese to restrict voluntarily their automobile sales (exports) to the United States.

With regard to the restrictions Japan places on imports of American beef and oranges, you argue that the Japanese government should not protect Japanese farmers in this way. Japanese farms are too small to be efficient and competitive. Given Japan's high technology, larger farms would be more efficient, producing crops more cheaply. You feel that competition from American agriculture would push the small farmers in Japan to sell their land, allowing larger farms to be created. This would be better for Japanese consumers too.

With regard to the sale of Japanese made automobiles in the United States, the United States can take direct action to limit Japanese car exports to its market by passing a law to that effect. But it would be better for the Japanese if they did this themselves through self-restraint. Such Japanese action would strengthen U.S.-Japan relations and could be changed by the Japanese themselves any time conditions changed (unlike a U.S. law).

America would also benefit from Japanese self-restraint. The U.S. trade balance with the European Economic Community (EEC) is highly favorable to the United States--through the 1970s, the United States exported more than it imported from the EEC. There is pressure from the EEC to change this, and the EEC has threatened unilateral action. U.S. laws restricting Japanese imports would provide an excuse for similar laws against U.S. exports in many European countries.

1ST U.S. LOBBYIST

You have been hired to represent the American beef industry. Japan restricts the import of beef from the United States and other countries; in 1980 beef imports were only 29 percent of the Japanese market. Because Japanese prices are more than twice those in the United States for beef, your industry wants to expand sales (exports) to Japan and demands that the Japanese stop their restrictions. This would not only help expand U.S. exports and therefore improve the balance of trade, but it would also lower the price of beef in Japan and help Japanese consumers.

2D U.S. LOBBYIST

You have been hired to represent the American citrus industry. Although the United States sells many more citrus fruits to Japan than any other country, American oranges still were restricted by the Japanese to 71,000 tons--equal to only about 2.5 percent of the total Japanese production of oranges. You argue that Japan has no right to restrict the export of U.S. citrus to Japan. Japan greatly benefits from free world trade, and many U.S. industries are suffering from competition with Japanese imports.

3D U.S. LOBBYIST

You have been hired to represent the interest of the U.S. automobile industry. In 1973 almost 11.5 million cars were sold in the United States, and of these, cars from Japan made up only 6.5 percent. In 1982 less than 8 million cars were bought, and 22.6 percent of them were from Japan. Imports from Europe during that time went from 8.7 percent down to 5.3 percent. Thus the competition is primarily from Japan. Because the number of cars sold in 1982 was only about 70 percent of that in 1973, many American factories closed, autoworkers were unemployed, and Chrysler, the third largest car manufacturer in the United States, needed government aid to save itself from bankruptcy. The auto industry in the United States includes not only manufacturers but also parts suppliers, dealers, and other industries making glass, steel, and rubber. This makes it central to the U.S. economy. You argue that it must be protected, at least temporarily, from Japanese competition.

4th U.S. LOBBYIST

You have been hired to represent U.S. corn growers. Japan is one of America's largest markets for corn exports. The United States exported over \$4 billion in corn to Japan in 1981, about two-thirds of all U.S. agricultural exports to Japan. This trade is far more important to the United States than its beef and orange exports to Japan, which were only \$363 million. Moreover, almost half of U.S. corn exports to Japan are for feeding livestock--including cattle. If more beef is imported by Japan (most of it from Australia, not the United States), then Japanese imports of corn for livestock feed will drop.

Because Japan imports 93 percent of its corn from the United States it is very dependent on U.S. supplies and might like to find other suppliers. For this reason, you want to convince the U.S. negotiator that the United States should not make Japan angry, but instead should maintain the traditional friendly relationship that has been so beneficial to American corn farmers.

Japanese Positions

THE JAPANESE TRADE NEGOTIATOR

As a representative of the Japanese government you must consider the interests of the entire nation; as a political representative you must listen carefully to your lobbyists from the beef, citrus, and automobile industries, who are important supporters of your political party, the Liberal Democratic party. These industries pay experienced lobbyists to present their demands; you yourself (or your advisers) must determine what the national interests may be; then you must try to reconcile them or else choose one if they conflict. You must be prepared to explain your decision. Any decision that favors your political supporters in these industries, at the expense of other potential supporters or national interests, can lose more votes than it wins.

THE JAPANESE TRADE NEGOTIATOR'S ASSISTANT

Your job is to make sure that the negotiator has all the information he or she needs. The domestic lobbyists and the U.S. negotiator will present their sides of the issue; therefore, your job is to present any other important factors that may be overlooked by these special interests.

The United States is Japan's biggest market, an important source of food and raw material imports, and Japan's military ally. Friendly relations with the United States are a very high priority for Japan. Whether the U.S. demands are right or wrong, Japan should do everything possible to reduce friction with its ally.

The U.S. has made the bilateral trade balance (that is, the balance of trade between the two countries) a major political issue when it is really each country's global or multilateral trade balance (trade among many countries) that is what is important economically. The statistics show that the U.S. has an unfavorable balance of trade in general, not just with Japan. (Refer to the page of statistics for figures.)

"Free trade" has always been championed by the United States, along with the "free-market economy." The U.S. is asking Japan to reduce the restrictions it imposes on imports of American beef and oranges into Japan -- to allow freer trade. At the same time, the U.S. is asking Japan to limit voluntarily the number of automobiles it exports to the U.S., so that the American automobile industry will not suffer so much from Japanese competition. Both of these measures might help to ease the imbalance in bilateral trade between the U.S. and Japan.

Given the emphasis on "free trade," it is difficult for the United States to introduce restrictions on Japanese imports--it is a sign of weakness, it may create trade wars that hurt the Western military alliance, and it may encourage the European Economic Community (EEC), which has a trade imbalance with both the United States and Japan, to restrict U.S. imports. Therefore, if Japan refuses the American requests, it will still be difficult for the Americans to retaliate by restricting imports of Japanese products into the United States, but the unfriendliness of the Japanese response might hurt the U.S.-Japan relationship.

You must decide on what concessions your chief negotiator can make, given the pressures you face from representatives of the Japanese automobile, beef and citrus industries -- all of whom will be effected by the negotiations. Voluntarily restricting exports of Japanese cars to the United States will anger Japanese car makers who argue this will hurt both them and American consumers. Allowing American beef and citrus industries greater access to Japanese markets will hurt Japanese farmers who are

important political supporters of the Liberal Democratic Party, the governing party in Japan.

You understand the American argument that Japanese farms are too small to be efficient and competitive, but you believe that in time the small farmers will sell their land voluntarily. Most farmers in Japan are in their sixties and only 3% of the children of farm families are returning to the farm. You want time to allow this very delicate political and economic problem in Japan to solve itself, before you open the Japanese market to greater American competition in agriculture.

Imports of American beef and oranges, while very important to threatened Japanese farmers, will not change the balance of payments problem significantly. In 1981, the U.S. trade deficit with Japan was over \$13 billion, while imports of beef and oranges together amounted to only \$363 million. If this number were doubled or tripled, it would not have much impact. Exports of motor vehicles to the United States, however, amounted to \$11,256 million, almost 30 percent of all Japan's exports to the United States. If the United States did stop Japanese auto export, it would be a serious blow to the Japanese economy. Limited cooperation may be the safest route to follow.

1ST JAPANESE LOBBYIST

You have been hired to represent Japanese beef farmers. Your first point is that the many beef farmers of Japan provide important political support for the ruling Liberal Democratic party. Another point is that beef imports have doubled between 1975 and 1980, rising from 22 percent of total consumption to 29 percent, and prices have dropped substantially--they are now not much higher than in Europe. Beef farmers feel they have done all they can. Besides, if Japan allows a greater amount of foreign beef to be sold there, the high-priced U.S. beef will not necessarily make great gains, because 70 percent of Japanese beef imports are lower-priced Australian beef.

2D JAPANESE LOBBYIST

You have been hired to represent Japanese orange growers. Consumption of citrus products has not increased since the early 1970s, and prices have remained low. Competition from American producers would severely hurt the 300,000 farm families in Japan who have already had to cut back on their production of oranges. In three voting districts, these farmers make up 15 percent of the total population, and they are an important source of votes for the Liberal Democratic party. Japan is already America's largest market for agricultural goods; it is unfair to hurt Japanese farmers further. You argue that if the United States should consider restricting Japanese sales to that country in retaliation against the restrictions Japan places on the sale of American oranges in Japan, Japan should look for other suppliers of the more than \$6 billion of agricultural products other than oranges imported from the United States each year. These products make up some 15 percent of total U.S. agricultural exports. These sales, you feel, must be more important than a few oranges to the United States.

3D JAPANESE LOBBYIST

You have been hired by the Japanese automobile industry, which produces about 30 percent of Japan's exports to the United States. American threats to stop these exports are serious, not only to the industry but to the nation. You argue that your industry has just followed the rules established by the Americans themselves--using high-quality labor and huge capital investment to produce the cheapest possible product, which you market according to the best American techniques. Are you to be penalized for being successful? The United States is not competitive primarily in the small-car market, which grew in popularity after the 1973 oil crisis. Should American consumers be forced to buy more expensive and less fuel-efficient American cars?

Despite these points, you recognize that the American auto industry is at least temporarily depressed and under great financial pressure. High unemployment in this industry is creating significant unemployment problems in many areas in the United States. You are afraid that pressure may grow to stop all Japanese auto imports; perhaps it is safer to agree to hold Japan's share of the market at a steady level, to give the Americans time to become more competitive. Therefore, you are willing to consider self-restraint in keeping Japanese auto exports to the United States at the present levels, although you want Japan to press for the highest acceptable level of auto exports.

Exercises

1. Which country is the biggest customer for U.S. agricultural exports?
2. How many times larger are sales to Japan than to the next biggest customer, the Netherlands? To the Soviet Union?

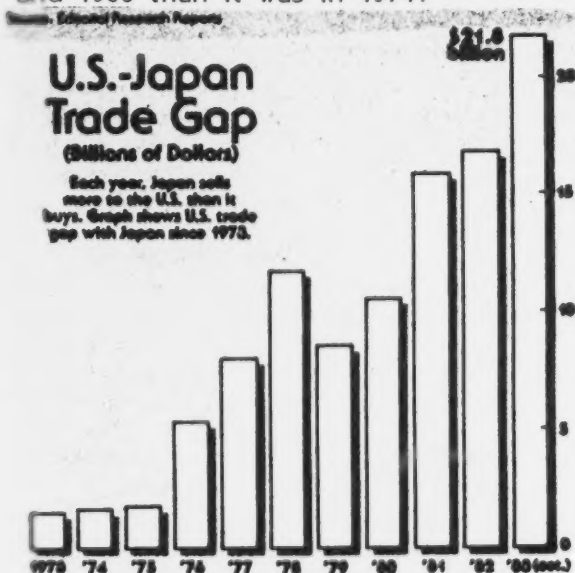
The Biggest Customers
Largest markets for U.S. agricultural products ranked by 1982 exports

	1982 Exports (\$ billions)
JAPAN	55.5
NETHERLANDS	3.0
SOVIET UNION	1.9
CANADA	1.8
SOUTH KOREA	1.6
CHINA	1.5
SPAIN	1.5
WEST GERMANY	1.4
MEXICO	1.3
TAIWAN	1.2

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture

New York Times, February 21, 1983, reprinted by permission.

Looking at the chart below, can you say why the trade gap between the United States and Japan became a more important issue in 1982 and 1983 than it was in 1974?



U.S.-JAPAN TRADE RELATIONS: TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

New York Times, Wednesday, February 23, 1983.

Japan, by Shielding Farmers, Rankles Its Trading Partners

By STEVE LOHR

Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, Feb. 22 — To anyone familiar with agriculture on the American scale — the endless fields of wheat and corn in the Middle West or the vast fruit and vegetable tracts of California — Japanese farms are a bit of a shock. In fact, most look like small, well-tended garden plots.

Not only are Japan's farms tiny, but they are also inefficient by world standards. Moreover, this agricultural system is preserved by stiff import restrictions and generous Government subsidies to farm interests.

The Government protection of an unproductive agricultural sector means higher costs for Japanese consumers, who are unable to buy cheaper food imports. The subsidies to domestic farmers hinder efforts to trim the big federal budget deficit, nominally a priority of the Government for years.

Furthermore, Japan's agricultural policies rankle its key trading partners, particularly the United States. When Western nations are suffering high unemployment, partly because of the competitive assault of Japanese manufactured exports, Japan's continuing protection of its weak spot — agriculture — is seized as a symbol by foreign critics who charge that trading with Japan is a "one-way street."

Japan, their argument runs, is a fervent defender of free-trade principles where its manufactured exports are concerned, but adamantly protectionist when the survival of its farmers is threatened.

There are geographical, historical and cultural conditions that help explain the structure of Japanese agriculture: the paucity of arable land on the mountainous archipelago, the land redistribution program carried out by the American occupation that parceled out large land holdings, and the cultural tradition of family-centered small-scale farming.

Influential Agricultural Lobby

But there is also a straightforward political reason why Japanese farmers continue to be sheltered from international competition: The agricultural lobby is a key source of support for the ruling Liberal Democratic Party.

The protection of Japanese agriculture "shows the power of well-organized pressure groups in an essentially democratic society to block certain kinds of change," said Robert M. Immerman, political counselor at the United States Embassy in Tokyo.

The average size of a Japanese farm is 2.9 acres, compared with an average of 431 acres for United States farms. British farms are on average 56 times larger than their Japanese counterparts, French 22 times bigger and West German 12.4 times.

At the same time, Japan has 4.6 million farms, nearly twice the number in the United States, even though Japan's population is about half the size of that in America.

Agricultural experts say that Japanese farms are not inefficient in terms of crops produced per unit of land. Rather, the inefficiency lies in the cost of producing the crops. The price of domestically produced rice, which is Japan's major crop, is three and a half times the price of imported rice.

Direct and Indirect Subsidies

Another gauge of the high cost of Japanese agriculture is the direct and indirect Government subsidies paid to farmers. In the fiscal year ended March 1981, for example, these payments amounted to \$10.4 billion at recent exchange rates, or 54 percent of Japan's total farm income for the year. Put another way, Japanese farmers get half their income from the Government.

Direct subsidies come in the form of money that the Government gives to farmers, such as deficiency payments, in addition to the income they receive by selling their crops at market prices. Indirect subsidies include Government programs that raise farmers' incomes, without cash, such as maintaining stud bulls that are then lent to livestock breeders at very little cost.

The political strength of the agricultural lobby derives from the overrepresentation of rural areas in the Parliament because the postwar urbanization of Japan has not been reflected in the redrawing of voting districts. Thus, there are four or five times as many voters for each Parliament seat in some urban districts as there are for a seat in some rural areas, according to a recent survey by the Home

Ministry. To date, Japan has not chosen to correct such imbalances, as the United States did after the so-called one-man, one-vote ruling by the Supreme Court in the 1960's.

The Liberal Democratic Party, which has controlled Japan since 1955, has little opposition in the conservative agricultural regions. Some of the rural representatives have been re-elected more than 10 times and served as cabinet ministers four or five times.

Significantly, these powerful Liberal Democratic Party members in Parliament, while champions of agricultural protectionism, also tend to be Japan's most pro-American politicians and the nation's strongest advocates of increased military spending — a goal sought by an American Government eager to have its allies share global military costs.

Japanese politicians deny that the lopsided representation of rural districts is the main reason for Japan's agricultural trade policies. The real reason, they say, is to maintain Japan's "food security."

Japan is a major food and grain importer. It is, for example, America's largest single export market for agricultural products — a market worth about \$5.6 billion last year.

In addition, the Japanese people are

Japan's Small Farms

Average farm size, in acres	
Japan	2.9
United States	431
Britain	163
West Germany	36

Sources: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Japanese Ministry of Agriculture, European Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics

concerned about insuring a secure supply of food as a national policy, as 75 percent said in a national survey in 1980, conducted by the Prime Minister's office.

Recent history, Japanese officials say, provides reason for worry. They point to America's embargo of soybean exports in 1973, during the Nixon Administration. Soybeans, in one form or other, are consumed in almost every Japanese meal; American soybeans account for 94 percent of those consumed in Japan.

"As far as agricultural trade goes, the soybean embargo was a serious mistake by the U.S.," said Koichi Kato, a Parliament member and chief of the agricultural affairs committee of the Liberal Democratic Party. "The concern with food supply security is very understandable in Japan."

Import Quotas

In the view of farm representatives, the import quotas that remain on 22 agricultural products, ranging from beef and oranges to processed cheese and herrings, are essential to the survival of Japanese agriculture. In the 1950's, when Japan joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, an international organization that tries to reduce trade barriers, it had import curbs on more than 100 farm goods.

Future agricultural imports should be covered by the remaining quotas, according to Iwao Yamaguchi, senior managing director of Zenchu, Japan's central union for agricultural cooperatives. "The quotas," Mr. Yamaguchi added, "should be determined by the needs that our agricultural industry cannot fill, not by the demands of foreigners."

The farm lobby contends that Japan's trade disputes with other countries are caused by its aggressive export of manufactured goods and, therefore, the solution to the trade issues lies in curbing exports. The Reagan Administration insists that what it wants from Japan is not export restrictions, but the same access to the Japanese market that Japan enjoys in America.

Even if the Japanese restrictions on farm imports were eliminated altogether, it is estimated that this would only reduce America's annual trade deficit with Japan by \$1 billion at the most. Last year, the bilateral deficit was nearly \$19 billion.

Moreover, Japan is by no means alone in protecting its agricultural industry; all nations do it, including the United States.

But while it can be argued, as many do, that Japan's easing of its import quotas would be mostly a symbolic gesture, it would also be an important symbol. It would be a clear sign of Japan's sincerity in trade matters, a sincerity that is often questioned by foreign officials.

Still, it is highly doubtful that Japan will make significant concessions to ease agricultural trade. In three packages of market-opening measures Japan has made public in the past 14 months, the politically sensitive farm products have not been touched.

American negotiators are now focusing on enlarging Japan's import quotas on beef and oranges. Though the Japanese public is concerned about food security over all, recent polls show that the majority thinks

Japan should import more low-cost foreign beef and oranges.

In Washington in January, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone told top Reagan Administration officials the beef and orange quota issues should be resolved by "expert talks," and the American side agreed.

But such talks had already occurred, in Hawaii last November and in Washington last December, when agricultural specialists from Japan and the United States met to discuss beef and oranges.

"There was no real progress," said William L. Davis, agricultural counselor at the United States Embassy in Tokyo.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why does the Japanese government feel that its small farmers should be protected?

Are there political reasons?

Are there other reasons?

2. According to the article, would the trade imbalance between Japan and the United States change if the Japanese lifted all restrictions of U.S. farm products sold in Japan?

3. How large are farms in Japan compared to farms in the United States? What reasons are given for this? (You might wish to consult the reading on Japan's geography and on the land reform that took place during the American occupation of Japan after World War II.)

4. Does this article discuss the position of U.S. corn farmers, which was presented during the role play exercise?

What could be added to the article if their position were included?

Exercises

1. As a research project, look up newspaper reports on the trade negotiations between the U.S. and Japan in the spring of 1984, which resulted in new agreements on imports of oranges and beef. How was the U.S. position satisfied by these agreements? The Japanese position?

2. Check your newspaper daily for current articles on trade between the United States and Japan. Make a notebook of articles you collect over the course of a month; keep notes on the issues of concern to the two countries. Are they the same issues as those raised in this unit? Are they different? Discuss.

Secrets of Japan's Economic Success

TO THE TEACHER

This unit contains an introductory reading with questions for discussion, followed by six newspaper articles that illustrate different points raised in the reading. Each article has its own questions for discussion. The introductory reading and any of the articles may be assigned separately to students. Alternatively, you may wish to use the introductory reading for your own background, selecting one or more of the articles for the entire class to read and discuss. The class can also be divided into six groups, each of which would read and report on one of the articles while the remainder of the class makes notes. Answers are provided to most of the questions following the articles. The answers can be erased on the student copies.

Two films dramatizing many of the points made in the unit are recommended at the end.

SECRETS OF SUCCESS

INTRODUCTORY READING

Japanese economic growth since World War II has often been called a miracle. Japan is now one of the largest economic powers in the world, ranking third after the United States and the Soviet Union. If we take the total economic production of Japanese industry in 1975 and say it represents 100 percent, then production in 1946 was only at 2.3 percent--and even at its pre-World War II peak, the Japanese economy never produced more than 12 percent of its 1975 level. Steady growth since 1975 had brought Japan's economic production by 1983 to 41 percent above the 1975 level. In the 1960s, when this miracle was first beginning to be seen outside Japan, many people thought that the Japanese must have special qualities or values to make it possible. In the 1970s, however, the same "miracle" occurred in other places, including Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, and South Korea--all very different from Japan.

To understand the secret of Japan's success, we must examine both how and why Japan grew so rapidly. The answers to how Japan grew are very similar to those for the other countries that experienced rapid economic growth. A number of economic factors were important:

- a high savings rate combined with a high level of investment in industrial capital;
- immense and relatively inexpensive transfers of technology from the United States and Europe through patent leasing;
- a rapid fall in the price of energy and raw materials combined with a fall in the cost of ocean transport;
- easy access to overseas markets for manufactured exports;
- low government expenditures on social services and military defense and high expenditures on infrastructure and incentives for industry;
- long-term economic planning by the government and close cooperation between government and business;
- an increasingly well-educated and skilled labor force;
- long working hours and a rapid growth in productivity (amount produced per man-hour);
- a highly competitive domestic business environment.

That these various factors (some no longer present) led to rapid economic growth, or even an economic "miracle," is not really so surprising. What is more difficult to answer is the question of why Japan and other East Asian economies have been able to combine all the factors and achieve economic success.

To answer this question, we must look at the main actors in Japan's economic expansion process: government officials, business managers, and workers. Each had different reasons, or incentives, for their actions.

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

Why did government officials provide the central planning and introduce financial policies that spurred economic growth? One answer is political: Japan has been ruled since 1948 by conservative political leaders whose political support is largely based on big and small businesses and farmers. The long conservative rule has provided both the stability and the pro-business atmosphere necessary to the government's role in the postwar economic growth.

Another answer is provided by the structure of government. In Japan, day-to-day government is carried out by a highly capable career bureaucracy largely free from political influences. The economic ministries were largely untouched by war and occupation and made use of a long prewar experience of central government economic planning and control. Government bureaucrats were the top recruits from the best universities, who used their prestige and personal contacts with top businessmen in all industries.

A final reason is public support. Devastated by the war, Japan's first priority was clearly economic recovery and growth, and the government was driven by this popular consensus.

The Japanese bureaucracy draws up a long-range "vision" detailing industries that are declining and those that are young and growing. It then sets policies to encourage the movement of money and workers from one industry to another. Because of this sort of activity, the Japanese bureaucracy has been labeled "developmental" as opposed to "regulatory," such as the U.S. bureaucracy. Japan's bureaucracy acts as the voice of the future, which has no constituency to offset the power of declining industries that may ask for subsidies to continue. (Agriculture is a major exception, however.) Other countries are now studying how the Japanese government "targets" industries for special assistance in growth.

THE ROLE OF MANAGERS

Japan's business managers have emphasized cooperation with government planning, massive capital investment and expansion of

production, and a commitment to the well-being of their workers, even at the cost of lower profits in the short-run. They had various incentives for these actions. Cooperation with the government was based both on favorable government economic and financial policies and on close personal relationships between top business managers and government officials. Business managers emphasized continued investment in new factories and machinery and continued expansion of their companies with the aid of government support and easy bank loans. In this way, the companies could meet their commitment to keep on excess workers in short-lived recessions. Managers did not have to answer to stockholders; as late as 1972, owned-capital of all corporations in Japan was only 16 percent--most capital came as loans from large banks.

Japanese business and government work closely together to move money and workers out of businesses that have gone into decline, such as coal mining, textiles, and shipbuilding, and into new, growing fields such as electronic equipment.

- While workers in large companies are fired only in extreme circumstances, as older workers retire they are not replaced, allowing the work force in declining industries to shrink in number.

- Workers are moved to new jobs in a company and retrained. Since they feel secure with their guarantee of lifetime employment, they do not resist such change for fear of losing their jobs. They stand to gain much in annual wage increases, bonuses, and benefits from successful, growing enterprises.

THE ROLE OF WORKERS

Cooperation between managers and workers was initially forced by the U.S. occupation, which encouraged overnight creation of labor unions in most large companies. Cooperation was made easier by unions organized around the company rather than an entire industry. In this way, workers in a particular company saw their wages as very closely linked with the success of that company and its managers.

The workers' incentives were clearest of all--cooperation with management and government led to high growth, rapid wage increases, and a commitment by management to employ workers until retirement and provide them with important fringe benefits. Where large unions refused to cooperate--mostly in the early period before Japan's rapid growth began--they were met by stiff management and government resistance and their opposition was crushed. Economic growth was based on rapid productivity increases and long working hours.

Incentives for Workers

How do large Japanese firms strive to create a sense of

dedication and team spirit among their workers?

- New employees, recruited right out of school, either high school or college, all enter the company as "freshmen" on April 1.
- There is guaranteed "lifetime" (until retirement at age 55-60) employment for all employees; employees are not fired except for exceptional misconduct; for an employee to move to another company would be considered "disloyal."
- Promotion is based substantially on seniority and age as well as on achievement.
- Managers are never brought in from other companies; rather, they are employees who have worked their way up from freshmen.
- Workers' wages appear modest, but they have risen rapidly from the very low levels in the early post-World War II years and the company supplies many benefits, including insurance, subsidized housing, athletic facilities, free classes in traditional arts, holiday trips, and transportation allowance.
- Twice annual bonuses are awarded to employees in addition to their salary; these bonuses related not to the performance of individuals but to how productive and profitable the whole firm is. If an individual does not do his job as well as he should, he still receives a wage increase along with his colleagues who entered the firm at the same time, but he is not promoted.
- Unions are organized on a company basis. They are not organized across companies by craft or industry as they are in the United States. The unions work vigorously to promote the interests of the workers, but since workers expect to work for their company most of their life and their well-being is tied to the company's well-being, there is little incentive to strike against the company. Worker interests are seen as closely related to company profitability. Also, managers of companies and members of boards of directors often have been union leaders early in their company career, so they are aware of and sympathetic to the interests of workers.
- "Quality control circles" involve workers in production decisions.
- The gap in salaries (wage differential) between managers and workers is less wide than in other industrial countries; all perceive themselves as part of the middle class. Workers know that managers in large firms would and do take a salary cut to save money before they would think of firing workers.

THE COSTS

Many discussions of the Japanese "miracle" overlook the costs paid by Japanese in achieving their success. Small businesses

and women cannot be accommodated by the system--only large firms and men. Workers in small businesses and women are not guaranteed lifetime employment, and they earn substantially lower wages.

- High growth, rapid wage increases, and worker benefits were greatest in big business and government--the nearly two-thirds of the work force employed by small businesses experienced a rapid increase in economic benefits but at a lower level.
- Business and government emphasis on industrial capital investment meant much weaker investment in housing, sewage facilities, parks, and other "social" capital.
- Rapid growth of heavy industry was accompanied by urban congestion (in 1978, about a quarter of the population lived in the Tokyo metropolitan area, and half lived in the three biggest metropolitan areas), and also by serious industrial pollution in urban areas.

THE SITUATION TODAY

A number of the factors that underlay Japanese economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s no longer exist:

- Imports of raw materials (especially energy) are no longer cheap or stable.
- Access to American and European technology is no longer as easy or as cheap.
- Export to American and European markets is now marked by friction and trade restrictions.
- There is greater political pressure for increased government spending on social problems.
- As Japanese companies have grown and matured, there is greater need for management response to private market forces and less need for cooperation with government officials.
- The modest growth that followed the recession of 1974-75 has increased worker dissatisfaction with slow wage growth and has led some companies to reduce their work force through early retirements and reduced hiring.
- People over age fifty-five must retire from industry in order to make room to hire younger workers. They have to find jobs which typically are much less well paying. As people live longer, however, businesses must increase their profits in order to pay both longer retirement benefits and wages to those who are working.
- Young workers leaving school with the new technological knowledge needed by companies hope to earn better salaries than older

workers without such knowledge, challenging the seniority wage system.

- Younger workers are generally more concerned with their personal lives than were their parents; they are not willing to commit all their energies to their jobs.

- Finally, competition from newly developing nations has forced employment reduction in basic industries such as shipbuilding, textiles, and steel, and is forcing Japanese to make the difficult transition to new economic expansion in the high-technology, "knowledge-intensive" industries that have only just begun their development.

The Japanese are under constant pressure to develop new products to sell to other countries so that they can earn the foreign currency to buy the raw materials and fuel that are essential to their economy. (See *The Japanese Economy Now* for further discussion of this point.)

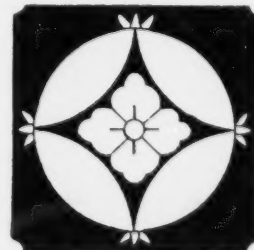
Will they be able to meet these challenges to their continued economic success? The Japanese educational system is outstanding, producing very well-educated workers and managers. Some experts argue, however, that the educational system does not encourage creativity. The emphasis on consensus within companies further stifles creativity, they say, making it difficult for Japanese managers to innovate quickly.

Japan has shown itself eminently capable of meeting challenges in the past. there is little reason to suppose that it will not be able to adapt to meet the challenges it faces in the 1980s.

Related Workbook Units

The Japanese Economy Now
Social Change in Japan
Is Japan Number One?

Kacho (a unit in the SOCIETY section that provides some background on the organization of a Japanese firm)



Questions for Discussion

1. Who controlled the Japanese government during the period of rapid economic growth?

Why did the Japanese government emphasize economic growth?

2. Japanese managers supported high investment and production expansion, even at the cost of high profits in the near future. Why?

3. Why did most unions cooperate with management policies?

4. What drawbacks were there to the Japanese pattern of economic growth?

5. Why is economic expansion more difficult in the 1980s?

6. What are some of the disadvantages of the Japanese system?

7. Why do Japanese workers not oppose the introduction into their factories of new technology that might make their particular jobs obsolete? (American workers often oppose such changes.)

8. How are unions in Japan different from those in the United States?

9. Do you think that U.S. manufacturers should learn more about the tastes of people in other countries, so that they can produce more goods to sell for export?

Should U.S. automakers produce small cars with steering wheels on the left to fit the needs of people in countries with narrow roads and different driving habits, such as Japan and England?

FOR DISCUSSION AND DEBATE

10. Could the United States copy the Japanese pattern?

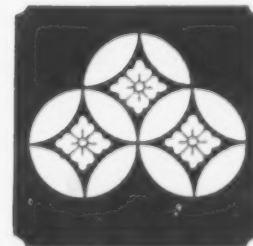
Some ways in which the Japanese system is different from the U.S. system:

- Japan has had a more dedicated work force, due to different values and/or a different incentive system;

- Japan has had a stronger sense of a national interest, following the devastation of World War II and aided by LDP dominance where a single party could define the national interest;
- Japan has an aggressive, well-educated bureaucracy;
- The Japanese are skilled at export; they try to produce goods that will satisfy customers in other countries with different tastes. The United States has such a large domestic market for goods and is so much less dependent on trade for raw materials that it has not developed the same skill at export. Perhaps Americans must become more competitive in export.

Supplementary Reading

- Hugh Patrick and Henry Rosovsky, Asia's New Giant: How the Japanese Economy Works (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1976)
- Chalmers Johnson, MITI and the Japanese Miracle (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982)
- Takafusa Nakamura, The Postwar Japanese Economy: Its Development and Structure (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981).
- Herman Kahn and Thomas Pepper, The Japanese Challenge: The Success and Failure of Economic Success (New York: Crowell, 1979).



TO THE TEACHER The following six newspaper articles explain some of the points in the above essay in greater detail. Each article is followed by a set of questions, with answers for teacher reference.

Article 1, **HOW JAPAN GUIDES INDUSTRIES**, examines the role of government, particularly the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), in planning and coordinating Japan's industrial expansion.

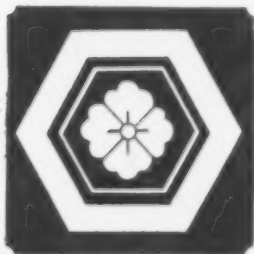
Article 2, **DON'T OVERESTIMATE TOKYO'S INDUSTRIAL AID**, argues that the United States should not try to copy the model of MITI as described above, but rather should study the outstanding effectiveness of Japanese managers and businessmen as the secret of Japan's success.

Articles 3 and 4, **JAPAN'S PRODUCTIVE CAR UNIONS** and **NOT A DAY LOST IN DISPUTE AT TOYOTA IN 30 YEARS**, focus on the smooth relationship between Japanese workers and managers, and the role of unions in fostering this relationship. Both articles use the Toyota Motor Company as a case study.

Article 5, **JAPANESE AUTO MAKERS FACING CHALLENGES ABROAD**, discusses the immense success of the Japanese automobile industry as a function of the ability of Japanese managers to study and improve upon foreign techniques. The strengths and weaknesses of this emphasis on imitation rather than invention are explored with an eye to the future.

Article 6, **JAPAN STRUGGLING WITH ITSELF**, examines the flaws in even the most successful of Japanese practices and raises the question that the Japanese themselves are raising--can Japan maintain its economic success?

Choose one or two articles for the class to read, or perhaps divide the class into six groups and assign each group one article. The groups could then report on the article they read, allowing students to hear more about the several pieces in the puzzle of the Japanese economic system. Once the puzzle is completed, class discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of Japanese practices might give way to lively debate.



ARTICLE 1: THE MINISTRY OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND INDUSTRY (MITI)

In explaining Japan's miraculous economic growth, many people have pointed to the active role played by the government, particularly the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), in planning and coordinating Japan's industrial expansion. This article discusses some of the ways in which the Japanese government carries out its industrial policy.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, Wednesday, May 17, 1983.

How Japan Guides Industries

The Government Manages the Decline of Some Industries...

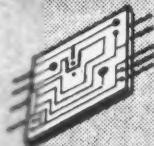


Coal Mining

Textiles

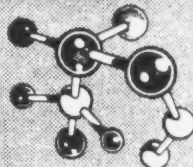
Petrochemicals

...While the Trade Ministry Selects Others for Growth



Very Large-Scale Integrated Circuits

Developed Japan's version of the 64k RAM semiconductor chip
Gov't. funds: \$130 million (1978-80)
Companies: NEC Corporation, Hitachi, Toshiba, Mitsubishi Electric, Fujitsu



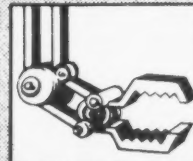
Biotechnology

Includes work on large-culture cell growth; recombinant DNA, and bioreactors
Gov't. funds: \$130 million (1981-91)
Companies: Ajinomoto, Asahi Chemical Industry, Daicel Chemical Industries, Denki Kagaku Kogyo, Kao Soap, Kyowa Hakko Kogyo, Mitsubishi-Kasei Institute, Mitsui Toatsu Chemicals, Sumitomo Chemical, Takeda Chemical Industries, Toyo Jozo



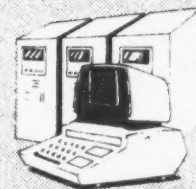
Artificial Intelligence

Project aimed at producing computers with artificial intelligence and voice and pattern-recognition capabilities
Gov't. funds: \$46 million (1981-85)
Companies: Fujitsu, Hitachi, Matsushita, Mitsubishi Electric, NEC Corporation, Nippon Telegraph and Telephone, Oki Electric, Sharp, Toshiba



Robotics

Development of robots capable of working in space, underwater or inside nuclear reactors
Gov't. funds: \$67 million (1983-90)
Companies: Not yet determined



Supercomputers

Working on very powerful, high-speed computers
Gov't. funds: \$100 million (1981-90)
Companies: Fujitsu, Hitachi, Mitsubishi Electric, NEC Corporation, Oki Electric, Toshiba

TOKYO, May 17 — The rapid strides made by Japan in computers and semiconductors are generally viewed as the best recent examples of the payoff from the Japanese brand of industrial policy.

The Japanese approach emphasizes cooperation between business and Government. While the teamwork that characterizes Japanese industrial policy has accomplished much in

the rising high-technology field, perhaps its biggest achievement has been in maintaining an unemployment rate of less than 3 percent, the lowest of any major developed country.

"The most impressive thing about Japan's industrial policy is the way they manage the rational adjustment of their declining industries with a minimum of social pain and political obstruction," said Frank A. Weil, a

former Deputy Secretary of the United States Commerce Department.

The key Government player in this process is the Ministry of International Trade and Industry. The agency directs the orderly decline of ailing industries and nurtures up-and-coming industries. In doing so, Japan and its trade ministry have been criticized in the United States and elsewhere for what are considered anti-

competitive practices. The Japanese reject the charges, saying they stem from the success of the policies.

At the same time, there is growing sentiment in the United States that the nation should adopt its own industrial policy to deal with declining and advancing industries.

In the past, the Government has managed to make the decline in such industries as coal, textiles and shipbuilding as orderly as possible. For example, during the late 1950's before the nation began switching to oil, the coal mining industry employed more than 200,000 people in the southern island of Kyushu. Now the number is 7,000; the reduction was achieved by retraining and attrition. Kyushu is the home of semiconductor factories and other high-technology operations largely because the Government is trying to make it the "Silicon Valley" of Japan.

Today, Japan again faces the problem of paring declining industries — mainly businesses that have lost their competitiveness because of high energy costs in Japan or lower labor costs in newly industrializing nations.

The petrochemical industry is an

example, and the 12 main producers recently reached an agreement to cut capacity by 36 percent by early 1985.

The petrochemical accord illustrates how agreements for allocating sacrifice in an industry are put together by the trade ministry. The Japanese industry has a surplus of plant capacity for making ethylene, a chemical feedstock used in adhesives and plastics. Japan suffers from a big cost disadvantage in ethylene compared with American and Canadian producers, who make it from the ethane in price-controlled natural gas. Japanese producers must use naphtha, expensively derived from oil.

Last summer, at the trade ministry's behest, a committee made up mainly of the presidents of the 12 ethylene producers began to discuss the problem. Seven groups, each composed of a dozen representatives from the companies, were assigned to study the related problems and market projections in ethylene derivatives.

The sessions of the groups, held until the end of last year, were not antitrust violations in Japan because their stated purpose was to "advise" the trade ministry, not to make policy. But the policy that resulted was essentially the collective recommendation of the industry groups, according to the participants.

The cutbacks in capacity have not yet begun. That awaits the parliament's approval of a "coordination clause" in the antimonopoly law, permitting cartels and joint ventures to shrink an industry to make it more competitive.

Viability Stressed

The lower house passed the legislation on March 23, and the upper house is soon expected to do the same. "These tie-ups must increase the economic viability of the industry — that

is the guiding principle," said Toshihiko Tanabe, head of the ministry's industrial structure division, "and no import restrictions must be added as part of the adjustment program."

According to the agreement, the 12 ethylene producers and 6 ethylene derivative makers will be grouped into 3 consortia. Each consortium will be required to trim production capacity by 36 percent.

Each consortium will have a joint marketing company. The members largely are concerned that were already related, such as companies in the Mitsubishi or Mitsui groups. Short of Government-guided mergers, which Japanese companies fiercely resist, the consortia formation provides a means of consolidating an industry.

The petrochemical agreement is voluntary. "We have no penalties or other measures to make it stick," said Masahisa Naito, director of the trade ministry's basic chemicals division. "It depends on the good will of the companies."

Thus cooperation within the industry is critical. At first, it seemed doubtful that the companies would cooperate. However, resistance was worn away during a "research mission" to Europe last October by the presidents of the 12 ethylene producers, the head of one derivative maker and a senior trade ministry official.

The purpose of the trip was ostensibly to observe how European petrochemical companies were coping. But its greater value was to provide for what the Japanese call *nemawashi*, literally rootbinding, or laying the groundwork.

'A Feeling of Trust'

"While traveling together, eating together, drinking together, talking with each other, there came to be a feeling of trust within the group," said one member of the party.

The companies apparently have not yet drawn up precise plans on which plants to scrap or how many workers to displace. They say they intend to avoid layoffs, mainly by transferring workers to other operations.

"You can't fire employees just because you are going to lose money for a few years," said Tadaaki Oshitani, senior managing director of Mitsui Petrochemical Industries. "Underemployment is accepted and sustained by many companies. It is a welfare aspect of Japanese corporations."

"The costs in the short run," Mr. Oshitani added, "are outweighed by the benefits in the long run of workers' loyalty and dedication to the company. I think it is one of the keys to the prosperity of the Japanese economy."

Despite the cutback accord, the handling of the petrochemical industry is not necessarily a model of smooth-working, efficient industrial policy. First, with world petroleum markets given to gyrations, some companies in the future may well see advantage in disregarding the accord.

One industry executive said, "In the process of reduction we could go through some rough periods."

But, more significantly, the ministry is now advising companies to scrap some of the plants that it had encouraged the industry to build in the 1960's. To be sure, the petrochemical industry worldwide is glutted. No one foresaw the two oil shocks of the past decade, the resulting price run-up in petrochemicals, followed by the sharp drop in demand.

Still, even within the ministry, there is criticism of the earlier policy. "Frankly, I think the vision in the sixties was not good," one official said.

High-Technology Success

The ministry-orchestrated project begun in the mid-1970's to conduct research on sophisticated semiconductors, called very large-scale integrated circuits, is viewed as the most successful example of Japanese industrial policy in high technology.

The integrated circuits project also illustrates what the American Government finds "objectionable" in

Japan's industrial policy, according to Lionel H. Olmer, Under Secretary for International Trade in the United States Commerce Department.

In the project, five major semiconductor companies — NEC, Hitachi, Toshiba, Mitsubishi Electric and Fujitsu — conducted cooperative research under the ministry's aegis from 1976 to 1980. The agency contributed \$123 million at current exchange rates, while the companies put up \$186 million. There were 150 researchers donated from the five companies, and their main laboratory was in Kawasaki City, south of Tokyo, in space provided by NEC.

The Government paid to equip the laboratory. "At the start, the biggest beneficiaries were American companies," one Japanese executive said. "They supplied most of the equipment that MITI bought."

Still, the payoff for the Japanese industry seems to have been considerable. The work yielded more than 1,000 patents spanning a wide range of semiconductor technologies. Many industry analysts have said that the project enabled Japan to attain leadership, with two-thirds of the world market, in one key product, the 64K RAM, or random access memory, a chip that stores data.

Some Resistance

Before the project began, a couple of the big semiconductor companies resisted joining but were persuaded. One of the companies that bridled at first was NEC, Japan's largest semiconductor maker.

Apparently, the company made the right decision in going along. "We would have been delayed six months to a year without the cooperative project," said Tomihiro Matsumura, the NEC director responsible for semiconductor operations.

But Mr. Matsumura said the trade ministry project was by no means the

major reason for his company's success in the 64K RAM's. While NEC had 30 researchers lent to the cooperative lab, it had 200 assigned to an in-house team doing related research.

"We would not trust MITI entirely," Mr. Matsumura said. "And frankly, the in-house work was more important to us than the MITI project."

Japanese executives note, however, that the integrated circuit project did help with the development of fundamental technologies in design and manufacturing. But for mass production many adjustments were required, which were made on a company-by-company basis. And, they note, more efficient mass production is their advantage over American producers of 64K RAM's.

Industrial 'Targeting'

Nonetheless, it is the integrated-circuit-type coordinated research focusing on a particular product area that Japan's critics call industrial "targeting." Because its effect can be to nurture a new industry that can take over markets abroad, targeting is an unfair trade practice, they say.

"In the eyes of American business people and business people of other countries, it is an export subsidy," said Representative Sam M. Gibbons, Democrat of Florida and chairman of the trade subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee. International trade agreements prohibit Government subsidies for exports of developed nations.

However, the so-called targeting is difficult to measure, and by measures that do exist Japan hardly appears to be an offender. For instance, the United States Government finances a much larger portion of domestic research and development than does the Japanese Government.

The Government contributes 47 percent of all funds for research and development in the United States. In Japan, the Government's share is about 27 percent. One significant difference, however, is that roughly half of the Government-financed research in America is for military purposes, while in Japan the military portion is about 2 percent. Thus, thanks partly to the defense umbrella the United States provides, Japan is free to use more of its research financing to develop commercial products.

Reducing Risks

Far more important than the money the ministry spends, according to foreign critics, is its role in reducing the risk in industries whose development it marks as a national priority. Once the ministry is involved, they say, bank loans and other essential services are more readily provided by the Japanese corporate community to companies in the chosen industry.

"MITI's endorsement results in a leveling of the competitive plane for the selected companies," said Clyde Prestowitz, United States Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Economic Policy.

Japanese officials reply that the Government provides no guarantees against losses for companies in chosen high-technology fields. Some will succeed and some will fail, as in any business, they say.

Yet to some degree, they agree that Japanese industrial policy has resulted in a "socialization of risk," but without Government subsidies. "Because the Japanese Government has played that role is one of the main reasons our industrial policy has been successful," said Eisuke Sakakibara, a senior Finance Ministry official. "And as far as I'm concerned, there is

nothing to be criticized in that."

The effects of industrial policies elude measurement since no one can say what would have occurred in their absence. For that reason, some analysts believe, foreign governments will have difficulty rationalizing actions against Japan.

"If you can't measure it," asked Thomas Pepper, one of the Hudson Institute consultants who prepared a study of Japanese industrial policy for the United States State Department last October, "how do you justify going after it?"

Teachers Note: Answers have been supplied to this particular list of questions. You may wish to photocopy the list and strike the answers from the student copy before distribution.

Questions

1. What has been the greatest achievement of the Japanese government's industrial policies? Answer: Accelerated development of certain major industries such as steel, computers, petrochemicals (although the article stresses a low unemployment rate).
2. The Japanese petrochemical industry is declining. What is being done about this? Answer: The twelve main producers have agreed to cut capacity by 36 percent by 1985.
3. Under the petrochemical agreement, all companies will reduce their production--but some companies might be tempted to break the agreement and expand their share of the market at the expense of their competitors. What can the government do about this? Answer: The government can do little--the agreement is voluntary.
4. What is considered MITI's most successful industrial policy in a high technology industry? Answer: A project to conduct research on semiconductors.
5. Under MITI's project to conduct joint research on semiconductors, who supplied the researchers and the money for equipment? Answer: The government supplied \$123 million; the five companies supplied the researchers and \$186 million.
6. What was the "payoff" of MITI's project for joint research? Answer: Researchers developed over a thousand patents and many industry analysts believe that this helped Japan to become the leading producer of one important type of semiconductor.
7. What do some Americans think about this type of government involvement in industry? Answer: Some feel that this is unfair--a type of export subsidy. The main American industries in which similar patterns occur are defense-related.
8. What percent of all funds for research and development does the Japanese government supply?

What percent does the American government supply?

How much of the American government's funding is spend on commercial products?

Answers: 27 percent; 47 percent; about half.

9. What does "targeting" of an industry refer to? 554

Why do some people feel it is an unfair practice? Explain.

ARTICLE 2: THE ROLE OF MITI IN JAPAN'S SUCCESS: A DIFFERENT VIEW

Recently there have been suggestions that the American government should copy the Japanese example and carry out an industrial policy of its own. This article argues that simply borrowing one element of the Japanese system will not work—especially since the author of the editorial believes that the real secret to Japan's success is not government activity but the effectiveness of its corporate managers, Japanese businessmen.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, Monday, January 30, 1984.

Don't Overestimate Tokyo's Industrial Aid

By Robert C. Christopher

It is unsettling news that a blue-ribbon panel primarily composed of Democratic businessmen, labor leaders and assorted elder statesmen has produced a report calling for the creation of new Government institutions to foster development of a national industrial policy. Their recommendation seems to rest in considerable degree on a lesson that many people in the United States have drawn from Japan's resounding economic successes. The key ingredient in those successes, many American businessmen and politicians believe, has been the aid and comfort that the Japanese Government—specifically, the dread Ministry of International Trade and Industry, known as MITI—has given Japanese business. There is just one drawback to this thesis: It isn't true.

Certainly, MITI has done much to assist Japanese industry. Through its forward-looking economic analyses and a variety of pressure devices, direct and indirect, it has helped to insure that Japan's major corporations keep their eyes firmly focused on the future rather than on the past. More concretely, in high-risk fields where heavy investment is required simply to sit in on the game, MITI has provided private industry with research and development money—although substantially less than the American Government regularly lavishes upon American corporations.

Neither MITI nor any other agency of the Japanese Government, however, normally furnishes private companies with venture capital in the way that people such as the investment banker Felix G. Rohatyn apparently would like to see a Government-sponsored industrial development

bank do here in the United States. And it is simply wrong to assert, as some Americans do, that Japan's great economic surge has resulted in any major degree from MITI's foresight in spotting and sponsoring "winners"—new industries or technologies with great potential. The reality is that Japanese industry has come up with so many winners in recent decades primarily because of wise decisions taken by private businessmen in Japan—decisions that in some key instances, such as the structuring of the Japanese auto and consumer electronics industries, ran directly counter to MITI's advice.

To be fair, at least some American proponents of industrial policy reject the notion that Washington should get into the business of trying to pick winners. These people are pushing for the establishment of an agency that would try to do what MITI has done most effectively—achieve the greatest possible degree of consensus among management, labor and Government on the problems of industrial growth and development.

The catch here is that the Japanese belong to a group-oriented culture and they instinctively seek a consensual solution to any problem and are generally far readier to compromise with principle and with each other than Americans typically are.

Consider, for example, how Japan has dealt with industries such as shipbuilding and petrochemical manufacturing, in which Japan's competitive position has, for one reason or another, sharply declined. In both cases, Japan's Parliament, at Government request, temporarily suspended the nation's antitrust laws, thereby permitting corporate leaders in each industry to hammer out an agreement on how much each individ-

ual company should cut back in order to achieve a major reduction in the industry's overall productive capacity.

In the long term, this approach is clearly preferable to the various protectionist devices to which the United States tends to resort when an established industry can no longer compete in international markets. Yet who could seriously imagine that the Justice Department or Congress or both would ever allow the leaders of an American industry to indulge in this sort of "restraint of trade"?

In short, insofar as it rests on the notion that devices that work in consensus-minded Japan can somehow be grafted onto the adversarial culture of the United States, the spreading enthusiasm for industrial policy in this country is naive. Yet the concerns that have led so many Americans to embrace the notion are painfully real, and comparisons with Japan can be instructive in helping us identify the source of our problems.

Just as Japan's economic triumphs rest primarily on the effectiveness of Japan's corporate managers, so the basic reason for our flagging industrial vitality is the ineffectiveness of American corporate managers. In sharp contrast to Japanese executives, American executives habitually focus on the pursuit of immediate profits at the expense of adequate investment in long-term growth. And unlike Japanese managers, most American managers have conspicuously failed to convince the worker on the assembly line that by increasing his productivity he will be serving his own interest as well as that of the company for which he works.

There are, I believe, two major reasons for these persistent deficiencies on the part of American management. One lies in the extreme deference that American business pays to the day-to-day judgments of the stock market. As a result, American executives are largely rated on their ability to maximize short-term profits and thereby drive up the price of their company's stock—a process in which, as shareholders themselves, they often have a strong personal in-

terest. (By contrast, Japanese executives rarely hold a significant amount of stock in their companies.)

Inevitably, the supreme importance American corporations attach to the verdict of Wall Street means that most American executives, whether they will admit it or not, place the interest of their company's stockholders way ahead of the interest of its workers. This cast of mind has been reinforced by the increasing tendency of American managers to constitute a specially trained and rather aloof elite — an elite that, by Japanese standards, is grossly overcompensated and tends to regard ordinary workers as interchangeable parts rather than as potentially creative contributors to the corporation's success.

The American Government could theoretically help to eliminate or alleviate some this ineffectiveness by changes in everything from tax law to merger policies. But as a practical matter, there is no prospect of meaningful Government action so long as our prevailing business ethos remains unchanged. The revitalization of American industry cannot really begin until those most directly responsible for shaping its day-to-day practices — investors, security analysts, managers, labor leaders and rank-and-file workers — recognize that insistence on immediate gratification is as destructive in economic affairs as it is in personal life. We must recognize that the fault lies not in our institutions but in ourselves. If the national debate over industrial policy makes it easier for us to go on

ROLE OF MITI

evading that truth, it is not merely irrelevant but actively counterproductive.

Robert C. Christopher, author, most recently, of "The Japanese Mind," is administrator of the Pulitzer Prizes.

Teachers Note: Answers have been supplied to this particular list of questions. You may wish to xerox the list and strike the answers from the student copy before distribution.

Questions

1. This article is not a news article but an editorial. What is an editorial? Answer: A comment on the news by a newspaper editor or an outside specialist.
2. What did an important panel, made up of both businessmen and labor leaders, recently call on the American government to do? Answer: To create new institutions to foster development of a national industrial policy.
3. What institution do many Americans believe was a key ingredient in Japan's success? Answer: MITI.
4. Who does the author believe contributed the most to Japan's success? Answer: Private businessmen in Japan.
5. What did MITI do most effectively in Japan? Answer: Promoted consensus among management, labor, and government on the problems of industrial growth and development.
6. Does the author believe that an American "MITI" could achieve the same results? Why? Answer: No, because America is an "adversarial" culture and we could not allow "restraint of trade" and decreased domestic competition, instead we limit competition from abroad by import restrictions.
7. The author believes that America's real problem is "the ineffectiveness of American corporate managers." What two mistakes do American managers make? Answer: They focus on immediate profit and they fail to convince workers that increased productivity will benefit themselves as well as the company.
8. The author lists two reasons why American businessmen make these mistakes. What are they? Answer: They place too much importance on the stock market and stockholders, and they regard workers as interchangeable parts instead of valuable contributors.
9. Does the author believe that changing government institutions will help these problems? Why? Answer: No, because American industry must give up its insistence on "immediate gratification."
10. Does this editorial provide a different perspective on or interpretation of the facts than the article you read on MITI? Explain.

ARTICLES 3 AND 4: WORKERS, UNIONS, AND MANAGERS IN LARGE JAPANESE FIRMS: THE TOYOTA MOTOR COMPANY

The part of Japanese managers' success that American businessmen most marvel at is their flexible and cooperative relationship with workers. Japanese unions usually include both blue collar and white collar workers and are not organized to include all workers in an industry, but just those in a particular company. Within the company, management and union leaders consult regularly and cooperate to a degree not found in many American industries.

THE FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, December 22, 1983.

MANAGEMENT & LABOUR COMMUNICATION

Not a day lost in dispute by Toyota in 30 years

This year the top profit maker in Japan is Toyota Motor Co., known for its successful labour relations and high productivity, but which only some 30 years ago stood on the verge of bankruptcy after a long, bitter strike by its workers. One of the key ingredients of the reconstruction programme was a vastly improved communication system between management and labour.

In 1950 Toyota just about went under and a poisonous atmosphere lingered. It took another 12 years for the ground rules of cooperation to be reduced to a few written principles deeply indoctrinated into the attitudes of management and labour. The company also adopted several structural ideas from foreign companies to facilitate communication — ideas which, like quality circles and suggestion boxes, became critical to productivity. From a low of 1,000 suggestions made in 1951, for example, the company had 1.9 million suggestions in 1982, or an average of 39 per employee of which 95% were adopted.

Nothing was magical about the transformation. Japanese competitiveness depends on institutional values and systems, not innate cultural characteristics like a disposition towards harmony. Japanese labour relations, for example, were chaotic and adversarial for about a decade after the Pacific war: Japan had a long history of internecine struggles, most notably the period of continuous civil wars between local barons in the 15th and 16th centuries. As the United States motor industry is quickly learning, a formidable outside threat to economic survival is a powerful stimulus to breaking down jealousies, arrogance, selfishness and waste; and the prerequisite for constructive change is smoothly running and prolific communication based on a few accepted principles such as common goals and trust.

Toyota executives say all employees know what is going to happen and can make suggestions before major decisions are made. Even issues like trade friction are discussed at lowest level: the basic unit of this communication system is a group of seven to 10 workers led by a person called a group leader. An as-



Toyota-men at work: a poisonous atmosphere for 12 years

sistant foreman is in frequent touch with three or four groups, while a foreman deals with three or four assistant foremen. One manager sees three or four foremen and so forth up the ladder. Formal talks between workshop leaders and managers occur about once a week and there are full-time personnel managers who are responsible for finding out what workers think.

These form, of course, only a structure and the commitment required to make the system work is based on mutually agreed policy. The workers are made to know that the betterment of worker conditions, a goal which the management is made to share, will run parallel to the development and prosperity of the company. Management is supposed to make decisions based on the principle that without good working conditions the cooperation of workers will be lost. The incentive for workers therefore, to fill the suggestion boxes and otherwise make use of communication channels reasonably including the airing of grievances, is economic. A slow and painful process of adjusting attitudes towards these realisations was accompanied by a growth of peer pressure on everyone to accept common goals.

At the time of the lengthy strike, Toyota even had difficulty persuading banks to lend it any money. Finally, the Bank of

Japan intervened and, as a condition of assuring credit, the sales and manufacturing arms of the company were split up. This was to make certain that borrowed funds would be spent on manufacturing. There was at the same time great pressure on Toyota to revamp its relations with its workers. It was a crisis therefore that forced management to take the initiative.

Toyota was still not particularly successful for the next decade. But a ban on foreign imports of cars allowed the company to survive, though still inefficiently and without good cooperation from its workers. Finally in 1962, another crisis forced the company to speed its reconstruction programme.

Under foreign criticism the Japanese Government opened the door — though only a slight crack — to imports of foreign cars. Before the measure was implemented there was great anxiety at Toyota that foreign competition would sweep domestic makers out of the market. Toyota had begun to export passenger cars a few years earlier, but Toyotas in those days deservedly had a reputation for breaking down easily, lacking safety features and being uncomfortable. In 1962 when foreign carmakers had an overwhelming advantage in technology and production skills, the government's move appeared as catastrophic as the threat of the Mongol invasion did to the Japanese in the 13th century.

The consensus which management and labour had been striving to attain for more than a decade was now necessary. A written declaration of basic principles — separate from the labour contract but held to be as significant as a constitution — was worked out. The declaration was considered so vital that last year, in 1982, the company had a major celebration to commemorate and reaffirm it.

The declaration in part says: "Mutual trust is the basis for labour-management relations. With faith in one another and sincerity as our watchwords . . . we will work for harmony and stability . . . The company, realising that people are the basis of any firm's prosperity, will take the initiative in preserving and improving labour conditions and the union, cognisant of the necessity to improve quality and productivity, will give constructive cooperation to the policies of the company in order to help it flourish . . ."

Then the declaration states: "Keeping in mind the above conditions, we will strive for improved quality and performance, reduced costs and establishment of an improved production system."

Such words may seem like clichés. They may seem so banal as to be meaningless but both management and labour take the agreement quite seriously. The company, according to the im-

plications of the declaration, is not run for the sake of its stockholders alone or for the prosperity of its top management — and labour is not working only to preserve its jobs and fulfil minimum requirements. It is committed to improving quality and reducing costs.

In the past 30 years, Toyota has not had a day lost to labour dispute. It has a remarkable 95% average attendance by employees and this figure includes not only sick leave but also 12 paid holidays a year and all Saturdays, Sundays and public holidays. Images may be deceptive, but at the home office there is an air of energy, courtesy and friendliness that is a contrast to the sullen, unhappy and slow-moving atmosphere one finds in some other companies, most notably in the deficit-ridden and badly managed Japan National Railroad which is now undergoing privatisation.

Toyota's communication principles and system are not unique. One finds them in different shapes at other successful companies in Japan. One also finds them in companies like IBM, Hewlett-Packard, Xerox and numerous others in foreign countries. This correspondent found a board member of Toyota in charge of personnel taking notes from the US best seller *In Search of Excellence*, a descriptive study of successful companies in the US.

In the past decade, Toyota workers have been working less hours for wage increases usually significantly better than the rise in consumer prices. As of April 1982, the average wage at Toyota was ¥2,440 (US\$10.45) per hour, though workers are actually paid monthly salaries plus a semi-annual bonus. Single employees may rent dormitories for ¥1,400 a month, while married employees can have housing for ¥9,600 a month. There are also the typical benefits of a welfare-oriented company such as housing loans, holiday-resort houses, a hospital and sports centre.

There are of course the negative aspects of working for Toyota. Toyota Motor City, where the main factory is located has the drabness of a company town and, when one joins Toyota, it is necessary to be fully committed to integrate oneself with it. Social activities usually are company-related or company/union-related. It is such a large organisation, with nearly 54,000 labourers, that there is bound to be a high degree of conformity.

Recently, the National Tax Agency declared Toyota to be the largest corporate income earner in Japan, with combined declared income of ¥493.1 billion, up 17.8% from the previous year. It reported sales of ¥7.74 trillion, up 16% from the previous year and there are indications that the company will continue to be able to hold its competitive edge domestically and internationally.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, Wednesday, March 30, 1983.

Japan's Productive Car Unions

By JOHN HOLUSHA

Special to The New York Times

HIROSHIMA, Japan — Tetuo Ohson, the top labor union official at the Toyo Kogyo Company, gives a visitor a small gift, a tie clip. Prominently displayed on it is the word "Mazda," the trade name for Toyo Kogyo cars, and a symbol depicting the company's unique rotary engine. The union's initials are barely discernible.

Mr. Ohson's gesture indicates the close links that unions in Japan have with automobile companies. In Detroit, confrontation has marked labor-management relationships ever since members of the United Automobile Workers union sang "solidarity forever, the union makes us strong" as

they fought to organize and struck for better wages. In Japan, assembly line workers have long been encouraged to feel they are as much a part of the company as the president.

As a result, during the past two decades of rapid growth, the Japanese auto industry has been untroubled by the long strikes that were regular events in Detroit into the 1970's. And Japanese auto workers have become known the world over for their attention to quality, low absentee rates and willingness to shift from one job to another as needed. The auto companies have responded with steadily rising wages and fringe benefits, including subsidized housing, and a no-layoff policy.

Some of the social tensions that have caused problems in American

and European factories, such as the resentment felt by blue-collar workers toward white-collar privileges, have been avoided here. There are no petty distinctions, such as separate cafeterias for hourly and salaried workers, in Japan, for example. At plants of the Honda Motor Company, everyone wears the same white cotton shirt and pants and a green and white baseball-type cap.

Although some American executives have made much of the supposed Japanese work ethic and the cultural differences between workers in Japan and the United States, much of the positive attitude of Japanese workers seems to have been carefully fostered by the companies. In the United States, the common industrial posture has been that a factory employee sells

a fixed number of hours of labor to the company for a negotiated rate and little more. Personal development and careers are reserved for management.

In contrast, all employees start at the bottom in major Japanese companies, receive special training and are encouraged — some say coerced — to contribute suggestions on improving product quality and efficiency.

Some Concepts Tried in U.S.

American auto companies are coming to realize that elements of the Japanese approach, though expensive in the short run, can pay off in a commitment by workers to a company's future. Under a variety of rubrics, employee involvement has caught on lately in Detroit.

"By and large, we can give the Japanese good marks for being more people-conscious than the West," said John T. Eby, head of the Ford Motor Company's operations in Japan. "We tend to think of people as assets that can be moved around. They view training as a way of giving people a business orientation toward their jobs."

Labor relations in Japan have not always been so gentle. There were bitter strikes in the early 1950's as the Japanese auto companies were struggling to re-establish themselves after World War II. There were no clear winners in these battles, and the experiences appear to have scarred the current generation of union leaders.

"In 1950, when I was a young shop steward, the union ran a three-month strike," said Shiro Umemura, president of the federation of unions at the Toyota Motor Corporation. "Of 6,000 workers then, 1,600 lost their jobs. It was then that I learned what a serious problem unemployment can be."

The compromises worked out since then have included union acceptance of gains in productivity in return for management guarantees that no jobs would be lost as a result. In addition, white-collar workers were organized in unions that developed along company lines, rather than across the industry. And two decades of increasing prosperity have emphasized the value of cooperation over confrontation for both sides.

The Pressure to Conform

Still, it is hard to judge how much of the Japanese workers' dedication to their jobs is genuine and how much is the product of the pressure to conform that pervades Japanese society. Prof. Robert Cole, a specialist on Japan at the University of Michigan, said research had indicated that one-third to one-half of the industrial workers in Japan feel that attendance at quality circle meetings on their own time, a common practice, is a burden imposed by management. But they do attend. The Nissan Motor Company reports that 99 percent of its workers belong to quality circles.

This compliant attitude was described by Satoshi Kamata, a writer who worked in a Toyota plant for six months and wrote a critical book, "Japan in the Passing Lane," describing his experiences.

Workers' complaints about harsh treatment, he reported with some surprise, were never translated into action. "When the company declared an increase in output, it promised that 10 workers from another plant would be sent here as reinforcements," Mr. Kamata wrote, describing one incident. "In the end, only eight came. The only way to hold up the line was to offset the labor shortage by working overtime. Workers are angry. But still, when the time comes, we all return to work without protest."

Whatever the resentment in the ranks, union leaders are unanimous on one point: Only strong companies can provide prosperity. "Our basic philosophy is that the improvement of living standards of union members is closely related to the expansion of the company itself," Mr. Ohson said. "Pay levels are decided according to the ability of the company to pay. Unless the standing of the company is improved, it cannot pay more. That is why we believe in cooperation between union and management."

Wage Comparisons

Direct comparisons of the pay of Japanese and American auto workers are difficult, since the two systems of compensation are quite different. American auto executives have said

that the difference in labor costs is as high as 67 percent, at \$20 an hour in the United States and \$12 an hour in Japan. Ichiro Shioji, president of the Japan Auto Workers Federation, puts the difference at 20 to 30 percent.

Workers in Japan are paid more on the basis of their age, length of service and size of their families than on the type of job they are doing, as is the American practice.

A young man going to work in an auto plant in Japan is not likely to earn almost as much as his father in a few years, a common occurrence in American industry. Here, according to the Japan Auto Workers Federation, an 18-year-old high school graduate just beginning in an auto factory would be paid about \$498 a month. At 25, with the semianual bonuses included, his pay would be \$1,064 a month, and by 35 it would reach \$10.27 an hour for a 160-hour month, or \$1,643.20.

Base pay increases are negotiated early in the year and the bonuses, which can equal six months' base pay, are negotiated in the fall.

Neither agreement is incorporated in the basic contracts. Indeed, labor contracts in Japan are models of brevity compared with the bulky, legalistic documents that emerge from negotiations in the United States. This freedom from encumbering detail is said by analysts to be an important source of Japan's advantage over American auto makers.

Job Classifications

"One major difference between the two industries is the small number of job classifications in Japan," said David Cole, director of the University of Michigan's Center for Automotive Studies. Mr. Cole, who is unrelated to Robert Cole, said: "We have hundreds of restrictive classifications, and one worker is not permitted to do another's job. The Japanese can flow their labor better to where it is needed, and that is a big advantage."

Much of the training given factory workers by the Japanese auto companies equips them with multiple skills. And the more jobs a worker is qualified to perform, the more he is paid.

The results have been impressive. According to Japan's Ministry of Labor, the productivity of the Japanese auto industry, one-fifth that of American companies in 1967, was slightly superior in 1980, the last year for which figures are available.

Much of this gain is due to the heavy investment made by the Japanese companies in automated equipment, but without labor cooperation it would have been difficult to introduce the more advanced processes.

Union Aids Troubled Company

Flexibility can pay off in a crisis. Toyo Kogyo had a brush with bankruptcy in 1974 similar to the one the Chrysler Corporation went through at the end of the decade. Faced with an immediate need to cut costs, Chrysler dismissed thousands of office and production workers despite reluctant concessions by the U.A.W. At Toyo Kogyo, the union agreed to let the company send factory workers out as car salesmen, in an effort to cut production costs. Most of the workers returned to their old jobs as the company regained prosperity.

Many of the topics that cause the

biggest snarls across negotiating tables in the United States are not considered fit for collective bargaining in Japan. Union leaders restrict formal bargaining to economic issues and consign jurisdictional squabbles and working conditions to informal talks.

To the extent that there are noticeable cultural differences between organized labor in Japan and America, they emerge in issues related to the workers' place in society.

The U.A.W. gained wages and benefits that are half again those of the average industrial worker in the United States by demanding what it considered a fair share of the wealth of an enormously profitable industry. Leaders of Japanese auto unions say such an approach by them would be bad for what they describe as the "industrial harmony" of the country.

"When you look at Japanese industry as a whole, you see many industries in difficulties," said Mr. Shioji of the Japan Auto Workers Federation. "In light of this, I don't think we are in a position to achieve wages above the level of those other industries that are in difficulty." Labor analysts in the United States say it is hard to imagine a U.A.W. president telling his members they would have to go easy on General Motors this year because there are layoffs in the steel and aluminum industries.

Some Strains

But despite the progress through labor-management cooperation in Japan, some strains are beginning to show. Mr. Shioji is openly critical of

Takashi Ishihara, the president of Nissan, saying Mr. Ishihara has ended the informal labor-management consultations of the past for a more formal collective bargaining approach.

More significantly, Nissan and its union signed an agreement on March 1 that governs the introduction of automated equipment, the first agreement of its kind in Japan. It requires Nissan to consult with the union before installing robots or other labor-saving devices and insures that no workers will be dismissed or demoted. Mr. Shioji conceded that the union felt it needed a written agreement because of the uncertainties of the future.

Teachers Note: Answers have been supplied to this particular list of questions. You may wish to photocopy the list and strike the answers from the student copy before distribution.

Questions

1. In American car companies, workers and managers often compete with each other in an adversarial relationship. What is the relationship between workers and managers in Japanese automobile companies? Answer: Management makes great efforts to have assembly line workers feel as much a part of the company as the managers themselves.
2. What benefits have Japanese companies found in their good relations with workers? Answer: Few strikes, worker attention to quality, low absentee rates, and a willingness of workers to shift from one type of job to another within the company.
3. What benefits have workers received? Answer: Steadily rising wages and fringe benefits such as subsidized housing, and a "no lay-off" policy by the company.
4. Some American businessmen attribute Japanese managers' successful relations with their workers to different cultural attitudes. Are there other important reasons? Answer: Yes, Japanese managers are more "people-conscious" than many American managers, and they treat workers as part of the company rather than as simply "assets" that can be shifted around easily.
5. Japanese workers are sometimes called "devoted" to their company. Do they always agree with management policy? Answer: No, some workers resent going to quality circle meetings on their own time, and they get angry if they are forced to work overtime.
6. If Japanese workers disagree with management decisions about work or pay levels, why don't they strike or take other action to force management to accept their position? Answer: Because they recognize that their own well-being and benefits are tied to the success of the company they work for, given the system of enterprise unionism.
7. Because of the "no lay-off" policy, Japanese workers are willing to change jobs easily and accept new automation in the factory. In 1974, the auto company Toyo Kogyo (maker of Mazda) faced a financial crisis similar to the one that caused Chrysler to lay off thousands of workers. What did Toyo Kogyo managers do? Answer: They kept on excess workers and sent them out as salesmen to increase sales.
8. The relationship between workers and managers in most Japanese companies is based on trust and cooperation, rather than

legal contracts. Recently, informal management-union consultation in the Nissan Company has eroded. What followed this change? Answer: The company and union signed a formal agreement requiring Nissan to consult before installing labor-saving devices and ensuring that no workers will be dismissed or demoted.

9. Some people believe that good labor-management relations in Japan are due to a basic Japanese desire for harmony or to the importance of one's role in a group over one's own individual life. Today, Toyota Motor Company is known for its successful labor relations and high productivity. Was this true thirty years ago? Answer: No, between 1950 and 1962, labor and management fought with each other.

10. What happened in 1962 that forced labor and management to reach a consensus and develop greater cooperation with each other? Answer: The Japanese government began to allow imports of foreign cars, which threatened to be competitive and take part of Toyota's market.

11. Are good communications and trust between managers and workers only found in Toyota and other Japanese companies? Answer: No, they exist in companies such as IBM, Hewlett-Packard, Xerox, and numerous others outside Japan.

By JOHN HOLUSHA

Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, March 29 — These are heady days for the Japanese auto industry. Ridiculed as recently as two decades ago as producing cheap, unreliable vehicles, it is today the largest and strongest in the world, having surpassed the American industry in sales in 1980.

Long-established auto companies in the West are forging alliances with Japanese companies to share in Japan's advances in quality and production techniques. Even the General Motors Corporation, the world's largest industrial company and long considered a model of scientific management, has decided it must turn to the Japanese for help with smaller cars.

Carl Hahn, chairman of Volkswagen, the West German company that first

Last of five articles on how the Japanese auto industry has earned its reputation for quality.

spread the concept of low-cost, efficient cars across the globe, said recently, with a degree of wonderment: "For 20 years the Japanese learned from us. Now we are learning from them."

There is an exuberant sense here that almost anything is possible with the Japanese system. The Toyota Motor Corporation, for example, is manufac-

turing prefabricated houses. The Nissan Motor Company makes rockets and pleasure boats. The Honda Motor Company sees nothing unusual about operating a motorcycle racing circuit with a theme park attached.

But there are also elements of concern. Japan's auto prosperity is based on overseas markets that may not remain completely open. The success of the industry, in addition, is based on organization and techniques that could be matched elsewhere.

Virtually all of the American and European industrial executives and observers who have toured Japan's auto plants agree that there are few technical breakthroughs, if any, in Japan. The Japanese advantage, they say, comes from zealous attention to detail: reducing capital, material, and energy consumption in factories; improving quality in the production process to cut repair costs, and using labor more productively.

Japanese executives are generally reluctant to criticize their American counterparts. Nevertheless, Tetsuo Komatsu, the burly engineer who is chief of manufacturing for the Toyo Kogyo Company, said there was one obvious difference. Workers in American auto plants, he said, seem to have a lot of idle time.

"I have strong doubts if managers are arranging jobs so that all the time of workers is spent productively," he said. The movements of workers in Japanese auto plants, in comparison, appear to have been choreographed.

"They did not invent the forward pass here," said an American executive based in Japan. "They just improved a thousand little things."

The Kanban System

General Motors and its many suppliers will be learning some of these little things as they begin a joint venture with Toyota next year — under Toyota supervision — at G.M.'s plant in Fremont, Calif.

Japanese managers are already planning to convert the two-story plant to a one-story operation, and they will close the railroad line that ran into the plant. Willingly or not, American companies and workers are about to confront the Japanese kanban, or "just-in-time," production system. In the kanban system, costs are kept down by keeping inventory at a minimum.

"If parts come by railroad car, it could be as much as 10 days' supply," said Junichi Yoshikawa, a top production manager for Toyota. "That is not the most efficient way to stay in contact with suppliers. If a supplier has been sending one railroad car a week, we may suggest that he send one truck a day instead."

Many American auto executives, though frank in their admiration of Japanese advances in production systems and of the acceptance that cars from Japan have won throughout the world, say the Japanese industry would not have been as successful as rapidly as it was without a lot of help from the Japanese Government.

This assistance, the Americans say, included protection from outside competition during the industry's weak formative years, and a broad array of tax, regulatory and export incentives.

At the same time, they say, American auto companies were confronting a government that imposed mileage, emissions and safety regulations, and banned any joint industry effort to comply.

Indeed, the National Academy of Engineering, in a report on the United States auto industry, said that as the Japanese started their big auto export campaign in the mid-1960's, "Detroit was more vulnerable to foreign competition because of public disfavor brought on by politicization of the safety and emissions issues. Many U.S. citizens were eager to buy foreign as a protest."

Most Japanese auto executives say that government protection and promotion are history, and prefer to focus on the benefit of free trade. Some argue, however, that Japan's unique circumstances require it to operate under rules different from those of other developed nations.

"Japan is a poor country with few natural resources," said Taiichi Hara, a senior official of Nissan. "We have to live on high-technology industry. If that industry is left alone, others may catch us, as with textiles. For this reason, the Government constantly nurtures industries in the leading technology area."

Whatever the sources of its development, the Japanese auto industry has become a major competitive force — producing about one-quarter of all the world's cars and trucks each year.

This performance is more remarkable when compared with the overall productivity of Japanese society, which is still substantially behind that of the United States. According to the Bank of Japan, the per capita output of Japan was \$8,870 in 1980 compared with \$11,535 in the United States.

A Stagnant Home Market

For all its achievements, though, the Japanese auto industry is not invulnerable. For the last few years, the market in Japan has been stagnant at about five million cars and trucks a year. With a production capacity of more than 12 million vehicles a year, it is clear that prosperity depends on exports. And exports depend on the willingness of other nations to keep their markets open.

In the past few years of recession, most nations, including the United States, have imposed restrictions on Japanese auto imports to protect their domestic industries, which are major employers and an important part of any country's industrial base.

Such actions have forced the Japanese auto companies to begin establishing factories in other countries. These are difficult decisions, since they take the companies away from some of the main sources of their strength: Japanese workers, closely bound suppliers and industrial groupings that cooperate in ways that would be illegal under American antitrust laws.

In Japanese auto circles, it is said,

the question is whether Toyota can successfully make cars anywhere other than in its secure enclave at Toyota City. This insularity is generally given as a reason why the largest of the Japanese auto companies felt the need to join with G.M. in the United States instead of establishing a plant on its own, as the smaller Nissan and Honda companies have done.

The Profits in Exports

On the positive side, the enormous profitability of Japanese auto exports is available to finance this move overseas. (The prices of Japanese cars largely match those of comparable American cars, allowing the company to pocket the \$1,000 to \$1,500 cost advantage.)

"To put it simply," writes Martin L. Anderson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "they are 'cashing out' of the rich export markets in which

they hold considerable market power, and are using the surpluses generated to construct a production system which allows long-term diffused geographic power."

With factories in the United States, Toyota, Honda and Nissan will be free to try to increase their share of the American market without regard to import quotas.

The challenge to the American auto industry is clear. Unless it can match the Japanese in production costs and quality, or the Japanese companies find their system is not transplantable, the American industry may continue to shrink until it can sell only the larger cars that are its specialty.

Meeting the Challenge

The American manufacturers have recognized the challenge. They are attempting to increase the effectiveness of their workers by "employee involvement" and "quality of work life" pro-

grams. They are automating factories as fast as their depleted financial condition permits. And they are trying to duplicate the just-in-time production system to the extent possible in a nation that spans a continent.

Beyond that, they are staking their future on technology. "We ask ourselves, 'Do we really have to build cars the way they are in the Diego Rivera murals in the Detroit Arts Institute?'" said Robert C. Stempel, vice president for G.M.'s Chevrolet division. "There may be whole new ways of doing it, and that's what we are working on for our cars of the 1990's."

The National Academy of Engineering said in its report that rapid changes in technology might give the United States auto industry a competitive edge again. "Future technologies carry the possibility of significant change in production facilities," it said. "Advanced engine concepts, material and control systems require radically different equipment, skills and organization." Such a development might leapfrog current Japanese plants in efficiency.

As the Japanese auto industry matures, the advancing age of its work force is likely to drive its labor costs closer to those of American workers. And a rigid management system based largely on old-school ties may produce fewer industrial wizards like Soichiro Honda, the grade-school graduate who founded Japan's fourth-largest auto company in a repair shop after World War II.

Advancing technology has not, in fact, been a strong point for the Japanese auto industry, whose specialty has been in business organization and application of available technology. As things stand now, though, there are few who will disagree that the Japanese have taught the world a lesson on how to

produce reliable, efficient automobiles at less cost than had been thought possible.

Teachers Note: Answers have been supplied to this particular list of questions. You may wish to photocopy the list and strike the answers from the student copy before distribution.

Questions

1. Why are Japanese auto makers worried about the future?
Answer: Because their success is based on overseas markets that may not remain open, and on organization and techniques that can be matched elsewhere.
2. General Motors (GM) is hoping to learn how the Japanese managers achieve their success. How? Answer: They are beginning a joint venture with Toyota to produce cars at a GM plant in Fremont, California.
3. American manufacturers usually stockpile large quantities of the parts for mass assembly. Japanese manufacturers often use a different system, which they call the "kanban" system ("just in time" system). What is this system? Answer: Parts are bought in many small lots instead of one big lot--this allows the company to avoid problems of warehousing and large inventory, and brings production problems immediately to management attention.
4. Some American auto makers blame part of their problems on the government. Why? Answer: Because the government imposed regulations concerning mileage, emissions, and safety and did not allow any joint industry effort to meet these demands.
5. The Japanese auto industry is highly competitive because of high productivity--high production per worker. Is Japan's overall economic productivity greater than that of the U.S.? Answer: The U.S. economy is more productive. Japan has many areas of low productivity, such as agriculture.
6. Japanese auto makers face a stagnating market and restrictions on their auto exports. What are they doing to meet this problem? Answer: They are beginning to establish factories in other countries.
7. What are American auto makers doing to meet the competitive challenge of the Japanese auto industry? Answer: they are copying some Japanese techniques such as "employee involvement" and "quality of work life" programs, and they are automating factories and using the "kanban" system.
8. What factor may favor the American auto makers over the Japanese? Answer: American manufacturers may be able to adopt new technologies to "leapfrog" present Japanese techniques, especially if Japanese auto makers have trouble adopting or developing new manufacturing technology.

9. Has Japan's strength been in inventing new technologies or in imitating and improving on those invented in other countries?
Answer: The latter.

To what degree do you think this could pose a problem for Japan in maintaining its competitive edge? Explain your answer.

ARTICLE 6: ARE THERE FLAWS IN THE JAPANESE SYSTEM?

The preceding articles have listed the strengths of various Japanese practices such as government involvement in industry, managerial freedom from stockholders, cooperation between labor and management, and the general ability of the Japanese to work together effectively in groups as a team. The Japanese themselves, however, are equally conscious of the weaknesses that are linked to such practices. This article examines some of the problems facing the Japanese as they try to maintain their economic success.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, Sunday, June 13, 1982.

Japan Struggling With Itself

THE TRAITS BEHIND THE 'MIRACLE' IMPOSE THEIR LIMITS.

Capital

Heavy industries, such as autos, steel and shipbuilding, have tapped banks, many of which hold their shares, for loans at low interest. The system, built on debt, favors companies with ample land, plant and equipment as collateral.

Management

Japanese middle managers, secure in their jobs and deeply loyal, have applied Western technology to create the world's most highly efficient production systems. Japan has become the lowest-cost producer of key products.

Labor

A large base of young workers, imbued with obedience and uniformity, have accepted factory routine and run assembly lines like clockwork.

Capital

Emerging businesses, notably high-technology industries, lacking collateral, have found it difficult to obtain low-interest money or even attention from banks. Virtually no venture capital market exists.

Management

Japan's top managers, bred to consensus, have rarely charted whole new industries. A commitment, once made, is not easily abandoned when things sour. A reluctance to voice unpleasantness can stifle feedback.

Labor

Emphasis on uniformity rather than individualism has discouraged basic invention. Japan has come forth with innumerable improvements but few technological breakthroughs.

Some Japanese fear that the bent for consensus and uniformity handicaps Japan's economy in an era of high technology.

By STEVE LOHR

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TOKYO
THE term "the Japanese challenge" has become a modern incantation, a phrase that instantly elicits admiration and fear in the West. Its mention summons images of devastation and layoffs in such American industries as autos and steel, and the looming Japanese threat to the high-technology industries of the future, such as computers, semiconductors and bioengineering.
- But there is another Japanese challenge as well: the one within Japan. The neatly meshing Japanese system, which foreigners view with such envy, has built-in contradictions. The very forces of collectivism and social cohesion and the distinctive corporate and financial practices that have served Japan so well up to now are already coming into conflict and may hinder its economic advance in the future.

"After the war the direction was clear," said Nao-

hiro Amaya, a former vice minister of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, who was one of the architects of Japan's industrial policies for three decades. "Japan's economy was like a train on a perfectly straight track. You didn't have to be a genius to drive that train. But the era when there were no crossroads is over. Now we are going to enter a difficult period."

Japan is already struggling to keep pace in computer technology, an area that the nation is counting on for much of its economic growth. Though they have been billed as an ominous threat to American computer makers, the personal computers recently introduced in the United States market by the Nippon Electric Corporation and the Oki Electric Company have received a cool response, and were brushed aside as unpromising by many in the industry.

Even Japan's triumph over the United States in the development of 64K random access memory chips is not as dramatic as it once appeared. Japan's success in this product line is not so much a bold stroke of innovation, but an extension of existing technology. Nor is it a victory over American industry as a whole, but only against those producers who sell to outside customers. I.B.M. reportedly produces more 64K RAM chips, which it then uses in its own products, than American and Japanese companies combined. Moreover, it has developed the world's largest semiconductor chip, an experimental chip with 288,000 cells.

The challenges that lay before Japan are, in essence, a series of budding problems that must be resolved if the country is to really be No. 1, as its enthusiasts claim.

- Japan's hierarchical, seniority-based system of management, which has been so effective at coordinating the high-volume production of manufactured items, has in many instances not been flexible and fast-moving enough to navigate its way to lead in emerging markets.

- Its system of corporate finance, set up after World War II by the Bank of Japan and the Ministry of Finance to fund heavy industry, has created a mountain of debt for many companies and has proven inadequate for bankrolling innovative new industries, which typically are begun by bevy of shoestring entrepreneurs. Efforts to raise funds in the equity and capital markets have been equally troublesome.

- Perhaps most important, the country's emphasis on community, obedience and uniformity, all of which have been crucial to its highly efficient assembly lines, has discouraged individual creativity and, with it, far-reaching product inventions.

ALL these problems are coming into play after a long period during which Japanese industry borrowed the basic technology of the West, particularly the United States. Consequently, Japan's industrial strategy played to the strengths of its tight-knit society — namely, organizing a highly skilled work force for the mass production of goods more efficiently than competitors. "The Japanese strength is in the middle management and blue collar," Mr. Amaya, the former M.I.T.I. official, said. "Our problem is that the quality of top-level people is inferior to their counterparts in the U.S. and Europe. When there is no doubt about the direction to go, then the Japanese company is quite effective. But when we come to a crossroads, when a decision must be made about which direction to go, we are sometimes in trouble."

One example of just such trouble is Mitsui and Company's petrochemical venture in Iran. After billions of dollars and endless difficulties, the project has yet to

be completed. Any trouble that might develop is likely to be exacerbated by Japan's rigid system of corporate finance. With no venture capital market to speak of, bank loans are still the basic source of funding for Japanese corporations.

By American standards, the debt to equity ratio of the average Japanese concern is alarmingly high, with about 85 percent debt and 15 percent equity. "There is doubt whether this system will be viable in the future as we have to develop new industries," Akio Mikuni, a Tokyo financial consultant to many Japanese companies, said.

The current method of financing was established under Government direction after World War II. Japan has a collateral lending system. Simply put, this means that bank loans at the lowest interest rates are given to companies with the most assets, such as land, plant and equipment — all of which serve as collateral on the loans.

It was a system designed to finance the development of heavy industry in the postwar period, such as shipbuilding and steel. The assets, or collateral, are the stuff of which heavy industry is made.

Many companies are trying to break away from bank loans by raising money in capital markets, but often corporate executives are not up to the task. Roughly 50 Japanese companies issued convertible debentures in the European market last year, for instance, but "many of them were unsuccessful in that the price went down right after the issue," said David S. Phillips, a managing director of Morgan Stanley & Company in Tokyo.

THE reason for the poor timing of some of the issues, Mr. Phillips explained, was that once a Japanese company has announced the date and pricing of its issue it will rarely change dates, even though the market may have turned unfavorable. "Japanese companies are far less likely to postpone or change the timing of an issue," Mr. Phillips says, "because saving face, keeping up appearances is much more important to Japanese companies and executives."

The high-fixed interest costs of carrying debt from the public and private sector have pushed Japanese companies to look at the equity market as a possible source of funds at a lower price.

Yet there is a drawback in equity financing, too. One of the much-praised virtues of Japanese corporate management is its patience. The Japanese take the long-term view, as it is often

said, and do not strain to report high short-term profits. A key reason Japanese executives have the luxury of taking such a stance is that their companies generally depend so little on the stock market. But if companies gradually come to depend more on the equity market for funds, they will eventually come under greater pressure from shareholders to post near-term profits, just like American corporations.

Although Japan's financing problems are obstacles to future growth, there are many who are far more concerned with Japan's ability to invent. Success in this area will be among the most important factors for the nation's economic future and, many say, the acid test of its society. Japan has come up with precious few basic contributions to scientific theory or breakthrough technologies. To date, its innovative skill has been in refining, repairing or miniaturizing existing technologies. Recognizing the shortcoming in basic research, the Japanese Government is investing heavily on scientific education and research facilities, including an entire science city in Tsukuba, about 30 miles north of Tokyo.

The funding for scientific education will undoubtedly increase the volume of researchers and engineers, markedly increasing the pool of such workers that high-technology companies can choose from. But many Japanese and foreign analysts doubt how successful the forced-march approach to creativity will be in the context of Japanese culture. The values of community and collectivism are stressed. Confucian hierarchy, respect for one's elders and superiors are traditions that go back thousands of years. Western notions of individualism are not part of this tradition. And the record of history shows that genius is not a group experience.

Many of Japan's leading scientists have fled the country, either to do research in the West and then return or to leave for good. Japan has had very few Nobel Prize winners. Leo Esaki is one of Japan's four Nobel laureates in science, and one of only two surviving today. Mr. Esaki, who discovered the tunnel effect in semiconductors, lives in the United States and works as a research fellow for the International Business Machines Corporation.

"The Japanese never challenge the unknown," Mr. Esaki was quoted as saying in an interview last year. "There is a lack of the spirit of exploration. Eventually, you come down to the lack of individualism."

For this reason, many contend that the Japanese semiconductor companies are far behind the American industry in microprocessors — the best known of the logic chips, which perform arithmetic functions. Microprocessors require shorter design times and more innovative skill to develop. "In microprocessors, the U.S. has the clear lead and it looks like it will keep that lead through the 1980's," Benjamin M. Rosen, an independent analyst in New York, said.

SIMILARLY, the United States still retains a sizable edge in computer software — the electronic instructions that tell computers what to do. Japan has made impressive strides in developing software systems for such applications as airline reservations and electronic banking. Yet traditionally, the business has been largely a cottage industry and the best software writers have often been prickly eccentrics working alone, sometimes literally in mountain retreats.

"There is still a big gap on the science side of technology," said Hideji Sugiyama, a top electronics official at M.I.T.I., who separates technological development into basic science and mass production. Japan has excelled in the latter but not the former, he contends.

It seems that Japan's apparent problems in creative fields can be traced to the same cultural values that give it an edge in terms of manufacturing discipline on the factory floor. But even that edge may be disappearing as Japan faces the economic consequences of the rapid aging of its society. At present, Japan benefits from a comparatively young population, which gives it the advantage of minimal social welfare expenses for retired people. This, in turn, helps to keep taxes low and increase funds available for savings and investment. Japan currently has 7.5 working persons for each retiree. In contrast, the ratio in the United States and Western Europe is about 3 to 1.

Yet this Japanese advantage is fast disappearing. It is doing so because the so-called economic miracle of the

postwar years has so materially improved the quality of life in Japan. The average life expectancy has jumped from 55 years in 1949 to 76 years today. Accordingly, the ratio of working people to retired persons in Japan will reach 3 to 1 by 2000.

"The aging of our population is the most significant structural threat to Japan's economic growth in the long term," said Masaru Yoshitomi, chief economist of the Government's Economic Planning Agency.

That threat comes at a time when Japan's job-intensive basic industries are already suffering. It is well known that after the Arab oil embargo Japan led the world in energy conservation and that the auto industry fell in its lap, because everyone suddenly wanted the small cars that it had specialized in designing and producing. Less well known is the jolt that some of its basic industries are still struggling to cope with in the wake of the two oil shocks of the 1970's. Japan relies on oil for about two-thirds of its basic energy needs, the highest percentage among the major industrialized nations. Nearly all Japan's oil is high-cost imports.

Thus, some of Japan's energy-dependent industries, such as aluminum smelting and petrochemicals, have become extremely uncompetitive. And the oil refining industry, because of the conservation efforts, is riddled with overcapacity.

Of the plight of some of Japan's basic industries, Keiji Miyamoto,

deputy director of M.I.T.I.'s industrial structure division, observed: "The very foundation of that industrial activity which must support Japan's future economic performance is in doubt."

The petrochemical, aluminum smelting and oil refining industries are all absorbing huge losses, and the banks that lend to them are squirming. The companies in all these industries are trying to streamline their operations to become more competitive.

In these efforts, one problem is the traditional system of permanent employment, which is usually applauded by Western analysts. There is a term that is well-known to most Japanese: *Madogiawazoku*. It means "tribe by the window." These are people in stagnant or declining industries who have nothing to do but come to work and read a novel or, sometimes, stare aimlessly out the window. Unless a company is perched on the brink of bankruptcy, such people are not dismissed because of the permanent employment system.

Some argue that this is a more humane way of handling the problem of excess workers than laying them off, as in the West. But it certainly is a drain on the productive resources of the economy. Even if they could find jobs elsewhere, these people do not leave the company because that would be an intolerable loss of face in a society where lifetime employment is still the rule in big companies.

Teachers Note: Answers have been supplied to this particular list of questions. You may wish to photocopy the list and strike the answers from the student copy before distribution.

Questions

1. Although the success of Japanese semiconductor companies in dominating the market for the "64K chip" is well known, this market does not include chips made by companies that use them directly in their own computers. What is the reported production of 64K chips by IBM? Answer: More than the combined total of all other American and Japanese companies.
2. The author lists three problems that must be solved for Japan to continue its success. What are they? Answer: Japan's management sometimes is not flexible or fast-moving enough; corporate finance has created great debt and has been inadequate for establishing innovative industries; the emphasis on group values has discouraged individual creativity.
3. Most American companies raise money for their business through profits and by selling stock (equity) on the stock market. The amount of debt is a small part of their total worth. What is the debt to equity ratio of the average Japanese company? Answer: 85 percent debt to 15 percent equity.
4. Bank loans are easy for big companies with valuable assets to get, but they must pay interest on these loans, and interest rates have recently become much higher in both the United States and Japan. What are Japanese companies trying to do about this? Answer: They are trying to raise money through the stock market.
5. If companies become dependent on raising funds from the sale of stock, they may come under pressure from the stockholders. What will the stockholders want? Answer: They want more immediate profits and less emphasis on the long-term economic benefits to the company.
6. Japanese companies have been very successful at using existing technologies. Explain whether they been as successful in developing new basic technology. Answer: No, at least not yet.
7. Japanese group values have helped them in applying existing technology. Does the author believe that these values will help or hinder them in developing new technology? Why? Answer: Hinder them, because "genius is not a group experience."
8. At present, Japan has 7.5 working persons for every person who is retired. What is the ratio in the United States and

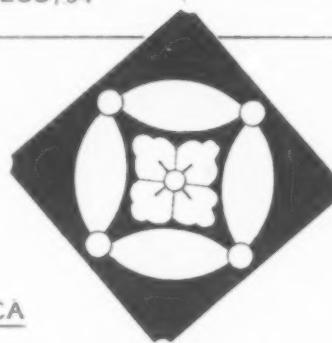
Europe? When will the Japanese ratio be the same as that of the United States and Europe? Answers: 3 to 1; by the year 2000.

9. What happened to energy-intensive industry in Japan after the Arab oil embargo and price increases of 1973? Answer: Oil imports became expensive and these industries became extremely uncompetitive.

10. Declining industries in Japan try to avoid firing excess workers. Why is this bad? Why is it good? Answers: It is bad because workers do not have enough to do, and this makes the company even more uncompetitive. It is good, some people argue, because it is a more humane way of handling the problem.

11. Some observers argue that the Japanese are better at imitating than they are at inventing. Does this article support that view? Explain. What effect could this have on the development of Japanese industry in the era of high technology?

Film Resources



JAPAN, INC.: LESSONS FOR NORTH AMERICA

Film Title: Japan, Inc.: Lessons for North America

Format: 16 mm, color, 28 minutes (1981)

Available from: Extension Media Center
University of California
2176 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, CA 94704

Rental Fee: \$41.00, plus \$6.00 postage and handling.

This short film explores Japanese organization in the business office, civil service, and factory. It shows a class of "freshmen employees" singing to the company flag as they are being inducted into the Toyota Motor Company on April 1. It discusses lifetime employment, automation, quality control circles, decision making by consensus, and managerial style at Toyota. This film dramatizes many of the issues raised by the reading and articles in this unit.

• A GLIMPSE OF PEOPLE IN TOYOTA

<u>Film Title:</u>	A Glimpse of People in Toyota	
<u>Format:</u>	videocassette (1/2 inch VHS), color, 25 minutes (1983)	16mm, color, 25 minutes (1983)
<u>Available from:</u>	Outreach Program Council on East Asian Studies Yale University 85 Trumbull Street, Box 13A New Haven, CT 06520	University of Washington Instructional Media Services Seattle, WA 98195
<u>Rental Fee:</u>	Postage and handling only	\$10 handling charge

Produced by Japan Cable Television in cooperation with the Toyota Motor Corporation, the film looks at the lives of three Toyota workers--a car designer, a car inspector, and an assembly line worker. Each vignette depicts both the working lives and leisure activities of these company employees. An interesting film to show in conjunction with the article on the Japanese auto industry.

The Japanese Economy Now

Despite the title, this film was made in 1978, after the oil shock of 1973 and the recession of 1974-75. It is really about the transition to the Japanese economy of the future. After briefly noting Japan's rapid economic growth of the 1960s and early 1970s and its achievement of a level of affluence equal to that of Europe, the film explores the new period of slower growth, structural economic change, and new economic priorities in Japan.

Film Title: THE JAPANESE ECONOMY NOW

Format 16 mm, color, 25 minutes (release date, 1978)

Available from: Public Affairs Office
Japan Trade Center*
1221 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10020
Telephone: (212) 997-0400

Rental fee: FREE

* Office also in Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Teacher's Note: This list can be distributed to students prior to showing the film in order to focus their attention on the material in the film.

Questions for Discussion

1. As a result of Japan's recovery and sustained economic growth following World War II, per capita income is high and consumer spending is directed less toward the necessities than toward quality and luxury items. According to the film, there is no longer spectacular economic growth in Japan. The president of Nippon Steel described the Japanese economy before the oil crisis of the 1970s as moving like an Olympic sprinter, while afterward it had to adjust to the pace of a long-distance runner.

What was the oil crisis?

What was its immediate effect on Japan?

What does the racing simile mean in terms of the Japanese economy?

2. The "lifetime employment system," especially in larger businesses, has meant that a young Japanese, just out of school and going into a first job, could expect to spend his working life with the same company--until mandatory retirement at age 55-60, after which most go to work in some smaller company. With a slower economy, this system is losing ground, and the unemployment rate is rising. According to the film, such unemployment is particularly hard on the middle-aged and elderly.

Why is "lifetime employment" a misnomer?

Why is "lifetime employment" more difficult to maintain in a less active economy?

What happens, for example, if a factory has to reduce its production without reducing the number of employees?

Why is the unemployment problem hardest on older workers in Japan?

How is the Japanese employment system similar to or different from that common in the United States?

3. The textile industry, important to Japan's international trade for over a hundred years, has recently found itself less competitive in the world market. It has been subject to an "industry-specific recession." One solution to this problem has been diversification. What does this mean, and why is it a possible answer to industry-specific recession?

Another potential solution was found by the company Inoue Pleats shown in the film. What innovations made by that company helped it avoid the textile recession?

What does the company's small size have to do with its success?

4. As a postindustrial society, Japan is shifting its economic emphasis more and more to tertiary industries (services) and away from secondary ones.

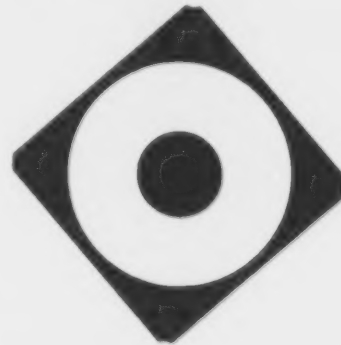
What service industries were mentioned in the film as thriving?

Why is this true?

5. Toward the end of the film, three problems of contemporary life in Japan are mentioned: increasing educational competition, the quality and availability of good housing, and the longer life expectancy of Japanese (the highest in the world) leading to various problems for the elderly.

Describe how each of these problems is related to economic conditions.

- education
- housing
- life expectancy



Vocabulary

corollary,

affluence

productivity

Gross National Product (GNP)

industry-specific

recession

industrial hardware

software

seniority

per capita

diversification

Points for Clarification

1. Structural depression in manufacturing industries. As a result of higher energy costs, higher labor costs, and increasing competition from other nations (especially newly developing nations), a number of Japanese industries have come under economic pressure and may prove unviable in the future for Japan. The film looks at two such industries--textiles and shipbuilding. It shows three attitudes toward this problem: resignation (in the shipbuilding industry); acceptance of competition (a small textile manufacturer junks old and excess machinery to increase efficiency); and innovation (a Tokyo textile manufacturer develops a specialty market). The film implies that the wave of the future is the last course, quoting the manufacturer's remark that "By giving as much consideration to the software as to the hardware, we can develop a knowledge-intensive industry with the emphasis on specialization, for example, or luxury." This is a significant change in the pattern of Japanese manufacturing success. Previously, the emphasis was on low costs through efficiency of scale (increasing the quantity of production), capital investment, and cooperative labor relations. Now, the emphasis is on increasing price by appealing to specific markets in terms of creativity, quality, high technology, and luxury.

2. Expansion of service industries. As growth in manufacturing stabilizes (as the film puts it, Japan is no longer in a 100-meter sprint, but in a long-distance race), other industries in the tertiary sector will become more important. The film mentions specifically services such as restaurants, specialty shops, travel, and leisure industries. All are clearly linked to Japan's new affluence.

3. Expansion of "social" services. Japan's emphasis on economic expansion in heavy industry has lead to a comparative lack of growth in "social capital"--public investment in housing, sewage facilities, parks, and social security for the elderly. The lack of such public investment has placed a major burden on each individual to provide for himself or herself. The film describes how this burden creates a "poverty mentality" among Japanese, despite their apparent affluence. The need to save money to avert crises such as retirement or unemployment or to meet anticipated costs for housing and education has been an important factor in the Japanese savings rate of approximately 20 percent of income (compared to an American rate of about 5 percent). In response to the demand, the government has increased its expenditures in such areas over the last ten years.

4. In summary, the film states that "Japan is adjusting her goals, and the pace from now on will be slow and steady." The final question from a government survey illustrates the new division in Japanese economic goals, adding to affluence an increased interest in the "quality of life."

The Colonel Comes to Japan

This Emmy Award-winning video, written, produced and directed by John Nathan, is recommended as an entertaining insight into some aspects of Japanese business and the adaptations that a familiar American business—Kentucky Fried Chicken—had to make to be an economic success in a very different culture. There are amusing scenes of employees being trained in the proper way to hold a bag of fried chicken, and the planning of a TV ad campaign promoting Kentucky Fried Chicken as "aristocratic" food. There are also more profound lessons about the effects of the life-time employment system, urban crowding, and the high cost of land; the importance of establishing good social relations; and the long-range perspective of Japanese business.

Title: The Colonel Comes to Japan

Format: 16 mm or 1/2 inch video, color, 30 minutes
(release date: 1981)

Available from: Att: Sharon Schommer
Learning Corporation
of America
108 Wilmot Road
Deerfield, IL 60015

13A

Rental fee: \$50.00

Outreach Program
Council on East Asian
Studies
Yale University
85 Trumbull Street, Box

New Haven, CT 06520

\$10.00 plus postage for
out-of-state users

A GUIDE TO

ENTERPRISE

The Colonel Comes to Japan

Synopsis

Japan is the restaurant capital of the world. The country has one eating establishment for every 81 people. Competition, understandably, is fierce.

One outfit that has been able to penetrate the market is Kentucky Fried Chicken. KFC was actually asked by the enormous Japanese conglomerate Mitsubishi to participate in a joint fast-food venture. The gesture was not simply hands-across-the-water generosity. Mitsubishi just happens to be the largest chicken grower in Japan. KFC would have had trouble finding enough chicken to fry elsewhere in the country, and imported birds develop skin disease. The partnership has turned out to be mutually rewarding, with Mitsubishi leading the Colonel through the maze of the Japanese bureaucracy, and KFC netting a solid profit.

The program follows the opening of one restaurant in a relatively traditional Tokyo neighborhood. While the product itself is the same as in the United States, just about everything else is not. KFC is positioned differently in the market, appealing to a higher-paying customer. The familiar restaurant design is altered to fit a limited space. Outside, the restaurant displays little plastic models of the food available inside, as is customary in Japan. In one scene, the Japanese store manager and workers go door-to-door to drum up new business.

KFC seems to be catching on. The Japanese have obviously developed a fondness for the Colonel and his chicken. And the total operation is bringing in \$200 million a year.

Commentary

The proliferation of Japanese imports in the United States has given rise to a call for protective tariffs. But all the commotion has obscured the fact that American companies are beginning to carve out markets in Japan.

Japan is a rich, populous country of some 120 million, 90 percent of whom consider themselves middle class. It is thus the second largest consumer society in the world, outranked only by the United States itself. Japanese consumers generally admire Americans and their products. So the business climate can be remarkably favorable.

But good will translates into profits only if the American company appreciates the vast differences between the two cultures and accommodates itself to them. Site location for the new business, for example, is one of the most important decisions of all. Real estate is far more expensive in Japan than in the United States. The Japanese use sophisticated formulas to determine the relative distances of a prospective shop from public transportation, from factories, and from schools, taking into account the number of people who traverse them. As in the United States, they analyze their sales in terms of profitability per square foot.

Almost as critical is the treatment of workers. Like Japanese employers, the American company in Japan must incorporate the hiring, training, management, benefits, and retirement policies that are customary. The workers, in turn, tend to perform more conscientiously than those at home.

The company that refuses to adapt will invariably fail, as many have; the company that does adapt can flourish.

LCA VIDEO FILMS
A DIVISION OF LEARNING CORPORATION OF AMERICA

1350 Avenue of the Americas New York, N.Y. 10019

(212) 397-9360

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Printed in U.S.A. 1181500

Questions for Discussion

1 Think of some American-made goods that, following the example of Kentucky Fried Chicken, might be successfully exported to Japan. What cultural, linguistic, or technological barriers would have to be overcome before these enterprises flourished?

2 Assume that a restaurant's location was as crucial in America as it is in Japan. Where in your community is the ideal site for a Kentucky Fried Chicken franchise? Your decision should reflect such variables as public transportation, proximity of schools and factories, existing competition, and local attitudes toward fast food.

3 If you were an American entrepreneur trying to start up a chain of Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurants in Tokyo, what typically Japanese policies should you implement toward your employees? In answering this question, consider the presentation of management styles in the "Enterprise" episode about the Kyocera Corporation.

4 Do you think that the growing popularity of American goods in foreign countries will help promote international understanding? Is middle-class consumerism a "universal language"?

photo: J.P. Laffont, Sigma



Purchase price of each ENTERPRISE program: \$500

This guide to the film was prepared by Learning Corporation of America and WGBH Educational Foundation.

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FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE / CONTENTS

ARTICLE 9 AND THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY TREATY

(Reading/Primary Source Selection)

discusses that section of the postwar Japanese constitution that renounces war and prohibits the maintenance of military forces for the settlement of international disputes. This constitution was adopted during the period of the American Occupation. The unit then outlines the provisions of the U.S.-Japan security agreement and explores the changing attitudes in both Japan and the United State towards Japan's military strength.

HOW SHOULD JAPAN INCREASE ITS DEFENSE?

(Class Debate)

structured as a class debate, this exercise is designed to introduce students to the several opinions, in both Japan and the United States, on this very controversial and political issue.

JAPAN'S FOREIGN RELATIONS

(Reading/Map Exercise/Primary Source Selection)

explores Japan's position as a major economic power in the Pacific region and the world. It discusses Japan's relationship with the United States, the nations of Southeast Asia, the European Economic Community, the Persian Gulf countries on which Japan depends for much of its energy needs, and Japan's two large communist neighbors, China and the Soviet Union. The unit includes a map exercise and two primary source newspaper articles, the first focussing on Japan as one of the world's advanced industrial democracies and the second on Japan as a leader in Asia.

JAPAN IN THE WORLD TODAY

(Reading/Class Discussion)

takes a look at Japan's changing role in international circles, both economically and politically. The unit is followed by a series of classroom discussion questions.

RESOURCE LIST

of background materials on Japanese foreign policy and U.S.-Japan relations.

Article 9 and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty

AN OVERVIEW OF JAPAN'S POSTWAR DEFENSE POLICY

"Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized." --The Constitution of Japan, Article 9

The above statement was written into the postwar Japanese constitution with the approval of the American officials who headed the occupation of Japan. This constitution is sometimes called the "MacArthur Constitution," because General Douglas MacArthur, commander of all Allied forces in the Pacific, directed its writing. He may also have originated Article 9 although Japanese leaders had a significant hand in its drafting. The United States fought and occupied Japan primarily to ensure that it would not go to war again, and Article 9 was written to guarantee this. In 1947 General MacArthur stated his vision of a postwar Japan that would remain disarmed and be overseen by the new United Nations.

Changing American Attitudes Toward Japan's Defense

Any American vision of an unarmed Japan living in peace under the reign of a world government was surely brief, however, falling before the rapidly changing international scene. Chiang Kai-shek,

America's wartime ally in China, lost to the Communist armies and fled to Taiwan in 1949. Another of America's allies, the Soviet Union, was beginning to be perceived as the greatest postwar threat to democracy. In 1950 the Korean War pitted Communist nations in the Far East against a United Nations force, made up largely of Americans, that was supplied in part from Japan. In that same year, when John Foster Dulles was appointed to begin negotiating a peace treaty with Japan to conclude the American occupation, he and most other American policymakers had come to see Japan as very important to the defense of American interests and democracy in the Far East.

In negotiating a peace treaty that would end the occupation and return political control to the Japanese government, Dulles and the other Americans were not indicating any desire to withdraw from Japan. Actually, the peace treaty was aimed at strengthening U.S.-Japanese ties, and the offer of a treaty was combined with U.S. pressure for both Japanese rearmament and a military alliance with the United States. Although most of the allied countries signed the treaty, which was presented at San Francisco in 1951, several Asian states did not, including the new People's Republic of China on the mainland (which in fact was not invited to the conference) and the Soviet Union.

Rearmament

Ironically, by the end of the occupation it was the Americans who were pressing for Japanese rearmament and the Japanese government that was resisting, in the name of the American-inspired constitution. Dulles encouraged Japan to rearm itself and become an effective military ally of the United States, but there was still great reluctance in Japan to do this. Many people remained shocked by the devastation of the war. Japan finally agreed, however, to the minimum that the Americans would accept and created a "National Police Reserve," a paramilitary force of 75,000 to defend the Japanese islands.

The U. S.-Japan Security Treaty

In 1952 the United States Congress ratified the peace treaty that formally ended the postwar American occupation of Japan. Simultaneously it ratified a "U.S.-Japan Security Treaty." This treaty allowed the American military to continue to use important bases in Japan for the defense of the Far East and to intervene in Japan to put down any internal disturbances should the Japanese government request such assistance. While the Japanese government and a majority of the public supported the ratification of the new treaty structure, a sizeable number did not. Even many pro-American conservative Japanese felt that the treaty compromised Japan's independence. Having negotiated this security treaty while under American occupation, however, Japan had little influence over its terms.

Japan's Political Division Over Defense

While international events were shaping American attitudes toward Japan's strategic importance, domestic events were reshaping Japanese thinking. The division over the security treaty with the United States and the continuing presence of American soldiers in Japan continued throughout the 1950s. This conflict paralleled other political problems that pitted the political left and right against each other.

In the middle were the moderate conservatives, representing particularly the business, rural and bureaucratic sectors, which made up a majority of the country. They supported the creation of modest Self-Defense Forces, but preferred to entrust the military security of the country primarily to the United States, while they concentrated on economic recovery.

On the right were the nationalists, who while favoring the U.S. alliance, wanted a stronger military posture and greater independence from the United States in foreign affairs. They were also generally dissatisfied with the liberal "MacArthur Constitution," which they felt was imposed upon Japan from outside and which renounced Japan's sovereign right to war. The constitution also lowered the position of the emperor; weakened state control of education, local government, and political expression; and supported labor unions and other institutions that the conservatives felt were unsuited to traditional Japanese values.

Opposing the moderate conservatives and the Right-Wing nationalists were the labor unions and the socialist and communist parties on the left--groups which had felt the oppression of the prewar militarists and greatly benefitted from the new constitution. This group felt that Japan did not face any real external military threat other than the possibility that its alliance with the United States might drag it into some struggle not of Japan's own making. For the socialists, peace could only be ensured by complete neutrality and passivism in foreign affairs, the Self-Defense Forces being seen as chiefly useful for such domestic assignments as disaster relief.

Conflict and Compromise Over Defense Policy

Throughout the postwar period the socialist and communist parties have maintained enough popular support to achieve the one-third of the Diet votes necessary to block any reform of the Japanese constitution. However, control of the government--and therefore defense policy--has been in the hands of the conservative parties, since 1955 the Liberal Democratic party (LDP). The LDP, which includes some right-wing nationalists as well as a larger group of cautious, pro-American conservatives, has developed a pragmatic policy of limited rearmament under the protection afforded by a close relationship with the United States. This policy has been continually attacked by both the right and the

left and has often come under pressure from the United States, but it is still the prevailing policy in Japan.

In May 1960, conflict over Japan's defense policy brought about one of the greatest political crises in the postwar period. The security treaty was central to the LDP's defense policy, but it was not entirely satisfactory to the conservatives. Japan had no control over how American soldiers based in Japan were to be used--whether overseas, for purely American interests, or even in Japan, to put down domestic disturbances. The Japanese government wished for a more equal treaty, a treaty of "mutual defense," which recognized the benefits for both sides. The issue was put to Americans in 1958, and a new treaty was negotiated and signed in 1960. Among the important changes were the commitment of the United States for the first time to defend Japan, the provision that Japan would be consulted before the United States moved major forces into or out of the country, and the clause allowing either side to end the treaty after 1970 with one year's notice.

Renegotiating the treaty clearly seemed to be in Japanese interests and marked the resurgence of national pride following the occupation. The political left, however, opposed any military alliance with the United States--even a better one--and took this opportunity to try to bring about an end to the treaty by organizing mass protests in the streets. These were so large and uncontrolled that the visit of President Eisenhower, which was scheduled for 1960 to mark the new cooperation between the two nations, had to be cancelled. Eventually order was restored and the new treaty was ratified with majority popular support.

Despite the continuing opposition of some Japanese to Japan's alliance with the United States, public hostility thereafter lessened and two years later in 1970 when it became again legally possible to reconsider the treaty, the date came and went without further major protest (a copy of the treaty is appended to this reading).

By the beginning of the 1980s most opposition parties had shifted to support of the alliance. Today the United States continues to believe that its military bases in Japan are essential for the U.S. forward line of defense in Asia; and the large majority of the Japanese, believing these bases are essential for the protection of Japan, support their governments paying a substantial portion of the bases' expenses.

The Self-Defense Forces

Although conservative Japanese remain dissatisfied with Article 9 of the constitution, renouncing Japan's right to maintain military forces, vigorous opposition by the left and broad support among the public have prevented the amendment of Article 9. It remains the basis of Japanese defense policy.

Japan does, nonetheless, maintain men under arms, the conservative Japanese government interpreting the article to mean only that Japan may not maintain offensive military force; they consider defensive military means to be the sovereign right of every nation. Japan's Supreme Court has refused to overrule this interpretation. In 1954, the Diet established a "Self Defense Agency," which converted the "National Police Reserve" to Ground, Maritime, and Air Self-Defense Forces. The original bill provided for a force of 150,000, this number has been slowly expanded to 270,000, a relatively small force compared with those of any of its regional neighbors: Taiwan, the two Koreas, the Soviet Union or China. Its deterrent purpose and modest capability is reflected in the prohibition of the ground forces from operating overseas.

Complete self-defense against major threats would require a much larger, better equipped force, which would probably strain the existing political compromise and popular acceptance of the Self-Defense Forces (SDF). Under present circumstances it would also likely cause apprehension among Japan's neighbors.

Japan's Nuclear Allergy

While there has been growing acceptance of the American alliance and the SDF, nuclear weapons are still taboo in Japan today. As the only nation to undergo attack by nuclear weapons, the Japanese have a special aversion to them--they call it their "nuclear allergy." Although Japan's high level of technology would allow easy development of nuclear weapons, even the most conservative governments have supported the "three nuclear principles," which prohibit the introduction, storage, or use of nuclear weapons by Japan.

On the other hand, the Japanese government appreciates deeply, especially after the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the need to deter potential opponents from using nuclear weapons against it. For this it relies on the strategic arsenal of the United States, represented particularly by the 7th Fleet; and the public, while uneasy about the visits of its units to Japanese ports, has come increasingly to accept them.

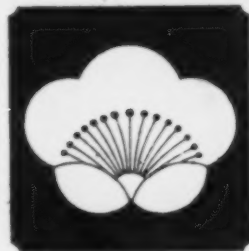
Japanese and American Attitudes Today

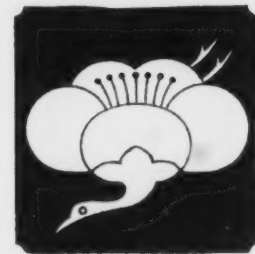
For more than thirty years the military alliance between Japan and the United States has provided advantages to both sides amid peace and prosperity. Recently, opposition to the treaty within Japan seems to have diminished. In 1978 the Clean Government party (Kōmeitō), a party of the political center, stated its acceptance of the treaty, and even the official "neutralist" policy of the Socialists is masking a much greater acceptance of Japan's alliance with the United States.

Fears about rearmament, however, remain strong in Japan. Opinion polls show that the majority of Japanese support the Self-Defense

Forces but do not wish them to be enlarged. Each August, at ceremonies at Japan's National Memorial to the Dead, which honors those who died in World War II, there is great controversy between the left and the right over the government's official participation. Fear of militarism and of war is still strong in Japan today. Many Japanese feel that the lesson of World War II is that reliance on military power is self-defeating. They also fear that a strong military cannot be controlled and would ultimately destroy democracy.

As a victor in the war, the United States is more greatly concerned with the problems of the present than with the lessons of the past. Japan has become one of the most powerful economies in the world. As Japan's economy continues to grow and its manufactured exports compete with and sometimes take markets away from American industries, many Americans have begun to feel that Japan should accept more of the burden of maintaining stability in the world. Together with the growth of Japanese power and increasing problems of trade have come American demands that Japan begin to accept responsibility for the defense of its own islands and the waters surrounding them. To consider the debate today, turn to the exercise on "Should Japan Increase its Defense Effort?".





Questions for Discussion

1. What is Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution?

Why is it unusual?

Is there any similar provision in the U.S. Constitution?

2. What vision of Japan as a postwar nation did U.S. officials have at the time Article 9 was written?

How did this American vision of Japan's military strength change?

Why?

3. What did the 1952 U.S.-Japan Security Treaty provide for?

Why was the renegotiation of the treaty in 1960 into the Mutual Defense Treaty controversial in Japan?

By 1970, was it still as controversial?

4. What are the Self-Defense Forces?

Why are they called by this name?

5. What is Japan's "nuclear allergy"? Why does it make the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty important to Japan?

6. What changes in Japanese military policy are American officials pressing for today? Why do many Japanese want to resist these pressures?

Vocabulary

renounce

oppression

resurgence

belligerency

neutrality

stability

devastation

passivism

paramilitary

rearmament

conservative

renegotiation

Additional Resources

Foreign Policy Choice for Americans

published in 1984 for high school social studies classes by the Foreign Policy Association, this volume has an excellent section on Japan and U.S. foreign policy.

Available from: Foreign Policy Association
729 Seventh Avenue
New York, NY 10019

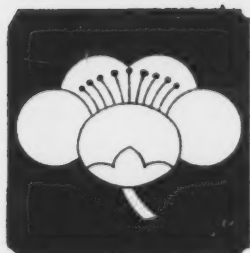
Price: \$6.95 (includes postage and handling).

Challenge and Opportunities in United States-Japan Relations

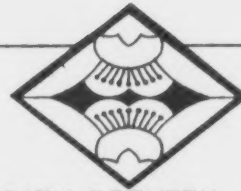
A report submitted to the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Japan by the United States-Japan Advisory Committee. This report, published as a paperback pamphlet, offers readable, informed discussion of major issues in U.S.-Japan relations. It is an important resource for students and teachers.

Available from: Office of Public Communication (PA/PC)
Department of State
Washington, DC 20520
tel: (202)632-6575

Price: Free (while supply lasts)



Primary Source Selection



TREATY OF MUTUAL COOPERATION AND SECURITY BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Signed at Washington, January 19, 1960
Approved by the diet, June 19, 1960
Ratification decided by the cabinet, June 21, 1960
Attested, June 21, 1960
Ratifications exchanged at Tokyo, June 23, 1960
Promulgated, June 23, 1960
Entered into force, June 23, 1960

Japan and the United States of America,

Desiring to strengthen the bonds of peace and friendship traditionally existing between them, and to uphold the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law,

Desiring further to encourage closer economic cooperation between them and to promote conditions of economic stability and well-being in their countries,

Reaffirming their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments,

Recognizing that they have the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense as affirmed in the Charter of the United Nations,

Considering that they have a common concern in the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East,

Having resolved to conclude a treaty of mutual cooperation and security,

Therefore agree as follows:

ARTICLE I

The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

The Parties will endeavor in concert with other peace-loving countries to strengthen the United Nations so that its mission of

ARTICLE 9/10

maintaining international peace and security may be discharged more effectively.

ARTICLE II

The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between them.

ARTICLE III

The Parties, individually and in cooperation with each other, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid will maintain and develop, subject to their constitutional provisions, their capacities to resist armed attack.

ARTICLE IV

The Parties will consult together from time to time regarding the implementation of this Treaty, and, at the request of either Party, whenever the security of Japan or international peace and security in the Far East is threatened.

ARTICLE V

Each Party recognizes that an armed attack against either Party in the territories under the administration of Japan would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional provisions and processes.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

ARTICLE VI

For the purpose of contributing to the security of Japan and the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East, the United States of America is granted the use by its land, air and naval forces of facilities and areas in Japan.

The use of these facilities and areas as well as the status of United States armed forces in Japan shall be governed by a separate agreement, replacing the Administrative Agreement under Article III of the Security Treaty between Japan and the United States of America, signed at Tokyo on February 28, 1952, as amended, and by

ARTICLE 9/11

such other arrangements as may be agreed upon.

ARTICLE VII

This Treaty does not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way the rights and obligations of the Parties under the Charter of the United Nations or the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE VIII

This Treaty shall be ratified by Japan and the United States of America in accordance with their respective constitutional processes and will enter into force on the date on which the instruments of ratification thereof have been exchanged by them in Tokyo.

ARTICLE IX

The Security Treaty between Japan and the United States of America signed at the city of San Francisco on September 8, 1951 shall expire upon the entering into force of this Treaty.

ARTICLE X

This Treaty shall remain in force until in the opinion of the Governments of Japan and the United States of America there shall have come into force such United Nations arrangements as will satisfactorily provide for the maintenance of international peace and security in the Japan area.

However, after the Treaty has been in force for ten years, either Party may give notice to the other Party of its intention to terminate the Treaty, in which case the Treaty shall terminate one year after such notice has been given.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty.

DONE in duplicate at Washington in the Japanese and English languages, both equally authentic, this 19th day of January, 1960.

FOR JAPAN:

Nobusuke Kishi
Aiichiro Fujiyama
Mitsujiro Ishii
Tadashi Adachi
Koichiro Asakai

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

Christian A. Herter
Douglas MacArthur 2nd
J. Graham Parsons

Should Japan Increase Its Defense Effort?

TO THE TEACHER The question of Japan's role in the military defense of East Asia is an important issue of debate between the United States and Japan in the 1980s. This exercise is designed to familiarize students with the variety of opinions on the topics.

The exercise contains:

Introduction: The Situation

Directions for the Debate

Questions for Discussion following the Debate

The Debators and Their Positions

Pro and Con Greater Japanese Defense Effort (six roles)

Supplementary Primary Source Reading (newspaper article)

HOW MUCH SHOULD JAPAN INCREASE ITS DEFENSE EFFORT?

A DEBATE

STUDENT MATERIAL

The Situation

At the end of World War II, the United States occupied a defeated Japan and set in motion reforms designed to ensure that Japan would never go to war again. To guarantee this, the revised Japanese constitution proclaims in Article 9 that "the Japanese people forever renounce war" and that "land, sea, and air forces . . . will never be maintained." American attitudes toward Japan as a military power soon changed, however, when the Soviet Union came to be seen as a major threat to world stability and democracy and China fell under Communist control in 1949.

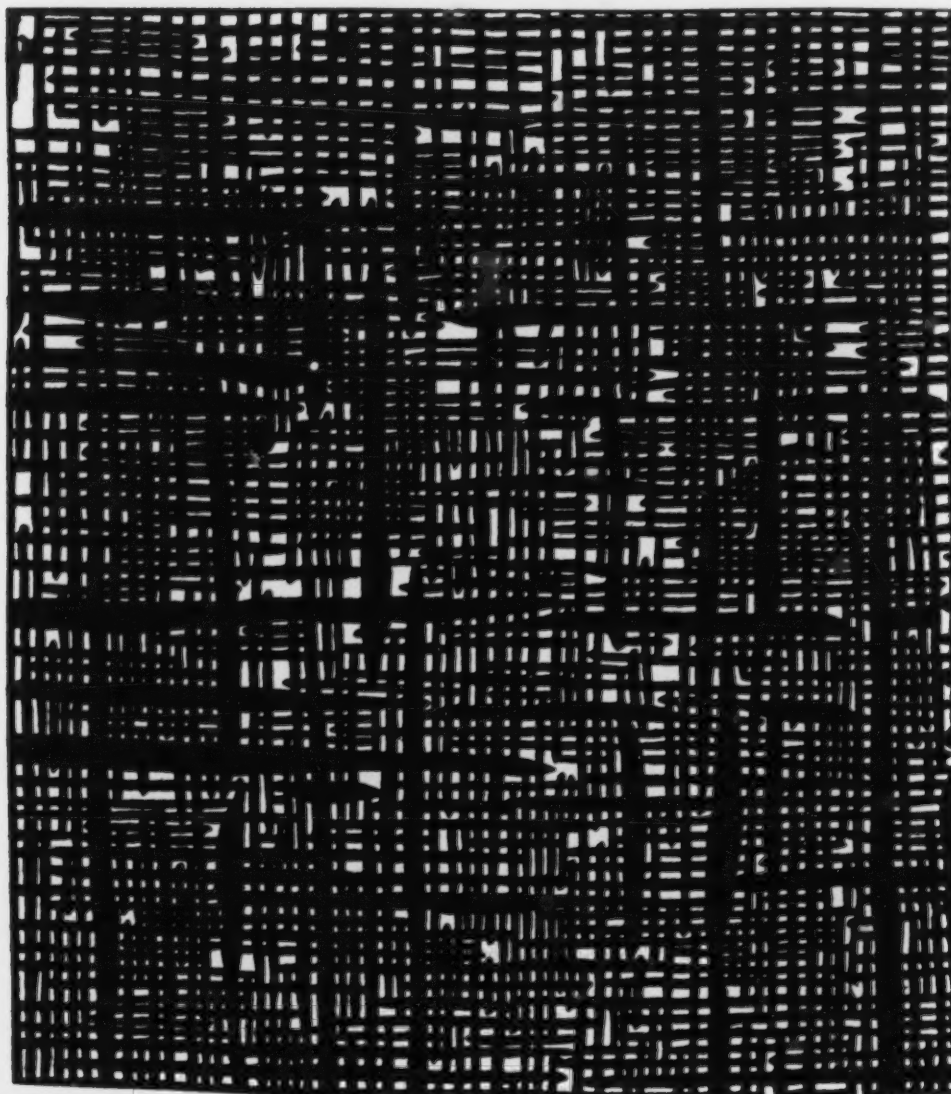
Japanese attitudes, on the other hand, were profoundly affected by the defeat and the devastation of World War II. In spite of the onset of the Cold War, many Japanese felt that there was no real external threat to their nation in the postwar period; on the contrary, they feared war and the rise of any new militarism in their own country much more than they did the Soviet Union or other possible aggressors from outside. The Japanese government, however, felt the need for some protection and, under American pressure, signed the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty in 1952, which allowed the United States to base its military in Japan from which it might operate to defend the peace and security of the Far East. The Japanese government also agreed to establish, but slowly, a small "Self-Defense Force", explaining that the right of self-defense was not included in the prohibitions under Article 9.

Between 1952, when the American occupation of Japan ended, and 1976, Japan spent very little on defense. Many Japanese opposed the ruling conservative party's defense policies. Furthermore, economic growth was a higher priority; and Japan felt secure under the military protection of the United States.

The Situation Today

In the 1970s this situation began to change. Japan's economy was now one of the largest in the world and economic growth had slowed; Japan was greatly dependent on imported energy and raw materials, and its exports of industrial goods were causing friction with the United States. The United States had failed to defend the South Vietnamese government and faced new challenges in the strategic Middle East, which forced it to send part of its Pacific Fleet to the Indian Ocean. The Soviet Union had become a major military power in the Far East, and Japan's relations with China had become closer. With the new international situation

has come the question: Should Japan increase its military role
(for example, to include the defense of its sea lanes and the
adjacent straits) and its defense budget to strengthen its
security?



TEACHER'S GUIDE

DIRECTIONS FOR THE DEBATE

There are many opinions on this question, both inside and outside of Japan. Below are six points of view, pro and con, to be debated.

1. Choose six students and assign each one of the roles. Alternatively, take half the class and divide it into six teams with each taking one role.
2. The remainder of the class will judge the debate. The judges should take notes during the debate and be prepared to question the debators. Note cards can be structured as follows:

<u>U.S. Positions</u>	<u>Japanese Positions</u>	<u>Southeast Asian</u>
Congressman	Nationalist	Socialist Party leader
Pentagon official	Average conservative	

Major Points:

3. The debate should last 15 minutes.
4. Following the debate, the judges may question the debators for 5 minutes.
5. At the conclusion of the question period, the judges will vote on the question "Should Japan increase its defense effort?"
6. After the vote the class should turn to the following questions for discussion.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION FOLLOWING THE DEBATE

The six viewpoints presented for debate illustrate the lack of consensus on this question. What is unclear, however, is the actual political weight carried by any one of the positions.

You should vote on the debate in terms of the logical pros and cons of the question. It is important to keep in mind, however, that controversial political questions are seldom decided by logic alone.

1. If the class decides that an increased defense effort is advisable the question remains, can domestic political opposition to this view be overcome?
2. Alternatively, if the decision is against an increased

defense effort, will the United States (and Congress) accept this?

The Japanese government must calculate the possible response to its actions on the question. Perhaps this is behind its continuing adherence to a middle-of-the-road policy of increasing the defense budget (while other budget categories are cut or held steady), but at a lower rate than the United States has requested, and of seriously discussing new roles and missions for its armed forces, but moving very slowly to assume them.

See the attached newspaper article on this topic.

THE DEBATERS AND THEIR POSITION

U.S. Positions:

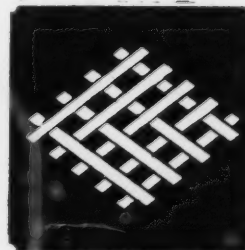
Congressman (in favor of greater Japanese spending)
Pentagon Official (in favor of greater Japanese military role,
not necessarily spending)

Japanese Positions:

Nationalist (in favor of increase in role and spending)
Average Conservative (favors the status quo)
Leader of Japanese Socialist Party (favors a decrease in role
and spending)

Southeast Asian Position:

Leader of a Southeast Asian Country (against a role beyond
Japan)



THE DEBATORS

STUDENT MATERIAL

U.S. Positions

U.S. Congressman: Japan has been getting a "free ride"--while the Japanese government has been helping Japanese businesses compete in the American market, Japan has let the American taxpayer pick up the tab for its defense. Although Japan's per capita income today is close to that of America, Americans spend annually about \$800 per person on defense and foreign aid while the Japanese annually only spend about \$135. With one of the healthiest economies in the world, Japan spends only about 1.5 percent of GNP on defense and foreign aid, while Britain, with a weak economy and massive unemployment, spends almost 5 percent. This is not fair. Japan depends even more than most countries on peace and stability in the world, but it is letting other countries solve the problems while it reaps the benefits. Japanese industrial exports are putting many Americans out of work; if Japan were to buy more advanced weapons from the United States, this would increase Japan's security and help reduce trade friction. If Japan could take greater responsibility for its own defense, the United States could better meet its responsibility in other parts of the world.

Pentagon Official: The U.S. military is stretched thin today. Most recently, political unrest in the Middle East and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan forced us to split the U.S. Pacific Fleet and send part of it to the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf region. The fall of South Vietnam to the North lost the United States important military facilities, which the Soviets are now using. The Soviet Union keeps a quarter of its army in East Asia and has greatly expanded air and naval forces there.

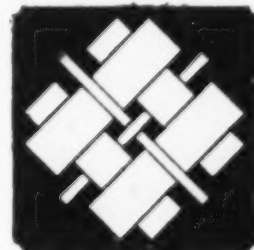
We are more interested in how the Japanese can help rather than in what they can spend. We want the Japanese to expand their military so that they are able to maintain air superiority in Japanese air space, defend sea lanes within 1,000 miles of Japan, and control the three strategic straits that allow the Russian fleet to leave the Sea of Japan. If the Japanese military could carry out these tasks, the U.S. military could more easily maintain the security of Southeast Asia and the Persian Gulf countries--areas which are of great importance to Japan.

We feel that emphasis on the tasks Japan agrees to perform, rather than on the size of Japan's military commitment, will be less threatening also to other countries in Asia--many of which were occupied by Japanese forces in World War II and fear a resurgence of militarism in Japan.

Japanese Positions

Nationalist: Japan's economic growth has increased its power and created important economic interests--particularly the necessity for stable imports of oil, food, and raw materials. Yet Japan has little say in the important decisions made in the world and cannot protect its lifeline of imports against any threat. Moreover, the U.S. failure to defend South Vietnam and the recent withdrawal of American forces from East Asia show that Japan cannot really depend on the United States for defense. Japan should change its "peace" constitution, greatly increase military spending, and develop nuclear weapons to gain the respect of other nations and ensure that strength. Japan's economic power would be matched by the political power necessary to maintain stability in the Far East and elsewhere.

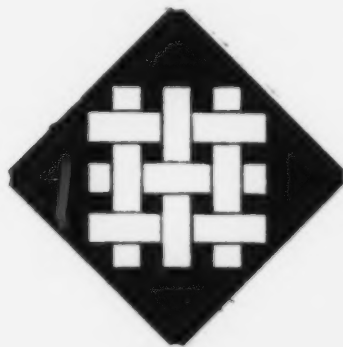
Average Conservative: Good relations with the United States are very important to Japan, and we should do our best to explain our position and reduce friction. However, the U.S. request to expand greatly Japanese military spending is very difficult to agree to at the moment. Japanese strength and stability in the postwar period are due to the rule of the Liberal Democratic party (LDP) and the growth of the economy. The growth in strength of the opposition parties and the weakened growth of the economy threaten Japan's success. The government has tried to meet the increased demands of the people for welfare and other services as well as those of the United States for greater defense spending, but this has led to massive government debt--Japan's budget deficits are relatively greater than even those of the United States. Massive defense spending at a time of cut-backs in every other part of the budget would further weaken the LDP's popularity. Moreover, public opinion surveys show that the vast majority of the people want defense spending to remain about where it is at present. We must explain that the U.S. requests are politically and economically impossible at the moment and that a strong Japan led by a conservative, pro-American party is more important than a larger Japanese military for both America and Japan.



Leader of the Japanese Socialist Party: The Japanese Socialist party has always supported the "peace constitution" and argued that Japan can only be truly safe through a policy of unarmed neutrality. Japan has good relations with its neighbors, and any friction or threat posed by Japan is mostly due to its alliance with the United States. War between the superpowers could begin anywhere, but it is not going to be limited to ships and planes unless there is complete nuclear disarmament. The Soviet Union has over 100 nuclear missiles in the Far East, and those aimed at Japan are due not to Soviet fears of Japan but to Soviet fears of the United States. Those nuclear weapons make Japan's conventional weapons meaningless. Japan's unique experience as a victim of atomic warfare has stopped it from building its own nuclear arsenal. It should go further and reduce its conventional weapons so that it can present itself to the world as an alternative to the arms race and thereby further world disarmament and world peace.

Southeast Asia Position

Leader of a Southeast Asian Country: Many nations in Southeast Asia are very sensitive to Japanese actions. During World War II most of the area came under Japanese military occupation, and the experience left many bitter memories. Postwar Japan is peaceful but even more of an economic superpower that dominates trade and economic affairs throughout the region. Because of this great economic influence, many nations in this area fear any sign that Japanese nationalism and militarism may grow. Japan's military cooperation with the United States can be a useful counter to growing Soviet forces, but only as long as the United States controls any Japanese tendency to use its influence on Southeast Asian nations. Japan already has the eighth largest military budget in the world--the sixth largest in the noncommunist world. Greater military spending could make Japan a threat, not only to the Soviets, but possibly to other nations in the region. Certainly any expansion of Japan's military role with areas beyond Japan should be avoided.



THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JANUARY 26, 1984

Japan's Cabinet Votes a 6.55% Rise in Arms Budget

By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, Jan. 25 — The Japanese Cabinet, hoping to forestall American complaints that it does not spend enough for its self-defense, adopted a 1984 budget today containing a 6.55 percent increase for the military.

The increase was slightly larger than expected. It apparently reflected a last-minute political settlement by Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone on a figure that might placate potential American critics and yet not upset Japanese who believe the armed forces will receive too large a share in the most rigorous national budget since 1955.

Over all, in the budget approved this evening by Mr. Nakasone's Cabinet, spending will total \$217 billion this fiscal year. That is only one-half of 1 percent above the 1983 level. When required interest payments and aid to local governments are deducted, the money available for national purposes actually declines by one-tenth of 1 percent.

Some Government agencies had their budgets reduced sharply, and even so politically sensitive an area as public-works spending was cut by 2 percent.

Revenues Lagging

A major reason for austerity is a lag in revenues, brought about in part by the lingering effects of economic recession and in part by a tax structure that habitually fails to produce enough funds to cover obligatory expenses.

The budget provides for more than \$5 billion in new corporate, liquor and commodities taxes, but these merely offset cuts in income and resident taxes pressed by Mr. Nakasone to fulfill a campaign pledge in last month's national elections.

As a result of the revenue problem, one-fourth of the budget, or \$54 billion, is financed through borrowing — a rate of debt higher than that of the hard-pressed United States Treasury.

Japanese Government officials left little doubt that if they encounter American criticism on defense, they will argue that they have done their best given the overall belt-tightening.

The military budget comes to \$12.6 billion, a third of which covers payments due on past weapons purchases.

Bigger Rise for Foreign Aid

On a percentage basis, the only area to get a larger increase was foreign aid — 9.7 percent, for a total of \$2.3 billion. As with military spending, Japan has been persistently criticized for not using enough of its considerable economic power to help other countries.

"Comparatively, we think this defense increase is a good victory," said Kiyoshi Furukawa, a Defense Agency spokesman.

The budget must be approved by Parliament before the new fiscal year begins April 1, but the governing Liberal Democratic Party has a sufficiently strong majority to guarantee that no changes of consequence will be made.

The 6.55 percent increase for the military appeared to be a carefully constructed figure. It was, as expected, one of the smaller rates of increase over the last 20 years. But Mr. Nakasone had nudged it upward a bit so that it would not be lower than the 6.50 percent rise adopted last year.

U.S. Criticism Anticipated

With a Presidential election campaign under way in the United States, officials here have made it clear that they would like to keep Japanese military spending from being made an issue by any candidate seeking to capitalize on frustration over the large American trade deficit with Japan.

These officials have braced themselves for criticism that, despite an increase, the new military allocation puts them behind in a planned five-year buildup, begun last year, that is designed to make Japan capable of defending its sea lanes for a radius of up to 1,000 nautical miles.

Today's budget contains fresh equipment for sea-lane protection, such as 17 F-15 fighter planes, eight antisubmarine patrol planes and three destroyers. On balance, though, the Defense Agency is not at the strength it was scheduled to be at this stage of the five-year program.

Mr. Furukawa said that, after inflation is taken into account, the 6.55 percent rise amounts to a "real increase" of 4.8 percent. This is appreciably larger than in most European countries, he maintained.

On the other hand, the increase was just low enough to avoid tripping over a limit of 1 percent of the gross national product that Japan has imposed on military budgets since 1978.

Response by Weinberger

By RICHARD HALLORAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 25 — Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger welcomed Japan's new military budget today but urged Tokyo to raise it "at an ever greater pace in future years."

Mr. Weinberger, in a statement, said that the 4.8 percent increase, calculated to take account of inflation,

"compares favorably with those of NATO allies and constitutes progress toward Japan's self-chosen defense goals."

Increases in many Western European military budgets have been running at less than the 3 percent a year agreed on during President Carter's Administration. But the base from which Japan started was but a small fraction of European military budgets.

The Defense Secretary asserted that "maintaining a realistic defense is a formidable task against an adversary who does not decide budget levels democratically." Mr. Weinberger did not name the adversary but clearly meant the Soviet Union.

State Department Is Cautious

A State Department comment on Japan's new military budget, which would be 6.55 percent above last year's in terms of actual spending, was cautious. That figure is far less than senior Administration officials have said privately was needed for Japan to fulfill its commitments.

Alan Romberg, a State Department spokesman, told reporters that "it is extremely important that Japan achieve the capability to fulfill mutually agreed upon roles and missions."

Mr. Romberg pointed to a statement by Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki in 1981 that Japan would seek to defend the airspace and sea lanes for 1,000 miles from its shores. The Reagan Administration has taken that as a commitment.

The Administration has urged Japan to acquire more military strength to free American forces, particularly warships and aircraft carriers, from duty in Northeast Asia. American forces would then be available in Southeast Asia where they could guard sea lanes from the Pacific into the Indian Ocean and to the oil sources around the Persian Gulf.

Mr. Romberg said that was important for Japan to focus on that objective rather than on a specific budget level. Administration officials have said privately that Japan would have to increase its military spending 10 percent to 12 percent a year to acquire the weapons, manpower, and supplies needed to defend an area out to a 1,000-mile limit.

Questions for Discussion

1. Is the 6.55 percent increase in the Japanese military budget a victory or defeat for those who would like Japan to increase its military strength?

From the Japanese perspective?

From the American perspective?

2. What is the economic situation in Japan surrounding this increase?

The political situation?

3. What is the position of the U.S. Department of Defense?

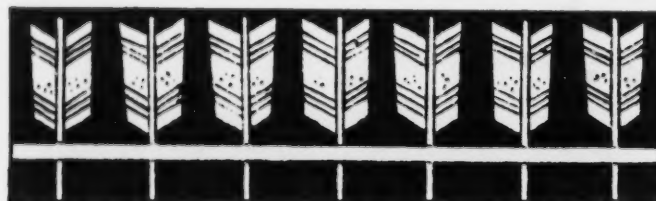
4. What is the position of the U.S. Department of State?

FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION

Suppose that the Japanese decide to expand their defense effort substantially and as part of this to make and sell weapons on the international market.

What do you think the American reaction to this could be?

Do you think different groups would have different reactions? Explain.



Foreign Relations

The type of relationship that exists between two countries can be affected by many things--a common language, religion, ethnic group, or the lack of these; various historical events; relative military strengths; their economic needs and capabilities; and geographical factors, to name just a few. In the postwar period, Japan's relations with other countries have been primarily affected by two factors: its political/military alliance with the United States and its pattern of international trade. Below is a summary of Japan's relations with some of the countries and regions most important to it in the postwar period.

THE UNITED STATES. Since World War II, Japan's most important tie has been with the United States. Japan's mutual defense treaty with the United States is central to its security. The United States is committed to defend Japan and is invited to maintain bases there. Despite Japan's defeat and subsequent occupation by Americans, relations with the United States have been friendly and close except for increasing trade friction in recent years. The United States sponsored Japan's membership in various international organizations, including the United Nations, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Trade between the United States and Japan is very important to both countries. The United States is a major market for Japanese exports as well as a primary source of imports (including 38 percent of Japan's food imports).

SOUTHEAST ASIA. In World War II, Japan went to war partly to gain control of this region's resources. While the harsh Japanese colonization of Korea and occupation of many of the other countries left resentment and bitterness, the Japanese government is today making great efforts to create a close and friendly relationship with those countries. Together they make

up Japan's second largest export market (next to the United States), and they provide important food, oil, metal ore, lumber and rubber imports.

EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (EEC). These nine European nations are highly developed economically and have an important voice in world affairs. Many of these countries share membership with Japan and the United States in important international economic organizations such as the OECD, GATT, and World Bank. Their alliance with the United States through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) provides an indirect military link with Japan. They are Japan's third largest market and supply much of Japan's imports of industrial goods.

PERSIAN GULF NATIONS. Japan's relations with these nations have developed relatively recently, as oil imports from the Persian Gulf region have grown rapidly. Almost all of Japan's imports from these countries consist of petroleum and petroleum products, and they total one-third of all Japanese imports. These nations make up Japan's fourth largest market, but because in 1981 they imported from Japan only about a third of what they exported to it, Japan had a trade deficit with these nations of about \$27 billion--roughly equal to its trade surplus with the United States and the European Economic Community. How to secure its economic interests in the face of political and military unrest in the region is one of Japan's most pressing problems.

COMMUNIST NATIONS. As an ally of the United States, Japan has had very limited relations with the Communist nations throughout much of the postwar period. Almost all of Japan's trade with the Communist bloc is with China and the Soviet Union.

China: Japan's long history of close cultural contact with China has left a special interest and friendliness toward the Chinese. Japan's writing system and many cultural practices originally came from China. Under U.S. pressure, Japan did not establish relations with the People's Republic of China until after President Nixon surprised the world (and Japan) by establishing relations in 1972. Japan quickly followed suit and is now involved in assisting the Chinese in their efforts to develop their economy.

Soviet Union: Japan's relations with the Soviet Union have been strained throughout the postwar period. In the last days of World War II, the Soviets occupied South Sakhalin Island and the Kurile Islands, including a few islands close to Hokkaido that the Japanese claim as part of their native land. Soviet refusal to negotiate this issue and the presence of ten thousand Soviet troops on these islands continues to sour Soviet-Japanese relations. Despite this, Japanese-Soviet trade has gradually developed and Japanese business has participated modestly in certain development projects in Siberia. These economic relations, which peaked in the early 1970s, have been greatly reduced by political events such as the Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the subsequent U.S. embargo on trade with the Soviets.

FOREIGN RELATIONS/3

MAP

Key:

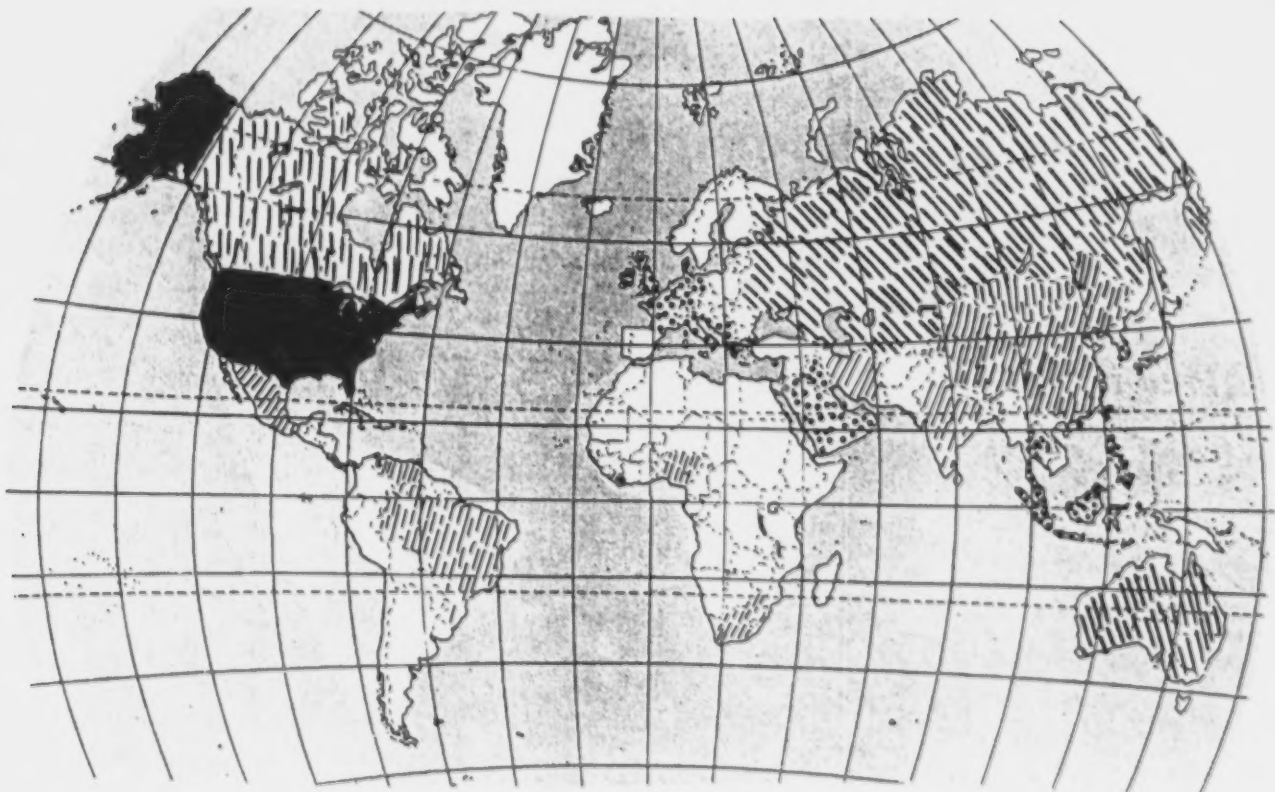
Major trading partner
and military ally



Major trading partner



Trading partner



FOREIGN RELATIONS/4

Japan's Foreign Trade Relations, 1981

<u>Region/Country</u>	<u>Exports</u>	<u>Imports</u>
United States	25%	18%
Southeast Asia (8 nations)	21	20
European Economic Community (9 nations)	12.5	6
Persian Gulf nations (8 nations)	10	29
Subtotal	68.5%	73%
Australia	3%	4%
People's Republic of China	3	5
Soviet Union	2	1
Central and South America (all countries)	7	5
Africa (all countries)	7	3
Subtotal	22%	18%
Total	90.5%	91%

Note: • Southeast Asia includes Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia (all members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, or ASEAN), South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong.

The EEC includes Denmark, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, West Germany, Italy, and Greece.

The Persian Gulf nations include Iran, Iraq, Bahrein, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE).

• A pie graph of these figures can be found in graph exercise #8 in the section of the workbook on ECONOMY AND TRADE.

Questions for Discussion

1. Based on the map of the world and the chart of Japan's trade relations, answer the following questions.

Give two reasons why ties with the United States are particularly important to Japan.

Why does Japan seek ties with the Southeast Asian nations?

Why does Japan have strong ties with the nations in the European Economic Community (EEC)?

What characterizes Japan's ties with Persian Gulf countries?

2. Based on the map, would you say that Japan is a power just in Asia or the world?

3. What type of a power is Japan--military, diplomatic, economic? Explain your answer.

4. Why are relations between Japan and the Soviet Union strained?

5. What are the prospects for Japan's future relationship with China?

What are the reasons for this?

A Look at the Participants

The Toronto Summit Meeting

THE PLAYERS



Britain



Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, 62, is facing the stiffest political challenge yet to her free-enterprise campaign as she tries to introduce market incentives into Britain's welfare state. A recent nationwide poll found that most Britons would prefer their country to be a "mainly socialist society." She continues to resist linking Britain's economic fortunes to Europe by joining the European Monetary System.



Canada



Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, 49, was trained as a labor lawyer but switched to business, and he became president of the Iron Ore Company of Canada. Since he was elected Prime Minister in 1984, Mr. Mulroney has concluded a free-trade agreement with the United States. But the accord faces strong opposition and is expected to be the central issue in the national election that must be called by September 1989.



France



President François Mitterrand, 71, has been re-elected and has appointed a Socialist Prime Minister, so he no longer has to share the summit stage with Jacques Chirac, the neo-Gaullist former Prime Minister. But Mr. Mitterrand will need to assure other leaders that the failure of his Socialist Party to get an absolute majority in the National Assembly does not mean that France has a weak Government.



Italy



Prime Minister Ciriaco de Mita, 60, head of Italy's 48th postwar Government, has been the power broker and key figure in bringing stability back to the disheveled Italian political scene after close to two years of political turbulence. Mr. de Mita's main worries are the Government deficit and the enormous accumulated debt that is creating a crisis in public services and could lead to a gap between Italy and the rest of Europe.



Japan



Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita, 64, is attending his first summit meeting as Japan's leader, although he has gone to several others as Finance Minister. Mr. Takeshita will announce a five-year, \$50 billion foreign aid program that will make Japan the world's largest donor. He also plans to champion the newly industrializing countries, urging other summit nations not to push them too hard on trade and currency issues.



United States



President Ronald Reagan, 77, leads a surprisingly healthy economy to his eighth and last summit conference. Conditions are even stronger than economists expected a few months ago, and this strength lends credence to the Administration's free-market policies. Mr. Reagan is expected to steer the summit discussions away from such controversial issues as Latin American debt and farm trade.



West Germany



Chancellor Helmut Kohl, 58, is going through what he describes as a "difficult patch," largely because of economic factors, especially the rising Federal budget deficit. This year's deficit is estimated at nearly \$23 billion, the highest ever. Consumer tax increases should keep the 1989 deficit from exceeding \$17 billion. But some economists fear the higher taxes will hamper economic growth.

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New role for Japan at summit

Shedding image as the outsider

By Jeff Bradley
Associated Press

TORONTO — A familiar ingredient was missing from last week's economic summit in Toronto: No one did any Japan-bashing.

Unlike past summits when the Japanese sat quietly on the sidelines and other countries complained of surging trade deficits, Toronto was more like a corporate board meeting with Japan an equal partner.

"Statistics talked on our behalf," explained Michihiko Kunihiro, chief cabinet counselor on foreign affairs.

He was referring to three related developments in Japan's economy:

- In the last three years, the value of the yen has doubled against the dollar, making Japanese exports more expensive and American imports cheaper.

- Japan has agreed that it needs to develop its domestic market and thus increase its imports.

- It has promised to work for a gradual narrowing of its record trade surpluses.

The performance of the Japanese economy led several summit partners to compliment Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita, who was making his debut at the annual gathering.

"He was very pleased," said Kunihiro.

By fully cooperating with international efforts to coordinate economic policies, Japan now feels treated like an "insider" in the cliquish Group of Seven major industrialized democracies, Kunihiro said.

"Perhaps Japanese leaders finally thought they can contribute more substantively than before. I will leave the judgment to you," Kunihiro said of the Toronto meeting.

Jacques Delors, president of the European Economic Community's executive Commission, referred to the gathering of leaders from the United States, Britain, Canada, West Germany, France, Italy and Japan as a "trilateral" summit that balanced the interests of Western Europe, North America and "Japan with Asia behind it."

Takeshita expressed satisfaction that action had been taken on all three of his priorities. There was a joint commitment to growth without inflation, a determination to fight protectionism and agreement on relieving Third World debt.

Japan used the summit platform to announce its waiving of \$1 billion in debt repayments from 17 of the world's poorest countries over the next five years.

Even on farm subsidies, the result was to Japan's liking. President Reagan had proposed ending the \$200 billion subsidy war by the year 2000, but the final communique merely targeted reductions provided such factors as "social concerns," "food security" and agricultural "diversity" are taken into account.

Farmers in Japan are a powerful political force and farm subsidies, including tariffs that restrict competition from cheaper American goods, are their life blood.

Even as the summit participants gathered, Japan reached agreement with the United States in a long-standing dispute over quotas for U.S. beef and citrus products imported by Japan. Reagan and Takeshita also signed a pact to open up Japanese laboratories to American researchers for closer collaboration in science and technology.

While not presuming to speak directly for Asia, Takeshita said he was happy that summit partners had pledged a new dialogue with the newly industrialized nations of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. There was even speculation that the so-called "four tigers" might be invited as observers at future summits, and the suggestion that Japan might stage an Asian economic summit.

"The Japanese have a growing sense that Japan should play a greater role in affairs outside Japan ... except for military activities. That is something constitutionally we have to refrain from," Kunihiro said.

One future goal, the official said, is to help Japan's 122 million people mix better with the rest of the world.

"We should be better understood despite the difficult language of Japanese, and try to educate our people" in other cultures, he said.

This new, outgoing Japan was reflected in the summit briefings. Foreign journalists, including Japanese speakers, were barred from briefings for reporters from Japan — a tradition. But there were separate, informative and good-natured sessions in English.

Kunihiro drew laughs when he sidestepped a question about vague free-trade language in the final communique. "This is the text my boss agreed to," he said with a smile.

Questions for Discussion

1. How would you characterize the seven countries represented by the leaders of the Group of Seven:

in economic terms?

in political terms?

2. The article describes the thirteenth summit meeting of leaders from these countries. What is a "summit" meeting?

Why do the leaders of these countries think it is important to meet together so often?

3. How has Japan's role at summits such as this one changed in recent years? Make reference to specific policies and trends discussed in the article.

A New Good Neighbor Policy

Tokyo uses trade and aid to expunge old memories in the region

Time Magazine, August 1, 1983

JAPAN IN ASIA

For many Asians, the notion of a strong, assertive Japan on their doorstep provokes a shudder. World War II has been over for nearly four decades, but the image of the swaggering Japanese conquerors who occupied and on occasion brutalized neighboring countries under the imperialistic banner of the "Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" remains vivid. As recently as 1974, the visit of former Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka to Indonesia incited bloody street riots in the capital city of Jakarta. The Japanese government's proposals last year to gloss over the country's actions during World War II (among other things, officials wanted to change school textbooks to describe Japan's 1937 invasion of China as an "advance") caused major protests in Hong Kong, the South Korean capital of Seoul and in Peking. A few weeks later, Ferdinand Marcos, President of the Philippines, publicly warned that "Japan will sooner or later, perhaps sooner than later, dominate."

President Marcos may well have been right in his assessment. By virtue of its tremendous economic success, Japan has once again become a major force in the Orient, even though the Japanese are far more anxious to identify themselves with the industrialized powers of the West. Asian trepidation over Japan's renewed strength, however, is exaggerated. The chief lesson that the Japanese have learned from their disastrous wartime experience is that peaceful trade and aid can yield far greater dividends than military aggression.

In recent years the Japanese have made energetic efforts to improve relations with the countries that they formerly bullied, or tried to. The results of Tokyo's good-neighbor policy are not yet in; indeed, wiping out the memories of war is

likely to be, as a U.S. State Department official puts it, "the work of another generation." But thanks to those efforts, the image of Japan as a menace is fading.

No postwar Japanese Prime Minister has worked harder or more openly at burnishing his country's image in the region than Yasuhiro Nakasone. He has approached the task with an engaging frankness about Japan's past excesses, and with frequently repeated assurances that Tokyo now wishes to play a new and different kind of role in the area. That role, as he has said, attaches importance to "cooperation rather than confrontation, and modesty rather than self-assertion." Nakasone has been meticulous in presenting himself as the exemplar of Japanese humility. That personal care extends to the way he responds to the red-carpet treatment on trips abroad. Nakasone claims that on such visits, he never walks down the center of the traditional welcoming mat for heads of government, because to do so would display arrogance. "Because I walk on one edge and my host walks on the other," he says, "the center stays very clean."

Nakasone began breaking new diplomatic ground almost as soon as he took office. In January he decided to make neighboring South Korea, rather than the U.S., the destination of his first state visit. The choice had special significance: from 1910 to 1945, the Korean peninsula was under direct Japanese control. To this day, according to public opinion polls, South Koreans like the Japanese even less than they do their Communist rivals in North Korea. (The feeling is mutual: the 669,800 Koreans who live in Japan are generally treated as second-class citizens.)

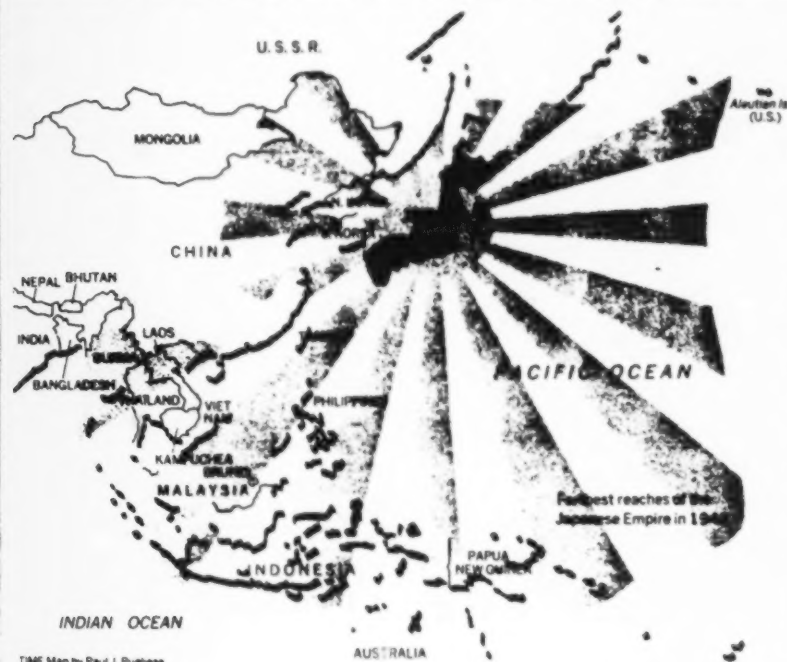
Nakasone arrived in Seoul bearing considerable gifts. Chief among them was a seven-year, \$4 billion aid package

designed to assuage South Korean complaints that Japan has not been paying its share of the regional defense burden. Nakasone's largesse and charm were effective. South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan hailed the visit as a "historic, indeed monumental, milestone in our relations." The two leaders now talk frequently by telephone. Nakasone used a variation on the same theme with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), a loose economic grouping composed of Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines and Singapore. ASEAN has already received 37% of its foreign aid, or \$800 million, from Japan. Nakasone extended friendship one step further: on a trip to the ASEAN capitals before May's

\$2.3 billion Japanese-style bullet train, which would run from Johore Bahru to Butterworth, 480 miles to the north.

In addition to providing aid, Japan is buying more from its neighbors. Last year Japanese imports from ASEAN amounted to \$20.9 billion, an increase of 118.9% from five years ago. Japan is now the largest or second largest trading partner of every country in the area.*

Nowhere is the fundamentally economic nature of Japanese foreign policy more strikingly on display than in Japan's relations with Australia. Japan is now Australia's principal economic partner, buying chiefly such natural resources as iron ore, coal and wool. Last year those purchases were valued at \$4.8 billion.



TIME Map by Paul J. Pugliese

Williamsburg summit, he met with local leaders and promised to convey their concern over rising protectionism to the Western leaders at the meeting.

In contrast to the hostility shown Tanaka in 1974, Nakasone's reception in Indonesia was warm. Apparently confident that Nakasone will not lead his nation on an expansionist path, President Suharto did not even raise the question of Japan's recent military buildup. In Manila, Nakasone expressed his deep regret to President Marcos over Japan's wartime depredations in the islands. According to Nakasone, Marcos was sufficiently moved by the gesture to declare that "the era of stability has opened in Asia." In the Malaysian capital of Kuala Lumpur, Nakasone firmly rejected the notion of any future military superpower status for his country, "based on reflection of what Japan did in the past." He also offered additional pledges of aid, including investment in a

28% of Australia's total exports. In turn, Australia has become, apart from a few oil-producing countries, the world's largest per-capita importer of Japanese manufactured products (\$4.2 billion worth last year). As a result of the economic links, cultural ties between the two extremely different societies are also becoming somewhat closer. There has, for example, been a virtual boom in Japanese language instruction in Australia.

Japan's relations with China are considerably more complex. A dozen years ago, China was still profoundly anti-Japanese. The official Communist press regularly published stories accusing the Japanese of reviving militarism and fascism. Beginning in 1972, when the two countries restored diplomatic relations, the climate changed. In 1978 a Sino-

*The British Crown Colony of Hong Kong is an exception. Japan ranks third among Hong Kong's trading partners, after China and the U.S.

Japanese peace-and-friendship treaty was signed, and last year the two countries agreed to promote long-term and stable ties based on, among other things, the principles of equality and mutual benefit. Within that framework, Tokyo and Peking have signed numerous agreements and protocols on trade, communications, culture, technology and transport. Soon after assuming office, Prime Minister Nakasone called his counterpart, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang, and assured him over the phone that "it is one of the main pillars of our country's foreign policy to uphold and develop stable relations with China." On a visit to Tokyo in June 1982, Zhao declared that "our two sides have identical or similar views on many important international issues." One of those issues is mutual trade, which rose from \$1.1 billion in 1972 to \$10.4 billion in 1981.

Like many U.S. businessmen, Japanese entrepreneurs hoped to take advantage of China's ambitious modernization plans. As it turned out, the Chinese were not prepared to absorb foreign imports and investments as rapidly as was expected. Thus trade between China and Japan actually declined by about 14% last year, to \$9 billion. Several major Japanese industrial projects in China, like the \$5 billion Baoshan iron-and-steel complex near Shanghai, were salvaged only after Japan came up with hundreds of millions of dollars worth of subsidized low-interest loans. Japanese traders hope that China will continue its policy of giving top priority to modernization. Says a businessman in Tokyo: "If they ask for our technical help, we'll be glad to help them." As one sign of the two countries' optimism about their future relations, they have managed to avoid confrontation on age-old mutual irritants, like their conflicting claims to a small group of uninhabited islands 80 miles off the coast of Taiwan.

Japan's relations with Taiwan remain close despite Tokyo's 1972 decision to drop formal recognition of the island republic as part of its accommodation with mainland China. Trade is booming, and late last year Taiwan announced a joint venture with Toyota Motors to build a \$582 million auto-assembly plant on the island. Japanese brand-name manufacturers of such items as color TVs and stereo components, including Sony, Sharp and Toshiba, have also moved to Taiwan to take advantage of cheaper labor costs. Despite the fact that some of those goods are now competing in Japanese domestic markets, Tokyo has so far taken a benign view of the economic shift.

As peaceful as the Japanese may be, there will doubtless always be friction between Japan and its Asian neighbors, just as there is between the U.S. and Western Europe. Nakasone knows that he will have to walk on the edge of the red carpet for quite some time to come.

—By George Russell. Reported by Bing W. Wong/Hong Kong with other bureaus

Questions for Discussion

1. What image of Japan is its "good neighbor policy" in Asia designed to erase?

Does the policy seem to be successful?

2. What type of ties does Japan have with South Korea?

3. What type of ties does Japan have with the ASEAN countries?

4. How has Japan's relationship with China improved recently?

Japan in the World Today

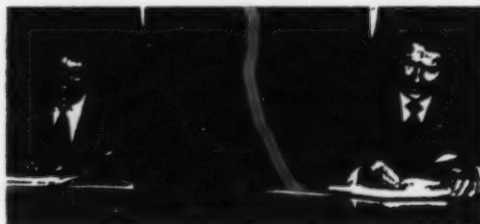
From Superrich To Superpower

As its economic strength hardens into political muscle, Tokyo confronts the dilemma of how and when to use its might

The year is 1992. A local conflict has closed the Strait of Malacca, blocking Japanese tankers laden with Persian Gulf oil from entering the South China Sea. The Japanese Prime

Minister places a call to the White House.

"Good evening, Mr. President," he says. "Would you consider sending the U.S. Navy to escort my ships through the



Nakasone and Reagan at last week's economic summit

strait?" Pause. The President is well aware that the request is coming from America's biggest creditor. "Why, yes, of course," he replies. The Prime Minister thanks him, adding,

"I am certain that your help will reassure our private investors enough so that they will buy their usual share of Treasury bills at next Tuesday's auction."

Washington strategists have begun to envision that scenario when talk turns—as it increasingly does nowadays—to Japan's growing influence. The very prospect of such pressure, however remote, is part of a subtle change in the way Americans view the Japanese. No longer is Japan seen simply as a tireless competitor and an endless source of high-quality goods. Japan's successes have been so spectacular that they seem ready to burst beyond economic bounds.

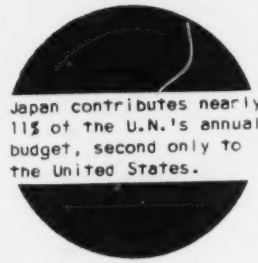
At a time of constant warnings that the U.S. is in decline, Japan, above all other nations, is conspicuously on the rise. "There's no reason that Japan won't continue to grow," says Yale History Professor Paul Kennedy, author of *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*. "Its economic drive is pushing it toward center stage." Most experts agree. "The American century is over," says Clyde Prestowitz, a for-

mer Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce in the Reagan Administration and author of *Trading Places: How We Allowed Japan to Take the Lead*. "The big development in the latter part of the century is the emergence of Japan as a major superpower."

But what kind of superpower will Japan be? How quickly will the country's economic strength turn, as it eventually may, into political muscle? How will the Japanese use that newfound might, and what are the consequences for its closest ally, the U.S.? Can Japan become a truly powerful nation without acquiring a military capability that would frighten and antagonize

its friends and neighbors and violate its own constitution? Will the world see a Pax Japonica 25 years from now, or will Japan the banker form a partnership with America the policeman to create a sort of Pax Amerippon?

Europeans fret that Japan's ascendancy could diminish their own global stature. Pacific Rim nations recall Japan's World War II aggression and occupation of their countries and half suspect that, beneath a patina of civility, the Japanese have not fundamentally changed. The U.S., the world's No. 1 debtor nation, voices a mixture of concern and admiration. "No country is more important to our economic



Japan contributes nearly 11% of the U.N.'s annual budget, second only to the United States.

future than Japan," says Democratic Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey. "You want Japan to assume more foreign policy responsibility in the world, but in partnership with the U.S. The key is to get them to assume more responsibility without getting them to rearm."

Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita used last week's economic summit in Toronto to showcase Japan's growing involvement in global affairs. Takeshita unveiled a \$50 billion foreign-aid package before the meeting that would make Tokyo the world's largest donor. Japan also announced a debt-relief program for Third World countries and agreed to phase out import quotas on oranges and beef.

But the Japanese are still torn by conflicting emotions over their proper place in the sun. A new nationalism is bubbling up through the country that has little to do with old dreams of imperial conquest. Rather it is based on a pride in Japan's achievements and a desire for other nations to recognize its status. At the same time, the Japanese are sometimes seen by outsiders as lacking clear goals for their country or any abiding sense of how to put their wealth and power to use. "There

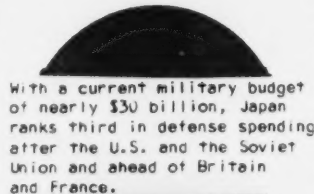
must be some ideal that we have that would appeal to mankind," says Hideaki Kase, a former Ministry of Foreign Affairs officer and writer on security affairs. "Britain has the Magna Carta, France its *Liberté*. Americans have their Revolution. Even the Russians and the Chinese created socialist models to copy."

Part of the problem is that Japan has never articulated an exportable ideology, such as democracy or Communism. As a homogeneous island people who were long cut off from other nations, the Japanese have an almost tribal sense of their own identity. "Japan has never had a foreign policy," observes John David Morley, an expert on Japan and author of *Pictures from the Water Trade*. "It has had wars, it has colonized parts of Asia, but apart from that its experience in dealing with other nations is still very primitive." Nor have many older Japanese been free of an attitude—some

claim an almost racist conviction—that Japan's uniqueness makes it impossible for others to copy its success.

The Japanese are bound by a web of mutual obligations that link every individual to every other. But this lattice of relationships has no meaning outside Japan—a fact that can profoundly distress older Japanese who venture to other lands. The lessons of a lifetime are suddenly useless: the rest of the world simply plays another game.

Now Japan is swept by debate over the merits of *kokusaika*, or internationalization. Book after book on Japan's future rolls off the presses and is stacked up in bookstores in attractive displays. Coffee shops, homes and office towers are beginning to ring with talk of new ideas. The discussions are part of a consensus-building process called *nemawashi*, whereby all sides of an issue are aired. Only then can agreement be reached on the proper course of



With a current military budget of nearly \$30 billion, Japan ranks third in defense spending after the U.S. and the Soviet Union and ahead of Britain and France.

action. Once the Japanese make up their minds, though, they can move very fast. The country's astonishing growth since World War II resulted from a national resolve to rebuild the ravaged economy.

Today the discussion reflects an increasingly international-minded youth. More than 60% of Japan's 122 million people were born after the war. Innocent of both the conflict and its aftermath, the young are less concerned with Japan's uniqueness or other obsessions of the national psyche. They travel widely, identify with youths of other nations, and are as familiar with Michael Jackson and Budweiser beer as they are with Toyotas and Sony Walkmans.

Listen now to what many Japanese are saying. After much hesitancy and throat clearing, speaker after speaker expresses a desire for a peaceful world that builds prosperity. What raises that commonplace above banality is the obvious sincerity behind it; repeated often enough,

it could almost serve as an embryonic creed for modern Japan. Takeshita talks of creating an international *furusato* (hometown). Speaking in Chicago after last week's summit, he pledged Japan's cooperation in "helping to resolve and prevent conflicts" between nations and vowed that Japan would play an international role commensurate with its financial strength.

So far, that has meant funneling funds into foreign aid. Tokyo reasons that it can increase global security by redistributing part of its wealth. "Economic aid is security aid," concurs Gaston Sigur, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. The giving also reflects a Japanese effort to make up for past omissions. "We do believe that we have not done enough over the years," says Ryuichiro Yamazaki, a Foreign Ministry official. Of course, like most aid donors, Japan does well by doing good: people with money in their pockets will spend it on their products.

But even giving has its problems. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci irritated his Tokyo hosts last month by calling for increased Japanese aid to nations that he termed vital to "our collective security." Carlucci named the Philippines as one such country and added Turkey, Portugal, Pakistan and Afghanistan to the list. The appalled Japanese disavowed any ties between aid to the Philippines and American interests. Filipinos, however, scarcely doubt that recent Japanese donations have been partly aimed at inducing Manila to renew the leases on U.S. bases on favorable terms.

Japan is also growing more active on the diplomatic front. On a Middle East tour last week, Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno became the first Japanese Cabinet minister to visit Israel; heavily dependent on oil

imports, Japan had long snubbed Israel to keep favor with the Arab states. In early June the Japanese offered to mediate a Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea.

Tokyo now plans to dispatch a civilian to be a member of the U.N. peacekeeping operation in Afghanistan—the first time a Japanese will participate in such an operation. Immediately after Moscow announced its withdrawal from Afghani-

stan, Takeshita pledged \$5 million to finance U.N. efforts there and promised to send workers to help transport refugees and rebuild telephone lines. When Hiroshi Nakajima moves up to head the World Health Organization next month, he will become the first Japanese to lead a major international organization. Though Japan would welcome an invi-

tation to become the sixth permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, Tokyo remains acutely embarrassed by its failure in 1978 to win the nonpermanent Asian seat on the council.

But many qualified Japanese seem reluctant to take jobs with international groups lest they slip a rung on the competitive career ladder at home. Though Japan buys about half the bonds issued by the World Bank, for example, few Japanese can be found in key positions there. The Japanese Finance Ministry, in fact, has been forced to set quotas of young staffers that Japanese banks must send to such international institutions.

Memory is a constant constraint on Japanese actions: neither the overwhelming majority of Japanese nor their neighbors want the country to become a military power again. "Everyone would be a little afraid," says Nimit Nontaponthawat, chief economist at Thailand's Bangkok Bank. "We still can't trust the Japanese 100%." Observes Reinhardt Drifte, a leading European expert on



This year Japan has budgeted \$10 billion on foreign aid, displacing the U.S. (\$9.2 billion) as the world's most generous donor.

Asian security affairs: "We should consider very carefully when we ask the Japanese to shoulder a greater defense burden. I'm worried that one day people will wake up and discover that a major military power has been created in the region."

Japan's Self-Defense Forces are already formidable—at least on paper. By 1990, when a five-year rebuilding program ends, the forces will have 180,000 troops, 1,205 tanks, 163 F-15 fighter planes, 100 antisubmarine warfare planes and 16 submarines. Tokyo will have more frigates than Britain. All that firepower is designed to repel a limited attack before U.S. help arrives. Since such an attack could come only from the Soviet Union, the Japanese forces could serve as a critical line of defense if a conventional U.S.-Soviet conflict spilled over to Asia.

Article 9 of Japan's Constitution, written with U.S. guidance, renounces war and the "threat or use of force" to settle international conflicts. That has led to endless discussions whenever new hardware is considered. "The Japanese have great debates over what is an offensive and what is a defense weapon, such as over-the-horizon radar," says Nathaniel Thayer, director of Asian studies at the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies. "It is like a theological dispute in the Middle Ages."

Last year the Japanese lifted their self-imposed limit of spending no more than 1% of their GNP on defense. But Tokyo has not strayed far from that guideline; the 1988 defense budget accounts for 1.013% of GNP. The U.S. Congress voted overwhelmingly last year to urge Japan to triple its defense spending, to 3% of GNP. The idea appeals to many Americans: The U.S. spends about 6% of GNP on defense, and part of that goes to protecting Japan from possible nuclear and conventional attacks. But Carlucci said in Tokyo that he saw no need for "dramatic leaps" in Japanese defense spending. He added: "I would not know how to tell them how to spend it within the roles and missions we have agreed upon."

For its part, Japan now pays 40% of the annual \$6 billion cost of keeping 60,000 U.S. troops on Japanese soil, a marked improvement since 1980, when the U.S. picked up nearly the entire bill. But further initiatives may be limited. When the Persian Gulf conflict threatened Japanese oil shipments last year, Tokyo could not launch an effective response. Former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone reportedly wanted to send patrol ships to protect Japanese vessels but backed down under heavy domestic pressure. Tokyo settled instead for such moves as increased financial support for

U.N. peace-seeking efforts and aid to Omani farmers in the embattled region.

Some Japanese argue that even if the country wanted to become a military superpower, it could not. They contend that the country is physically too small and is too easily susceptible to bombing and blockade. On the other hand, some Japanese believe that the day may come when they will have no choice but to bolster their forces. "The Japanese are pragmatic people," says Kase. "If the Americans withdraw and the Philippines or Korea goes Communist, we could consider it."

A U.S. pullout from Japan, however, is highly unlikely. Along with Britain and Israel, Japan is the junior partner in one of the U.S.'s few truly

special relationships. The two nations engage in ventures ranging from joint development of a \$6.5 billion jet fighter known as the FSX to intelligence gathering on North Korean radicals in advance of the Seoul Olympics. "There will continue to be a tremendous mutual dependence between the U.S. and Japan," says Historian Edwin Reischauer, author of *The Japanese Today* and former U.S. Ambassador to Tokyo. "If they turned uncooperative it would be a disaster for us, but it would also be a disaster for them."

Two cases in point. Before the Reagan Administration offered a new medium-range nuclear missile proposal to the Soviet Union in 1986, the White House sent retired General Edward Rowley to clear it with Tokyo. The Japanese were horrified by a provision that would have left some Soviet SS-20 missiles in Asia within striking distance of Japan. When Rowley reported back to Washington, Tokyo's objections helped kill the plan. The Asian missiles will be dismantled under the intermediate-range nuclear forces treaty signed by Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev last December.

During last October's stock-market crash, Japan advised its investment houses to hold their shares in U.S. companies. The restraint helped keep the collapse from becoming more devastating than it was. Japan performed a similar service in March 1987 when the dollar went into a free fall. In a two-pronged effort, Tokyo fund managers held their U.S. securities, while the Bank of Japan bought dollars to stem the slide. The bank's U.S. currency holdings grew from \$1 billion to \$15 billion.

Yet a new sourness has crept into

U.S.-Japanese relations that goes beyond the familiar Japan-bashing by Washington and protestations of innocence by Tokyo. Americans felt betrayed last year when Toshiba Machine Co. illegally sold sensitive defense technology to the Soviet Union. At the same time, U.S. worries over signs of an American decline easily shade into bitterness against a Japan whose wealth seems to dwarf its responsibilities to the rest of the world. For their part, many Japanese have wearied of incessant U.S. nagging about trade issues and now express some satisfaction over the image of a bumbling Uncle Sam.

In the past year, Tokyo has spurred consumer demand at home and relied less on exports to fuel its economy, thus blunting charges of predatory trading practices. But Japan continues to refuse to allow the yen to be used as an international reserve currency, a move that would help protect nations that trade with Japan against wide foreign-exchange swings.

But it is not just Japan that needs to face up to the realities of its increasing power. The U.S. must encourage Japan's participation in world affairs, consulting its leaders more frequently on foreign events, insisting that the next president of the World Bank be Japanese, perhaps even campaigning for a permanent seat for Tokyo on the U.N. Security Council. While the World Bank has always been headed by an American, that tradition makes little sense at a time when the Japanese are the largest investors in the bank's bonds.

Ultimately, there are limits to how far

Japan can advance as a superpower, and limits to how far the U.S. can retrench. Japan cannot assume a major military role against the opposition of its neighbors and most of its own citizens. Nor can the U.S. abandon the position it has occupied for the past 40 years as the world's only military and economic superpower. No other nation has the capability

to replace Washington as the West's chief guarantor of prosperity and peace.

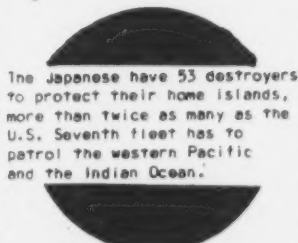
Global security requires more than missiles and warplanes; it also requires solvency and a sense of mission. Since World War II, Japan has enjoyed the protection of the U.S. and the freedom to grow at its own pace and in its own way. "It has really been very convenient and comfortable," says Paul Kennedy. "They like the idea of things being as they are." But Japan the protégé is on the verge of becoming Japan the equal partner, and how Tokyo and Washington handle that relationship will affect the economic well-being and security of the world well into the next century.

—By John Greenwald.

Reported by Barry Hillendorn/Tokyo and Strabo Talbot/Washington



Japan is the world's largest creditor, with a net foreign investment of \$240 billion. The U.S. is the world's largest debtor, with a net foreign debt of \$400 billion.



The Japanese have 53 destroyers to protect their home islands, more than twice as many as the U.S. Seventh fleet has to patrol the western Pacific and the Indian Ocean.

Questions for Discussion

1. What is the basis of Japan's role as a superpower today? How does this differ from the superpower roles played by the United States and the Soviet Union?
2. How does Japan use its economic power in its relations with other nations?
3. In the article, what is meant by a "Pax Japonica" or a "Pax Amerippon"? Compare and contrast this notion with the "Pax Britannica", which helped to assure world order in the mid-nineteenth century, or the "Pax Romana".
4. What is meant by the remark, "Japan has never had a foreign policy?"
5. Discuss the importance of "internationalization." What policies show that Japan is a fully participating member of the world community?
6. Discuss the relationship between Japanese culture and Japan's emerging role in the world today. What does "nationalism" mean?
7. Gives some examples of the ways Japan's history continues to shape its foreign relations today.
8. What are the basic guidelines shaping Japan's defense policy?

FOREIGN POLICY / Resources

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LITERATURE / CONTENTS

A series of short selections are presented here to provide students with a brief introduction to the Japanese literary tradition.

To conduct the first three exercises on the Tale of Genji, The Pillow Book, and Essays in Idleness with your class, you must obtain a copy of Anthology of Japanese Literature by Donald Keene (Grove Press, 1955) from the library. This anthology is available in paperback and can be ordered from The Grove Press, 196 West Houston Street, New York, NY, 10014.

JAPANESE LITERATURE FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS (Resources)
a descriptive list of ten works of Japanese literature suitable for use with secondary school students, including references to recommended translations for each work.

THE TALE OF GENJI (Background/Primary Source Selection)
which is thought to be the first novel in the history of literature, was written in 11th century Japan by a woman, Murasaki Shikibu. In the chapter chosen for discussion here, students gain a glimpse of Japanese court society and sensibilities during the classical Heian period. (Historical context for this selection is provided by the unit entitled "The Court at Kyoto: Japan's Golden Age" in the workbook section on TRADITIONAL HISTORY.)

THE PILLOW BOOK (Background/Primary Source Selection)
which was written in 1002 by another court lady of the Heian period, Sei Shōnagon, is a collection of personal impressions of court life that reflect the author's humor and delight in the novelty of life at court. (Historical context for this selection is provided by the unit entitled "The Court at Kyoto: Japan's Golden Age" in the workbook section on TRADITIONAL HISTORY.)

ESSAYS IN IDLENESS (Background/Primary Source Selection)
written by Yoshida Kenkō about 1340, reflects the change taking place in Japan's early feudal period when the transition from court-dominated to warrior-dominated society was taking place. The author sees the passing of Japan's old aristocratic culture of manners and bemoans the decline of this golden age. (Historical context for this selection is provided by a short unit also entitled "Essays in Idleness" in the workbook section on TRADITIONAL HISTORY.)

WHAT IS A TANKA? (Reading/Primary Source Selections)

looks at Japanese poetic form and describes the tanka form, popular in Heian times as well as today. It is the form from which haiku, perhaps more familiar to Americans, was derived, reaching its apex a thousand years later in the 17th century. (Historical context for this selection is provided by the unit entitled "The Court at Kyoto: Japan's Golden Age" in the workbook section on TRADITIONAL HISTORY.)

THE HAIKU MOMENT (Resource)

describes a highly recommended unit by this title available from The Japan Project (TJP) at Stanford University. Haiku is the seventeen-syllable poem that reached the apex of its development in seventeenth-century Japan.

THE POMEGRANATE (Primary Source Selection)

is a short story by Kawabata Yasunari, the first Japanese writer to win the Nobel prize in literature in 1968. Written in 1945, it is reprinted here as an example of modern Japanese literature.

RESOURCE LIST

of teaching units, anthologies, bibliography, and background reading.



Japanese Literature for High School Students

The following is a list of ten (10) representative titles in Japanese literature that can be read by high school students. The selections range from the earliest times to the present, and include several works by women authors.

Certain works might be read by the entire class in conjunction with their study of a period in Japanese history; others might be assigned to individual students for special reports.

Related units in other sections of the workbook, which provide background for any of the texts, are indicated on the list.

Kokin Wakashū (Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems)

This poetry anthology, compiled in 905, was the first of twenty-one collections of poetry put together at Imperial request, and the most influential. Its arrangement of poetry by seasons and topics -- love, parting, travel, and more -- and its development of the poetic form called waka or tanka established the conventions for poetry for succeeding generations for hundreds of years. [Related unit : See "What Is a Tanka?" in the LITERATURE section of the workbook]

Recommended translations:

McCullough, Helen Craig, trans. Kokin Wakashū: The First Imperial Anthology of Poetry. Stanford University Press, 1985.

Rodd, Laurel Paslica and Mary Catherine Henkenius, trans. Kokinshū: A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern. Princeton University Press, 1984.

Keene, Donald, ed. Anthology of Japanese Literature, From the Earliest Era to the Mid-nineteenth Century. New York: Grove Press, 1955. Paperback edition, Evergreen, 1960. (Includes selections from the Kokinshū)

The Tale of Genji by Murasaki* Shikibu

The masterpiece of Japanese literature, this long narrative mirrors the aristocratic court of Heian Japan. The author, who completed her work in about 1010, was herself a court lady in the service of a Heian-period empress. Her great tale follows the life of Prince Genji and his descendants, recounting their love

* In Japanese, a person's family name or ⁶²³ surname is written first. The family name of each Japanese author is here noted in bold print each time it appears.

affairs, worldly fortunes and declines, and spiritual longings. The characters and their concerns, the tale's themes, appear and reappear in art and literature even today. [Related unit: See "The Tale of Genji" in the LITERATURE section, and "The Court at Kyoto: Japan's Golden Age" in the TRADITIONAL HISTORY section of the workbook]

Recommended translations:

Seidensticker, Edward, trans. The Tale of Genji 2 vols. New York: Knopf, 1976. Paperback edition, 1 vol. Borzoi Books, 1981. (An abridged version by the same translator is also available.)

Waley, Arthur, trans. The Tale of Genji. London: Allen & Unwin, 1935; 1 vol. ed., New York: Random House, Modern Library, 1960.

An Account of My Hut by Kamo no Chōmei

Kamo no Chōmei (1153-1216) wrote this meditative description of the transience of human life in 1212, in the period of transition from the classical age of the courtier to the medieval age of the samurai. Although the upheavals of his age included warfare, and he himself was a court aristocrat turned Buddhist monk, his account contains much that is universal and timeless -- the uncertainties of human existence, the tranquility to be found in natural beauty, and the pleasures of simplicity.

The opening paragraph is particularly well-known and loved. [Related unit: See "The Age of the Samurai" in the TRADITIONAL HISTORY section of the workbook]

Recommended translation:

Keene, Donald, ed. Anthology of Japanese Literature From the Earliest Era to the Mid-nineteenth Century. New York: Grove, 1955. Paperback edition, Evergreen, 1960. (Includes a complete translation of An Account of My Hut)

Love Suicides at Sonezaki by Chikamatsu Monzaemon

This play was written for the puppet theater in the early 18th century by the great playwright of the Edo period. It is an example of a new literature written for and about urban commoners. The conflict between love and duty, and the ennobling power of love and self-sacrifice, are themes that reflect both the

realities and ideals of city-dwellers in pre-modern Japan, and pervaded the drama and fiction of the time. [Related unit: See "Love Suicides at Sonezaki" in the DRAMA section of the workbook]

Recommended translation:

Keene, Donald, ed. Anthology of Japanese Literature, From the Earliest Era to the Mid-nineteenth Century. New York: Grove Press, 1955. Paperback edition, Evergreen, 1960. (Includes a complete translation of Love Suicides at Sonezaki)

Kokoro by Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916)

The novel, by one of the giants of modern Japanese literature, concerns ethical and cultural uncertainties in an age of dramatic change. The narrator is a college student trying to find his way through a world unsupported by the values of the past, who looks for guidance to a mentor entangled by similar doubts and dilemmas. Kokoro, whose title means "heart," or "spirit," or "essence," is an important cultural document of the Meiji period, and a moving work of literature. [Related unit: See "The Meiji Restoration and Modernization" in the MODERN HISTORY section of the workbook]

Recommended translation:

McClellan, Edwin, trans. Kokoro. Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1967. Paperback edition.

Seven Tales by Tanizaki Jun'ichirō

In this collection of short fiction written over the years between 1910 and 1959, Tanizaki's strengths as a story-teller and stylist are clear. His interest in reinterpreting the past as it is transmitted through history and literature emerges in several stories, as does his fascination with varieties of obsessions, his recurring themes of searching for lost loves, of the relation of love and cruelty, love and blindness, are all represented in a fine group of stories.

Recommended translation:

Hibbett, Howard, trans. Seven Japanese Tales by Junichiro Tanizaki. New York: Knopf, 1963. Paperback edition, New York: Putnam, Perigree Books, 1981.

Black Rain by Ibuse Masuji

The "black rain" of the title refers to one of the frightening aftermaths of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. The novel, a mixture of fact and fiction, describes the life of a small family in Hiroshima experiencing the destruction of war, the disintegration of a society, and the recurrence of hope and growth. In a spare, understated style that alternates first-person and third-person narration with personal journals, the novel creates a compelling and inclusive picture of the realities of ordinary everyday life in a world of chaos. [Related unit" See "The Atomic Bomb" in the MODERN HISTORY section of the workbook]

Recommended translation:

Bestor, John, trans. Black Rain by Masuji Ibuse. Tokyo and New York: Kodansha International, 1969. Paperback edition.

The Sound of the Mountain by Kawabata Yasunari (1899-1972)

As winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1968, Kawabata is one of the best-known Japanese writers in the West. His fiction has strong links to premodern poetry, which influences the images and structures of his novels. This gentle, elegiac novel concerns the complex weaves of family relationships, the influence of the past on the present, and the connections between dreams and reality. (Related units: See "The Pomegranate" in the LITERATURE section of the workbook)

Recommended translation:

Seidensticker, Edward M., trans. The Sound of the Mountain by Yasunari Kawabata. New York: Knopf, 1970. Paperback edition, Putnam Perigree Books, 1981.

Woman in the Dunes by Abe Kōbō (b. 1924)

Abe (pronounced Ah-bay) Kōbō is one of the major experimental writers of postwar Japanese society. His novels and plays explore the existential dissonance created by an industrial society. Woman in the Dunes, made an excellent film by the director Teshigahara from a screenplay by Abe, is a surreal story of psychological imprisonment. This novel, as with most of Abe's work, has strong ties to postwar European fiction.

Recommended translation:

Saunders, E. Dale, trans. The Woman in the Dunes by Kōbō Abe. New York: Knopf, 1964, Paperback edition, Random House, Vintage Books, 1972.

This Kind of Woman: Ten Stories by Japanese Women Writers, 1960-1976.

The postwar period has seen a remarkable resurgence of women writers, recalling the period a thousand years ago when women dominated the literary world. This anthology has stories by some major contemporary writers, such as Enchi Fumiko, Ōba Yumiko, Tomioka Taeko and others, illustrating the range and complexity of women's writing today.

Recommended translation:

This Kind of Woman: Ten Stories by Japanese Women Writers, 1960-1976. Translated and edited by Yukiko Tanaka and Elizabeth Hanson. Stanford University Press, 1982. Paperback edition.

TO THE TEACHER

To complete this unit with your class you should obtain a copy of the ANTHOLOGY OF JAPANESE LITERATURE by Donald Keene (New York: Grove Press, 1955) from the library. The anthology is available in paperback and is highly recommended. It is the source for two other units in this section of the workbook.

The historical context for this selection is provided by the unit entitled "The Court at Kyoto: Japan's Golden Age" in the section on TRADITIONAL HISTORY.

The Tale of Genji

by Murasaki Shikibu

The Tale of Genji, thought to be the first novel in the history of literature, was written by a woman, Murasaki Shikibu,* in the 11th century A.D. Lady Murasaki lived during the Heian period, an era remarkable for the poetry, diaries, and fiction produced by court ladies. Their sensitivity to nature and the art of love reflected in these works set the tone for the art and literature of their time. While the men wrote in an awkward, scholarly form of Chinese, the women developed a Japanese script more suitable to the Japanese language. In succeeding periods of warfare, popular tales of the bravery of the samurai warriors would all but obliterate the court ladies' writings. Even in such tales, however, the warrior would stop in the midst of battle to recite a poem, play his flute, or sigh over the falling of a blossom. The tastes of the women of Japan were never again to dominate the arts, but the sensibility of the Heian period continued to exert an influence over Japanese literature in later years.

The world described in The Tale of Genji is representative of this sensibility. The novel covers the lifespan of the brilliant

Prince Genji. Genji is Murasaki Shikibu's ideal of manhood. He is gentle, poetic, stunningly handsome, and above all a tender lover.

In this selection from the Yūgao chapter, Lady Murasaki describes the seventeen-year-old Genji in the midst of his first real passion, Yūgao. Lady Yūgao is so far beneath Genji in court rank that he must visit her in the rather crude disguise of a hunter accompanied by one lone servant. The poverty of her home and the frailty of Yūgao herself awaken Genji's love and pity.

Although normally a prince would not have taken an interest in a woman of Yūgao's position in society, Genji is intrigued. (The Heian court was strictly divided into social ranks from the highest officials on down.) In fact, in an earlier chapter Genji and his friends discussed the charms of the different ranks of women. His closest friend, Tō no Chūjō, hinted that he himself once discovered a gentle lady hidden away in an alley. Genji has therefore already imagined Yūgao long before their meeting. Their love affair retains this dream-like mood right up to Yūgao's mysterious death.

In general, courting in the Heian period took place freely among men and women of equal rank. The man would send a poem to a lady he had heard about and wait for a reply. If the reply was favorable and, more important, artistic, then he might call upon the lady. She would remain hidden behind a screen, surrounded by her ladies-in-waiting. Poems would then be passed back and forth through the screen. If the man was to gain admission behind the screen he would be acknowledged as her lover. Until this moment, however, the two would not meet face to face. Note that Yūgao and Genji do not look on one another until after they have become lovers.

Murasaki Shikibu is especially praised for her psychological insights into the feelings of men and women. As you read, note the comments she makes about Genji. She says, for example, that Genji had grown tired of his earlier lover: "he had surmounted so many obstacles in his courtship of her that to give her up the moment he had won her seemed absurd. Yet he could not deny that the blind intoxicating passion which possessed him while she was still unattainable, had almost disappeared" What does this tell you about Genji? Does Yūgao's mysterious background make her more desirable to him? The ghostly presence who appears before Yūgao's bed is thought by many readers to be Genji's earlier lover, Rokujō. What is Murasaki Shikibu suggesting by this ghostly presence? Does the jealous spirit of Rokujō kill Yūgao? Or does Genji imagine this ghost due to his own guilty feelings toward the lady Rokujō? These and other passages will help you to understand Murasaki's Genji.

Turn to page 106 of your Anthology of Japanese Literature for the chapter on Yūgao, then do the exercises below.

Vocabulary

obliterate

sensibility

surmounted

obstacle

absurd

intoxicating

unattainable

Questions for Discussion

1. To Murasaki Shikibu, Genji was more handsome, more sensitive, more intelligent than any other young man. He was bigger than life.

What qualities do you admire in Genji?

Are they qualities that young men have today?

Describe your ideal of a young man.

2. Compare Genji with famous lovers in the Western tradition.

Does he have any characteristics of Romeo?

Of the gods in Greek tales?

3. What do you think of Genji's seduction of Yūgao?

Do you feel sorry for her?

4. Genji never forgets Yūgao; in fact, later in the novel he assumes the care of her daughter.

Does this reflect his great love for Yūgao?

His feelings of guilt over her death?

The tenderness he seems to feel for all women?

Supplementary Reading

Students wishing to read The Tale of Genji in its entirety are referred to Edward Seidensticker's translation, published by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. in paperback in 1978.



TO THE TEACHER

To complete this unit with your class you should obtain a copy of the **ANTHOLOGY OF JAPANESE LITERATURE** by Donald Keene (New York: Grove Press, 1955) from the library. The anthology is available in paperback and is highly recommended. It is the source for two other units in this section of the workbook.

The historical context for this selection is provided by the unit entitled "The Court at Kyoto: Japan's Golden Age" in the section on **TRADITIONAL HISTORY**.

The Pillow Book

by Sei Shōnagon

The Pillow Book (1002) is a collection of impressions of court life by the court lady Sei Shōnagon. A contemporary of Murasaki Shikibu, who wrote the Tale of Genji, she reflects the same concern with style and taste typical of the period. Unlike the wistful and sometimes tragic mood of the Tale of Genji, however, the author of The Pillow Book expresses the feeling of "okashi," or a delight in the novelty of life at court.

Humor is perhaps the most difficult aspect of a foreign culture to appreciate. Even within the United States humor varies with geographic area and the background of the people. In Japan, a society of rigid conventions concerning dress and behavior, an unexpected or inappropriate action often occasions humor. This was all the more so in the isolated court society of Heian Japan, which was almost entirely preoccupied by matters concerning outward appearance.

Sei Shōnagon's wit lies in the unrelenting notice she takes of the incongruities in court life and in her own life in particular. Her perceptive eye and sharp tongue allowed little to slip

by unobserved. So outspoken was she that her comments were not always appreciated. Murasaki Shikibu describes her as "a very proud person. She values herself highly and scatters her Chinese writings all about. Yet should we study her closely, we should find that she is still imperfect.... How can such a vain and reckless person end her days happily!"

The Pillow Book may have received its name for two reasons. The random thoughts expressed in it suggest that the author kept a notebook by her bed and jotted down her ideas before falling asleep at night. An alternate explanation is that the notebook was kept within the pillow. A Japanese pillow was a square, lacquered piece of wood with a hole in the center.

As you read the selection starting on page 137 of your reader, compare Sei Shōnagon's observations with those you may have written in a personal diary. Do you find her humorous? Would you have felt as embarrassed, depressed, or irritated as she does in the incidents she describes?

Vocabulary

wistful

conventions

inappropriate

preoccupied

unrelenting

incongruity

perceptive

random

Exercises

1. Select a humorous incident from The Pillow Book and try to describe what makes it amusing.

Compare it with a contemporary American story--from a TV program, for example. How do they differ?

Humor varies not only from culture to culture, but within a

society as well. Compare the things you and your friends consider funny with those that amuse your parents.

How do they differ?

2. Keep a journal of your thoughts and observations for several days, then compare your entries with those of your classmates.

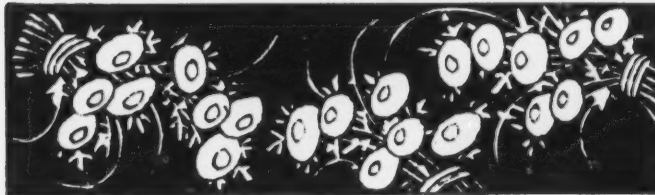
What kinds of things seem to be most interesting to students in your class?

How are they different from the interests of Sei Shōnagon?

3. Sei Shōnagon and Murasaki Shikibu were members of a very small, highly privileged aristocracy, which valued the aesthetic achievements of its women members, and granted them a measure of education and economic independence. Nonetheless, these court ladies had little power and relied on their relations with men to preserve their positions.

What can you learn from the two previous selections about the lives of women in the Heian court?

How would you compare them with their European contemporaries? With modern American women?



TO THE TEACHER

To complete this unit with your class you should obtain a copy of the ANTHOLOGY OF JAPANESE LITERATURE by Donald Keene (New York: Grove Press, 1955) from the library. The anthology is available in paperback and is highly recommended. It is the source for two other units in this section of the workbook.

The historical context for this selection is provided by the unit also entitled Essays in Idleness in the section of the workbook on TRADITIONAL HISTORY.

Essays in Idleness

by Yoshida Kenkō

Yoshida Kenkō (1283-1350) wrote his Essays in Idleness about 1340. This was a period characterized by almost constant warfare, as various groups of warriors outside the court sought to extend their control over greater areas of Japan. The days of the aristocratic culture of the Heian Court were over. Yoshida Kenkō, himself a former courtier, fled the poverty of the court and became a Buddhist monk in 1324. Many of his fellow courtiers did the same.

Essays in Idleness is a collection of Kenkō's* thoughts about the world around him, much like Sei Shōnagon's Pillow Book. The

* In Japan, it is often customary for very famous people to be referred to by their personal name--in this case Kenkō--not their surname. Remember that the personal name follows the surname in Japanese word order. This writer's surname is Yoshida.

cheerfulness of the Pillow Book, however, is replaced by a feeling of melancholy and nostalgia, because the court, as the aristocratic, cultural center, was in decline.

There are some ambiguous attitudes in Kenkō's writing. On the one hand, he is interested in particular details of behavior in elegant society. On the other hand, he expresses the Buddhist view that all earthly pleasures are empty of value and transitory: human life is brief and, like nature, always in a process of change. Desire for material goods and the accumulation of possessions leads to pain. Kenkō expresses such beliefs in terms of the aesthetic principle that, since the true state of life and nature is one of change, change itself is beautiful.

"Are we only to look at flowers in full bloom, at the moon when it is clear? Nay, to look out on the rain and long for the moon, to draw the blinds and not to be aware of the passing of the spring--these arouse even deeper feelings. There is much to be seen in young boughs about to flower, in gardens strewn with blossoms." Evidence of this artistic view can be seen in much of Japanese art and architecture today. A tree with but one live branch will be propped up and preserved for years. A stone lantern covered with moss will be highly prized for the moss that indicates the passage of time.

Turn to page 231 of the Anthology of Japanese Literature for the selection and then do the exercises below.



Vocabulary

melancholy

nostalgia

ambiguous

elegant

transitory

accumulation

aesthetic principle

Exercises

1. Write a short passage that expresses some of your own ideas of beauty, then compare them with a selection from Kenkō.

Do you share any of his aesthetic values?

What qualities do you value most?

2. Select a passage which illustrates Kenkō's thoughts on death.

What does it tell you about Kenkō's views on man's place in the scheme of things?

Do you agree or disagree?

TO THE STUDENT

Japanese poetry is most familiar to Americans as the haiku, the seventeen-syllable poem that reached the apex of its development in the seventeenth century. But the haiku derived from an older, but still popular, poetic form, the tanka, which had been written for a thousand years before the haiku. The word tanka (短歌) means "short poem," because it was contrasted with earlier, longer forms; it was also known as a waka (和歌), or "Japanese poem," and it is a form so basic to Japanese literature that we still study and write it today. As a famous modern poet, Kitahara Hakushū (1885-1942) wrote:

"People say the tanka is too short to work with. But I think that is precisely its advantage. Isn't it so? A small poem, that doesn't take time, is best--it's practical. It's the best thing that ever happened to the Japanese, having this tanka form."

What is a Tanka?

About a thousand years earlier, a poet named Ki no Tsurayuki wrote:

"The poetry of Japan has its roots in the human heart and flourishes in the countless leaves of words. Because human beings possess interests of so many kinds it is in poetry that they give expression to the meditations of their hearts in terms of the sights appearing before their eyes and the sounds coming to their ears. Hearing the warbler sing among the blossoms and the frog in his fresh waters--is there any living being not given to song?"

The "song" he meant (uta, 歌) was a tanka.

It is a poem in thirty-one syllables, arranged in five lines, of 5/7/5/7/7 syllables respectively. For example, here is a poem written by a famous Heian-period woman, Ono no Komachi:

The flowers withered,	(5)
Their color faded away,	(7)
While meaninglessly	(5)
I spent my days in the world	(7)
And the long rains were falling.<1>	(7)

The tanka is often said to have an "upper verse," which refers to the first three lines, and a "lower verse," the last two. The haiku form is based on the "upper verse," and another form, called a renga, is made from alternating the two--first a three-line, seventeen syllable verse, then a two-line, fourteen syllable one, each by a different poet for up to a hundred verses!

Often when we read Japanese poetry in translation the syllable count seems wrong. One reason is that Japanese words often cannot be translated by a single equivalent word in English. More important, however, is the fact that English poetic forms are not usually based on syllables, but on stress. Where Japanese poems rely on internal rhythms and sounds for their effects, English poems often use rhyme. Each language uses its special characteristics to form poetry--but all poetry "has its roots in the human heart."

Traditionally, it was the heart responding to nature that was most sung about: Ki no Tsurayuki asked, "Hearing the warbler sing among the blossoms and the frog in his fresh waters--is their any living being not given to song?" Even in modern times, nature--and our response to it--is a frequent topic, as in this poem by Saitō Mokichi (1882-1953):

Is this what
quietude is like?
On a winter night
the sounds of the air
which surrounds me.

1. Translated by Donald Keene in his Anthology of Japanese Literature, page 81. For more tanka, see also pp. 76-81, 92-96, 192-196, 432-435 of the Anthology.

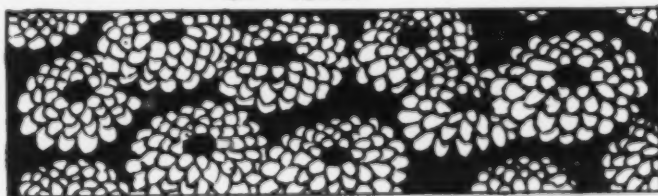
Modern poets are less likely to write exclusively about the beauties of nature than their ancestors were, however. At one time the topics to be treated by a tanka, and even the words a poet was allowed to use, were subject to strict regulations. In modern times, however, any topic is acceptable, and any of the "countless leaves of words" may be used. A good example is this poem by Ishikawa Takuboku (1885-1912):

I have memories
that are like the awful
feeling you get
when you slip your feet
into dirty socks.

These "short poems" have been important to the Japanese throughout their history. They have been used to celebrate special occasions since ancient times, and indeed, still are. The Imperial family still runs an annual poetry-writing contest open to all, and many Japanese are amateur poets. In the Heian period especially, tanka were a most important form of communication between lovers, and a person's skill in poetry was a major criterion in determining his or her standing in society, even influencing political positions. Throughout its history, the tanka has had an importance in Japanese society unparalleled in the West.

What is a tanka, then? It is a short poem, with specific structural requirements, written to express feelings. It differs from poetry in our own tradition both in form and in influence. There is yet another general difference: Over the centuries, tanka were written more to capture emotions than to explain or define them. Ono no Komachi, in the poem above, did not mention why her days seemed meaningless; Takuboku did not tell us what those memories were that made him feel so awful.

In contrast, much Western poetry has been concerned with the reasons for a particular feeling, as well as the emotion itself; it has told stories, created allegories, and even discussed theology. But the "Japanese poem" has traditionally treated the "what" rather than the "why" of experience, and opens a wealth of subtle emotions to us. It is an especially rich source for increasing our understanding of the Japanese experience, in reading poetry and, as in the exercises that follow, trying to write some ourselves.



Vocabulary

apex

criterion

unparalleled

allegories

theology

subtle

Questions/ Exercises

1. Japanese poetry is often written in groups--people will gather together and write poems on a chosen topic, or they will write poems to commemorate a special occasion. The topic might be something like rain on a spring evening, or the waning autumn moon. The occasion might be New Year's, or an excursion to view the cherry blossoms.

Divide your class into small groups, and have each group decide on a topic--anything, not just nature images, will do. Each student should try to write one poem, without being too concerned about the number of syllables. But keep in mind that the tanka is a short form, so each word is especially important.

Discuss the poems you have written in terms of form and content--the problems of writing within a particular structure, and on a set topic.

2. Have the students work in pairs, with one student writing the "upper verse," and the other finishing the poem with the "lower verse."

Compare the results, and discuss the ways the two parts work to form a whole.

How was writing a poem alone different from writing in response to another person?

3. Choose an English poem--perhaps one used in an English class--and a tanka for comparison.

Consider how they are alike and how they are different, treating both form and content.

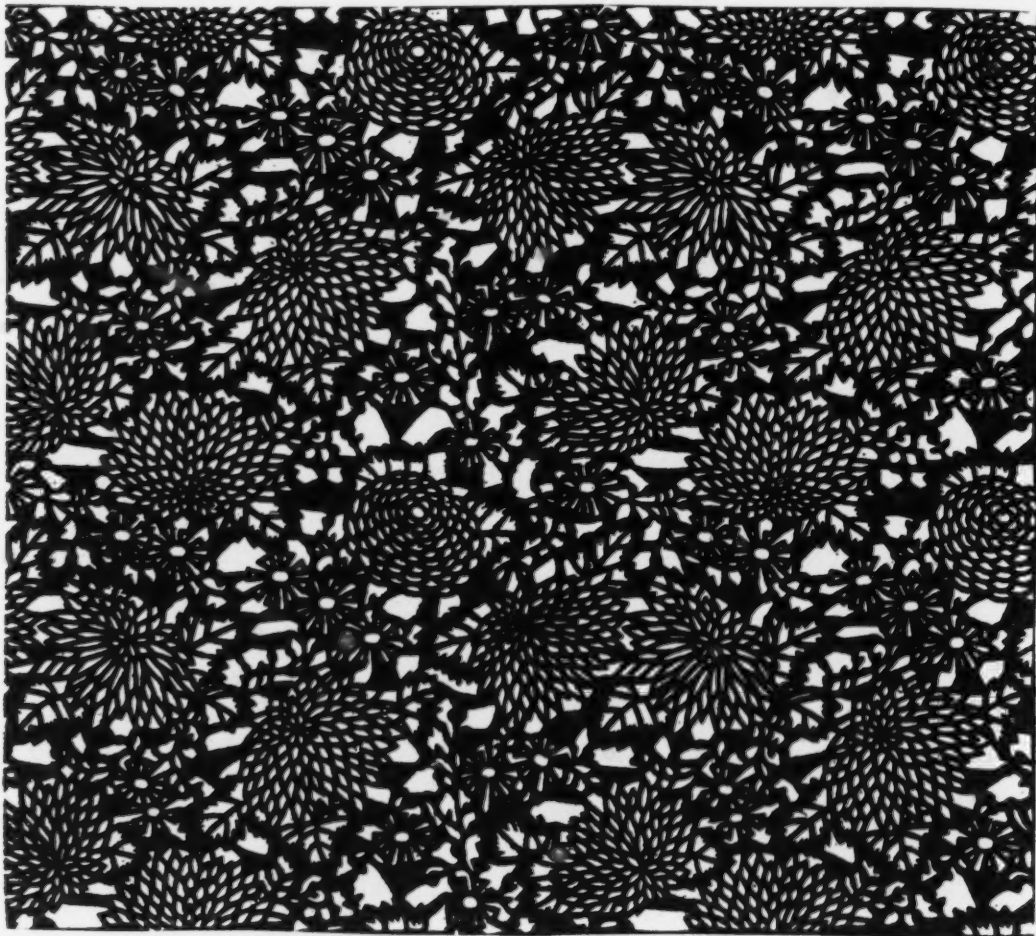
Do these poems illustrate the differences between English and Japanese poems as discussed in the text?

If so, how?

If not, why not?

4. The same word, uta (歌), is used to mean both "song" and "poem." What do you think are reasons for this?

Is there anything in our own tradition that relates songs and poems?



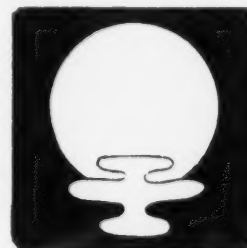
The Haiku Moment

RECOMMENDED FOR USE The teaching unit Seeing the World in a Grain of Sand: The Haiku Moment, prepared by The Japan Project (TJP) of the Stanford Program in International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE), is an introduction to haiku as a poetic form. The Unit concentrates on writing activities, and discusses Japanese aesthetic principles as well. A teacher's guide and a supplementary slide/cassette tape set are available.

Order from: TJP/SPICE
Room 200 Lou Henry Hoover Building
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305

Price: Text: \$3.25
Audio-cassette: \$3.25
Slides: \$14.00
Complete set: \$20.50

The unit described here is for grades 7-12. There is also a unit for K-6. Write to TJP for information on the latter.



The Pomegranate

by Kawabata Yasunari

TO THE STUDENT

Kawabata Yasunari* (1889-1972) was the first Japanese writer to win the Nobel Prize in literature. It was awarded in 1968, coinciding with the centennial celebration of the Meiji Restoration, which marked the beginning of Japan's full commitment to modernization and total participation in the global community, politically, economically, and culturally.

Japanese authors of the modern period have been well aware of both their own long, rich literary tradition and new ideas about content, form, and style available from the West. Kawabata was no exception; his work has been influenced by both traditions, and is widely read in the West as well as in Japan.

Kawabata is best known in the United States for novels such as Snow Country, A Thousand Cranes, and The Sound of the Mountain, but he also wrote many very short stories--a form he called tanagokoro no shōsetsu ("palm-of-the-hand stories"). These short narratives are less concerned with plot, or story line, than with depicting momentary experiences and feelings that have wider meanings. As you read the following story, written in 1945 just at the end of World War II, try to think about what each little incident means to the main character, Kimiko.

* Remember that the personal name follows the surname in Japanese word order. This writer's surname is Kawabata.

THE POMEGRANATE*

In the high wind that night the pomegranate tree was stripped of its leaves.

The leaves lay in a circle around the base.

Kimiko was startled to see it naked in the morning, and wondered at the flawlessness of the circle. She would have expected the wind to disturb it.

There was a pomegranate, a very fine one, left behind in the tree.

"Just come and look at it," she called to her mother.

"I had forgotten." Her mother glanced up at the tree and went back to the kitchen.

It made Kimiko think of their loneliness. The pomegranate over the veranda too seemed lonely and forgotten.

Two weeks or so before, her seven-year-old nephew had come visiting, and had noticed the pomegranates immediately. He had scrambled up into the tree. Kimiko had felt that she was in the presence of life.

"There is a big one up above," she called from the veranda.

"But if I pick it I can't get back down."

It was true. To climb down with pomegranates in both hands would not be easy. Kimiko smiled. He was a dear.

Until he had come the house had forgotten the pomegranate. And until now they had forgotten it again.

Then the fruit had been hidden in the leaves. Now it stood clear against the sky.

There was strength in the fruit and in the circle of leaves at the base. Kimiko went and knocked it down with a bamboo pole.

* "The Pomegranate," Edward Seidensticker, trans., in Howard Hibbett, ed., Contemporary Japanese Literature (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1977), pp. 293-295. Reprinted by permission of the translator.

It was so ripe that the seeds seemed to force it open. They glistened in the sunlight when she laid it on the veranda, and the sun seemed to go on through them.

She felt somehow apologetic.

Upstairs with her sewing at about ten, she heard Keikichi's voice. Though the door was unlocked, he seemed to have come around to the garden. There was urgency in his voice.

"Kimiko, Kimiko!" her mother called. "Keikichi is here."

Kimiko had let her needle come unthreaded. She pushed it back into the pincushion.

"Kimiko had been saying how she wanted to see you again before you leave." Keikichi was going to war. "But we could hardly go and see you without an invitation, and you didn't come and didn't come. It was good of you to come today."

She asked him to stay for lunch, but he was in a hurry.

"Well, do at least have a pomegranate. We grew it ourselves." She called up to Kimiko again.

He greeted her with his eyes, as if it were more than he could do to wait for her to come down. She stopped on the stairs.

Something warm seemed to come into his eyes, and the pomegranate fell from his hand.

They looked at each other and smiled.

When she realized that she was smiling, she flushed. Keikichi got up from the veranda.

"Take care of yourself, Kimiko."

"And you."

He had already turned away and was saying goodbye to her mother.

Kimiko looked on at the garden gate after he had left.

"He was in such a hurry," said her mother. "And it's such a fine pomegranate."

He had left it on the veranda.

Apparently he had dropped it as that warm something came

into his eyes and he was beginning to open it. He had not broken it completely in two. It lay with the seeds up.

Her mother took it to the kitchen and washed it, and handed it to Kimiko.

Kimiko frowned and pulled back, and then, flushing once more, took it in some confusion.

Keikichi would seem to have taken a few seeds from the edge.

With her mother watching her, it would have been strange for Kimiko to refuse to eat. She bit nonchalantly into it. The sourness filled her mouth. She felt a kind of sad happiness, as if it were penetrating far down inside her.

Uninterested, her mother had stood up.

She went to a mirror and sat down. "Just look at my hair, will you. I said goodbye to Keikichi with this wild mop of hair."

Kimiko could hear the comb.

"When your father died," her mother said softly, "I was afraid to comb my hair. When I combed my hair I would forget what I was doing. When I came to myself it would be as if your father were waiting for me to finish."

Kimiko remembered her mother's habit of eating what her father had left on his plate.

She felt something pull at her, a happiness that made her want to weep.

Her mother had probably given her the pomegranate because of a reluctance to throw away. Only because of that. It had become a habit not to throw things away.

Alone with her private happiness, Kimiko felt shy before her mother.

She thought that it had been a better farewell than Keikichi could have been aware of, and that she could wait any length of time for him to come back.

She looked toward her mother. The sun was falling on the paper doors beyond which she sat at her mirror.

She was somehow afraid to bite into the pomegranate on her knee.

Vocabulary

centennial

pomegranate

narrative

flawlessness

veranda

nonchalantly

reluctance

Questions/ Exercises

1. Early in the story, the solitary pomegranate in the tree "made Kimiko think of their loneliness." Why?

Is there anything later in the story that tells why they--
Kimiko and her mother--feel lonely?

2. What does the pomegranate symbolize in the story?

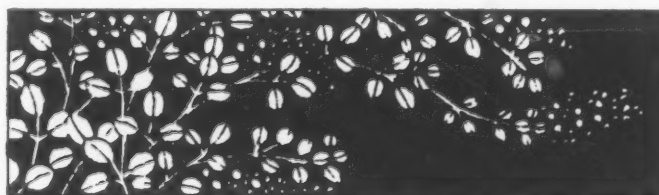
Why do you think Kimiko "was somehow afraid to bite into" it?

Is there any connection between that and her mother's
recollection about combing her hair?

Why did the farewell seem so good to Kimiko?

3. Remember that Keikichi was "going to war"; does anything else
in the story indicate that it takes place during wartime?

4. Try to think of some small incident in your own life that was
unimportant in itself, but made you think about more significant
things. See if you can write a short "palm-of-the-hand" story
about it.



LITERATURE / Resources

• TEACHING UNITS

Social Education 45 (May 1981) 5, special issue on "Teaching About Japan Through Art and Modern Literature," edited by Charles Von Lowenfeldt and Betty Bullard, contains selections from the following works, with questions for student discussion following each section:

"Age of Fools," Ayako Sono (short story), pp. 305-307.

"From The Doctor's Wife," Sawako Arioshi (novel), pp. 308-10.

"From Chieko's Sky," Kotaro Takamura (poem), pp. 311-312.

"From Ikiru," Akira Kurosawa, with Shinobu Hashimoto and Hideo Oguni (screenplay), pp. 313-315.

These excerpts with discussion questions form a short, useful anthology of readings; the full novel and screenplay, and a fairly complete selection of Takamura's poetry, are readily available in English for interested students and teachers. The issue, which includes other teaching units on Japanese art and society.

Available from: Social Education
National Council for the Social Studies
3501 Newark Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016

Price: \$5.00

The Rabbit in the Moon: Folktales from China and Japan, by
The Japan Project

Designed for elementary level, K-6, this 72-page collection with eight folktales, class exercises, and follow-up activities could be adapted to higher grades. A bibliography for teachers and students, with related slide sets.

Available from: TJP/SPICE
Room 200, Lou Henry Hoover Building
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305

Price: Complete unit, \$27.50
Text only, \$5.50
Slide sets if purchased individually:
"The Funny Little Woman" (34 slides),
\$16.00; "The Boy who Drew Cats" (13
slides), \$6.00

• ANTHOLOGIES

Bownas, Geoffrey and Anthony Thwaite, The Penguin Book of Japanese Verse, Penguin Books, 1964. Paper.

Keene, Donald. Anthology of Japanese Literature, Grove Press, 1955. Paper.

____. Modern Japanese Literature, Grove Press, 1960.

Hibbett, Howard. Contemporary Japanese Literature: An Anthology of Fiction, Film and Other Writing Since 1945, Knopf, 1977.

Morris, Ivan. Modern Japanese Stories: An Anthology, Tuttle, 1962. PAPER.

• BIBLIOGRAPHY

MODERN JAPANESE LITERATURE IN TRANSLATION: A BIBLIOGRAPHY,
International House of Japan Library, ed., \$15.00

A comprehensive listing of translations of almost 1500
authors and 9000 works (into all languages), arranged by
author and indexed to translator and title.

Kodansha International/USA Ltd.
10 East 53rd Street
New York, NY 10022
(212) 593-7050

• BACKGROUND READING

Keene, Donald. Japanese Literature: An Introduction for Western Readers, Grove Press, 1955. Paper.

Keene, Donald. Dawn to the West: Japanese Fiction in the Modern Era, Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1984.
Volume One: Fiction
Volume Two: Poetry, Drama, and Criticism
Both volumes are devoted to Japanese literature since 1868.

Keene, Donald. World Within Walls, Grove Press, 1976.

A study of Japanese literature from 1600 to 1868.

DRAMA / CONTENTS

FORMS OF DRAMA: INTRODUCTION (Reading/Class Exercise)

*NOH (Reading/Primary Source Selection/Exercises)

*KYOGEN (Reading/Primary Source Selection/Exercises)

BUNRAKU: PUPPET THEATER OF JAPAN (Film Guide)

*LOVE SUICIDES AT SONEZAKI (Primary Source Selection)

*To the teacher: The primary source selections recommended for use in each of these units are found in Donald Keene, Anthology of Japanese Literature (Grove Press, 1955) in paperback. A copy of the Keene volume should be in your school library.

Forms of Drama

Buddhist and Shinto influences and a generally higher level of wealth brought about the popularization of drama during the middle ages (1300-1700 A.D.). Like all drama, the first music and acting were ceremonies celebrating the divine, performed in the natural environment.

The forms that developed during the feudal period include:

NOH. This form started from the ancient Shinto ceremony. Later the stories of Noh plays developed Buddhist themes dealing with the great sadness of life, especially death of loved ones and lost hopes.

KYŌGEN. These humorous plays were usually performed at intermissions of Noh plays. Most are about the "lesser" sadnesses of life, such as inequalities of wealth, beauty, and health. Resolution of these disparities rests on the fine line of individuality and universality of the human condition.

KABUKI. These plays were the most in tune with what was timely and in vogue during the Tokugawa period (1600-1868). Kabuki is tied to urban life. The plays deal with tales of merchants rising in the world, star-crossed lovers from different classes, or the flight and fancy of the entertainment world of old Edo.

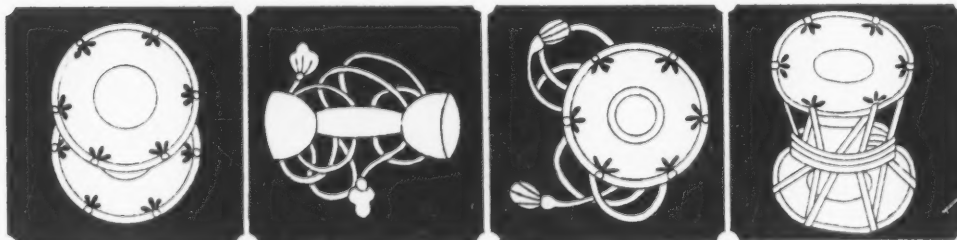
BUNRAKU. Bunraku was originally called Jōruri. It is the oldest form of puppet theater in Japan. The name derives from Lady Jōruri, who had a brief affair with Minamoto Yoshitsune, a great general and hero of many dramas about the early samurai period. At the end of the sixteenth century puppets, romantic tales, and samisen (Japanese banjo) music were combined to form a new popular theater, called bunraku. The same plays are often used in Kabuki and bunraku.

Class Exercise

Although movie attendance far surpasses traditional theater attendance, all of these drama forms can be seen in Japan today. They are still the foundations of principles of art and drama. Read about the Noh, kyogen, and bunraku in the following sections. Answer the questions about each section, and then choose which form you would like to use to create your own play. Remember, the form is what gives a feeling to a play. You do not have to have long speaking parts--music, movement, speech, sound, and lighting all combine to tell the story.

Depending on the size of the class and the type of play you want to perform, the drama project could be done by part or all of the class. Making a play requires a large staff. First you need writers, people with ideas they want to have their actors say. Second, the actors must be chosen. And this is only the beginning. Big dramatic productions need advertising people, scenery designers and crew, costume designers and crew, and, most important, a director. Also, will you want musicians? The music of the Noh might sound unusual, but it certainly creates a unique feeling. If some form of music is possible, you will need musicians and a music director.

On the other hand, a small production may be done by five people working together. Noh and kyōgen are the easiest, and a record or tape recording could be used for background music.



Noh

Every culture in the world has its own theater. In Japan one of the most ancient forms of theater is Noh. The Noh theater found its form in the 14th century and continues in much the same form, with many of the same plays, in present day Japan. A Noh play portrays one all-encompassing emotion dominating the main character, the shite (she-tay). Whether jealousy, rage, or sorrow, all music, gesture, dance, and recitation are used to build the emotion to its final climax at the close of the play. Often the plays depict the return of a historical personage, in spirit--or "ghostly"--form, to the site of a significant event in his or her life. A warrior might return to the battle field, or young woman to the scene of a love affair. According to Buddhism of the 14th century, a person could not find spiritual release even after death if he still possessed a strong emotion or desire. To exorcise this emotion, the warrior might appear in his armor and recreate the battle in a dance. The dance would reveal his humiliation at suffering defeat.

Noh plays are extremely intense. In order to express something so abstract as an emotion, words are often inadequate. As the play progresses, then, dance and poetry are used to express the tortured heart. Other elements which contribute to an intensification of the mood are the bare simplicity of the stage which allows no distraction from the main character, and the gorgeous costumes of the main character himself. The stylized movements also help to focus the energy on the emotion rather than on the individual personalities. In Noh as in classical ballet, every movement is choreographed and often symbolic. There is no individual interpretation.

Aside from the main character there are one or sometimes two secondary parts, the waki. Usually they are priests attired in

long dark robes. Like the audience, the secondary character is really there only to observe the tragedy enacted by the main character. Usually a play opens with the priest or other secondary character's entrance. He describes the scene which he wants the audience to imagine. The scenes are all actual spots in Japan. The main character may then enter disguised as a local person. The local person reveals to the secondary character the significance of the site. He then exits. He returns dressed as his true self with a mask and embroidered robes. From the time of his return to the stage, the secondary character generally remains seated to one side.

Masks are very important in the Noh and are worn only the main character. The mask helps to raise the action out of the ordinary, to freeze it in time. For the Noh actor the mask of a particular character has almost a magic power. Before putting it on he will look at it until he feels the emotion absorbed within himself. When he puts on the mask, his individuality recedes and he is nothing but the emotion to be depicted.

A chorus sits to the side of the stage. The chorus often echoes the words of the characters, but it may also speak for them. Thus in a dialogue between the main character and secondary characters, the chorus may say the lines of either of them. This is of course according to the script and not improvised. Nothing on the Noh stage is improvised. The use of the chorus to recite the actors' lines make it seem as though the lines belong to no one: The actors are there but the emotion is not under anyone's control. It floats between actors and chorus and is further picked up by a sudden drum beat or drawn out by the flute.

There are usually four musicians who sit to the rear of the stage. Three play Japanese drums and one plays a flute made from bamboo. The drums give a very hollow thud while the flute has an eerie whistling sound. This eerie whisper is what draws the first actor out onto the stage and creates the other-worldly feeling necessary to Noh.

Vocabulary

all-encompassing

recitation

climax

personage

exorcise

tortured

intensification

abstract

choreograph

attire

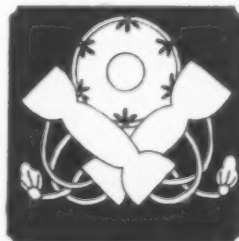
disguise

embroidered

individuality

improvise

eerie



Primary Source Selections

THE ART OF NOH

Read the selections from the works of the author Zeami Motokiyo (1363-1443) on pages 258-262 of Donald Keene's Anthology of Japanese Literature. In it Zeami tries to describe the tension created by the actors on the stage. He calls it "one mind." When an actor can direct his mind to control the tension through his movements without outwardly displaying his control, and what is more, do it beautifully, he has attained the state of yūgen. Yūgen is the height of artistic elegance, a beauty which contains within itself a sense of mystery and deep emotion. (Note: Surnames are written first in Japanese; therefore Zeami is the author's surname.)

Because the movements of the actor's body are stylized, that is, performed always in the same way, and extremely slowly, each movement seems almost a pose. This serves to isolate one movement from the next--whether turning, walking, or stamping. The pause between movements is referred to by Zeami as "no-action."

The reader will no doubt find Zeami's passages very difficult to understand. Zeami is, after all, trying to describe the indescribable. He is trying to explain why a work of art is beautiful. His vocabulary and the fact that he lived over 500 years ago may further obscure his ideas for the modern Western reader. Nevertheless, it is important for us to attempt to understand Zeami, because his principles of art are so much a part of the Japanese sense of beauty and because there is a universal truth contained within them.

SOTOBA KOMACHI

The play "Sotoba Komachi," on pages 264-270 of Keene's Anthology, is about a famous Heian-period poet named Ono no Komachi. (Perhaps you have already read one of her poems in the Tanka unit of this workbook.) She was renowned for her beauty as well as her talent, and used it on occasion to torment her suitors. In the play, she is possessed by the angry spirit of a lover who died before completing an ordeal Komachi set for him--to visit her house for one hundred consecutive nights, before being admitted on the one hundred and first. As you read, keep in mind that at first Komachi appears not as a beautiful young woman but as an ugly old crone, and that in the end she speaks in the voice of her unsuccessful lover. Notice all the Buddhist ideas and references spoken by both the priests and Komachi. The central idea is that no one can attain enlightenment, or relief from suffering, until he or she has broken all emotional ties with the people or things of worldly existence. (Note: In Japan, it is often customary for very famous people to be referred to by their personal name--in this case Komachi--not their surname. Remember that the personal name follows the surname in Japanese word order. This writer's surname is Ono. A sotoba is a stupa or grave marker.)



Exercises

1. Think up possible plots for Noh plays. For example, how would you construct a play about Thurmon Munson? Perhaps the secondary character would be a young boy or girl who wanders onto the ball field at Yankee Stadium after everyone is gone. He might meet a man sweeping up the debris left by the fans. The man might tell him about a star, Thurmon Munson, and how he died. The boy might then fall asleep and suddenly awaken to find Thurmon Munson (the sweeping man, now in his real form) standing before him in uniform. Thurmon Munson would describe how sad he feels to have left baseball, and would reenact a famous play or game. The dominant emotion would be sadness and regret. Think of others, such as Martin Luther King. You may be able to find newspaper articles which quote speeches you would incorporate in your play. Remember that you must identify the emotion which has entrapped the person. You might even try arranging a simple performance for your class.

2. The Noh uses poetry, dance, music, and masks in order to convey emotions so intense that they cannot be described otherwise. There are times in everyone's life when words simply cannot convey one's feelings.

Think of times in your life when you have had such feelings: What did you do? (Crying is one very natural gesture and so is displaying anger.)

Can you express the feeling you had by a pose, through a poem, or through a song? The song may be one you have heard on the radio but which means something special when you sing it.

3. Zeami tries to explain the beauty of the Noh. Explaining why something is beautiful is a very central part of Japanese literature and culture.

Bring in a picture of a painting or read a poem that you feel is especially moving.

Why do you feel this way?

What exactly do you feel?

If you feel sad then what in the painting, for example, makes you sad? Is it the color? The form? The subject?

What about the poem?

Kyōgen

The refinement of the intense, other-worldly Noh drama in medieval Japan was paralleled by the development of the light, humorous kyōgen form. Where Noh is solemn and symbolic, kyōgen is irreverent and slapstick; where Noh treats the profound passions of human existence, kyōgen concerns the amusing situations of daily life. The language of Noh is poetic and exalted, while that of kyōgen is prosaic and earthy; the costumes of Noh are rich and gorgeous, while those of kyōgen are the plain dull garments of everyday life in about the fifteenth century. The character for the word Noh (能) means talent or ability, while those for the word kyōgen (狂言) mean wild talk, or crazy speaking. Each form's special qualities are emphasized by the contrast with the other.

Kyōgen is acted on the Noh stage between performances of Noh plays. Sometimes even within a Noh play, there is a kyōgen interlude between two "acts," for comic relief. But while the actors in kyōgen, who are trained differently than those in Noh, may be as skilled, their intention is not to move us to tears, but to make us laugh. Often the story is about a humble person making a fool out of someone in authority. The situations are often familiar to us, either from our own lives or from TV situation-comedies: servants trying to outwit their masters, or a younger son trying to take advantage of an autocratic father in his dotage.

In the play Busu, a master tries to fool his two servants, and they in turn try to outwit him. Neither side quite succeeds, although the servants seem to come out ahead. The play ends, as many do, in a chase--an antic quality is a basic attribute of kyōgen.

Vocabulary

refinement	solemn
irreverent	symbolic
exalted	paralleled
prosaic	antic
interlude	attribute
comic relief	props
autocratic	cast
dotage	



Busu

Primary Source Selection

Read pages 305-311 in Keene's Anthology of Japanese Literature before you do the exercises below.

Exercises

1. Choose three students to act out the play you have read. They can try to memorize their parts, or else they can write them on index cards and refer to them as they act. For props you will need fans for Tarō kaja and Jirō kaja, a cask for the busu (a pail or bucket will do), a scroll made of paper, and a bowl. Perhaps you can invite another class to serve as an audience.
2. Think of situations that would make good kyōgen, and try to write your own. A play could concern students trying to avoid handing in homework they haven't done, or a teenager who has to keep rescuing a mischievous friend from a series of funny predicaments. Remember to keep the cast small, the props simple, and the text funny.
3. Make a list of similarities and differences in the Noh and kyōgen forms. See if you can think of a situation in which the two forms could be used to express different elements in the same plot.

DRAMA
Film

Bunraku: Puppet Theater

Film title: BUNRAKU: PUPPET THEATER OF JAPAN

Format: 16 mm, color, 28 minutes

Available from: Japan Information Center
Consulate General of Japan*
299 Park Avenue, 18th floor
New York, New York 10171

*Offices also in: Anchorage, Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Guam, Honolulu, Houston, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Portland (Oregon), San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.

Rental fee: FREE

TO THE STUDENT The Japanese puppet theater, bunraku, flourished, like kabuki, during the Edo (Tokugawa) period, and appealed most to the people of the newly rising merchant class and other commoners. Its plays either concerned the conflicts in the daily lives of townspeople or presented the most exciting aspects of samurai life in historical dramas. Unlike Noh, with its subtle literary allusions and religious undertones, bunraku expressed the Confucian values which were fundamental to the daily lives of its audience.

These three traditional dramatic forms, however, share one major characteristic: their final form in performance represents a fusion of several different arts. The three main components of bunraku are the narrative, the music, and the puppets, and it takes a group of artists to bring them to life: the narrators, the musicians (samisen players), and the puppet manipulators. In addition, there are the craftsmen who create the actual puppets. The beauty of a bunraku performance depends on the absolute coordination of its component parts.

Read the questions for discussion and keep them in mind as you watch the film. Pay special attention to the distinguishing characteristics of the bunraku form.

Vocabulary



bunraku

flourish

component

fusion

samisen

manipulator

coordination

mobility

melodrama

Questions for Discussion

1. As you have seen, the puppets as we see them in the theater today are two-thirds life size, and require three men to manipulate them properly. The puppeteers, in the black outfits, are considered invisible; they become "the living spirit" of the dolls. (If a puppeteer is seen without his black hood, it indicates his special skill and is a mark of respect for his artistry.)

Describe what each of the three men does.

Did the puppets seem to you to have a life of their own?

Compare the refined, three-man puppet with the simpler types still seen on Awaji and Sado Islands.

Which is more interesting to you?

Why?

2. An advantage of puppets is that an evil character, for example, can have his head chopped off in each performance with no ill effects, or a character possessed by a demon can turn into that demon right before our eyes--effects which were not possible before the days of movies. The narrator of the film you have just seen also spoke about a "purity that cannot be attained by a mere human actor."

What do you think he meant?

Do you agree?

3. A disadvantage of puppets is that the faces of course do not have the mobility, or expressive qualities, of a human face. One of the doll heads you saw was described as "a minor character of the good-for-nothing type."

How do you think such character types limit the complexity of puppet plays?

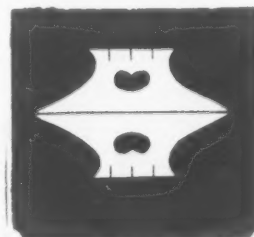
What conventions in our own theatrical tradition set similar limits? Think of examples from melodramas or soap operas.

4. The narrator recites the lines of all the characters--changing his voice as he reads different parts--and the descriptive portions of the play as well.

List the various jobs in a Western play, such as director, actor, and so on.

What functions does the narrator in Bunraku share with each?

How do you think this influences the performance?



Love Suicides at Sonezaki

The puppet theater of Japan, bunraku, reached the peak of its popularity during the eighteenth century, and the great dramatist Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1725) played an important role in its success. The beauty of his writing style as well as the skilled structuring of his plays not only are evidence of his literary and dramatic talent, but reflect the profound attention he paid to questions of theory. In the first reading selection, ON THE ART OF THE PUPPET STAGE, pages 386-390 of Keene's Anthology of Japanese Literature, his views about the style and content of bunraku texts are expressed. Read the selection carefully, and discuss questions 1 and 2 that follow before going on to read the play. (Note: Surnames are written first in Japanese; therefore Chikamatsu is the writer's surname.)

One of Chikamatsu's greatest contributions to Japanese theater was the domestic play, which treated the conflicts and problems in the lives of the urban merchant class. The audience for the puppet theater, drawn largely from that class, could identify closely with the concerns being dramatized. By reading these plays, it is possible for us to learn a great deal about the values held by urban commoners during the Tokugawa period. In the play you will be reading, "The Love Suicides at Sonezaki," the protagonist Tokubei is an apprentice clerk; his beloved Ohatsu is a prostitute in the active pleasure quarters in the merchant city of Osaka. Tokubei is dishonored by a series of unfortunate events, and he and Ohatsu, finding no way to join their lives, accompany each other to death. As you read, keep in mind the values and choices that create the circumstances of their story on pages 391-415 of Keene's Anthology.

Vocabulary

dramatist

domestic drama

merchant class

commoner

protagonist

apprentice

evocative

metrics

attributes

Questions for Discussion



1. What does Chikamatsu mean by the phrase "the evocative power in poetry?"

Why does he say he is not concerned with metrics in his writing?

Compare this view, and the results, with a speech from a Shakespeare play. Is there a similar attitude at work?

2. Discuss Chikamatsu's ideas about realism.

What does he mean by "the slender margin between the real and the unreal?"

How would you relate this theory to modern American dramatic forms?

3. Describe Tokubei's predicament.

What role did his stepmother have in creating his problems?

His uncle?

His false friend Kuheiji?

From Tokubei's relations with these people, what can you say about their duties toward each other?

How was he himself responsible for his situation?

4. In view of your answers to question 3, and in light of the scene in which Tokubei is beaten by Kuheiji and his gang (pages 396-399), what kind of hero would you say Tokubei is?

What qualities does he have that enlist our sympathy?

Compare him with what you would imagine the attributes of a samurai hero would be.

Is he similar to the protagonists of any contemporary American dramatic forms?

If so, how? If not, how does he differ?

5. For Tokubei and Ohatsu, suicide seems to be the only solution to their problems. Review the play with a view toward understanding why that should have been so. What values and expectations seem to dictate such a drastic solution?

6. As you read in the introduction to the play, the plot was derived from a recent real event; from the play itself you can learn that love suicides were commemorated in song as well as in drama.

Why do you think they were romanticized in this way?

What religious background can you find referred to in the play?

How does this attitude compare with the stand of Western religious traditions?

7. Reread the narrator's selection that opens Scene III: The Journey on page 404. What aspects of its language and imagery account for its fame in Japanese literature?

DRAMA / Resources

FACTS ABOUT JAPAN SERIES: "Kabuki"
"Bunraku"
"Noh and Kyogen"

Published by the Public Information Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and available free from:

Japan Information Center
Consulate General of Japan
299 Park Avenue, 18th Floor
New York, New York 10171-0025

*Offices also in: Anchorage, Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Guam, Honolulu, Houston, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Portland (Oregon), San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.

BOOKS

Adachi, Barbara. The Voices and Hands of Bunraku, Kodansha International.

Gunji, Masakatsu. Kabuki, Kodansha International.

Keene, Donald. Bunraku: The Art of the Japanese Puppet Theater, Kodansha International. (Paper version available.)

_____. No: The Classical Theater of Japan, Kodansha International. (Paperback version available.)

Understanding Japan (No. 29): Japanese Theater, International Society for Educational Information, Inc., Koryo Building, 18 Wakaba 1-chome, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160 JAPAN.

FILMS

• The Asia Society Performing Arts Program

For information on rental of films and videotapes available from the Performing Arts Department of The Asia Society, write:

The Asia Society
Performing Arts Department
725 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10021
Telephone: (212) 288-6400

• Japan Information Service Consulate General of Japan

Contact the Japan Information Center of the Consulate General of Japan nearest you for a list of other films available on Japanese theater. See listing of consulates above under the first entry on this resource list.

CULTURE / CONTENTS

TRADITION AND CHANGE: JAPAN'S SEARCH FOR A CULTURAL BALANCE
(Introduction)

JAPANESE FESTIVALS: THE NEW YEAR (Reading)
discusses the customs associated with this most important festival on the Japanese calendar and explains their significance.

CHILDREN AND FESTIVALS (Reading)
describes five important festivals celebrated in Japan that are particularly important to children.

JAPANESE FOOD: A MIRROR OF HISTORY (Reading)
looks at the Japanese diet and cooking techniques in relation to history, geography and culture, providing interesting material for class discussion and cultural comparisons.

CHANOYU--TEA CEREMONY (Reading)
introduces the Japanese practice of the tea ceremony and describes the several steps that are important to its proper conduct.

GARDENS IN JAPAN--PLANTS, WATER, STONE (Background/Field Trip)
introduces students to the style and special significance of gardens in Japan, while providing an overview of the three Japanese gardens in The Brooklyn Botanic Garden in New York. Classes can take a field trip to this or other gardens in their area, or simply use the guide as a basis for discussion of different cultural attitudes towards nature and its appreciation.

ENDURING COLD THE JAPANESE WAY (Reading)
presents an article from Natural History magazine that explores the Japanese approach to keeping warm in winter, an approach somewhat different from that familiar to most Americans.

CULTURE AND URBAN GROWTH (Primary Source Selection)
draws on an article from The New York Times to illustrate similarities as well as differences in attitudes towards urban growth in Japan and the United States.

BOWING IN JAPAN (Reading)
an article from The New York Times discussing the modern practices surrounding the custom of bowing.

RESOURCES
provides a listing of slide units and other materials on popular culture in Japan, Japanese festivals, architecture, arts, crafts, sports and customs.

Tradition & Change

JAPAN'S SEARCH FOR A CULTURAL BALANCE

TO THE TEACHER

Japan's cultural traditions are old and very rich. They are a vital part of Japanese life today. At the same time, Japan has undergone profound change during the twentieth century, and particularly since 1945. Changes reflecting Japan's economic growth and integration with the international community are still taking place. For the Japanese people, balancing these changes with time-honored cultural traditions is an ongoing challenge. For us as Americans, the challenge is to appreciate Japan's traditional culture without losing sight of contemporary Japan -- one of the world's foremost industrial democracies, a society facing the same problems we face in the United States today, and a country, in some ways, very like our own.

The following section on Japanese culture includes units highlighting valued cultural traditions as well as materials suggesting some changes that have occurred in recent decades. Each is only one snippet of the rich and complex fabric that is Japanese culture. It would be a mistake to suppose that any one adequately represents the whole cloth.

Japanese Festivals

The New Year

For Japanese the most important holiday of the year is the New Year or *Shogatsu*. Rooted in the ancient practices of the seasonal rice cultivation cycle, today's New Year celebrations retain numerous vestiges of the farmer's plea for good fortune and a bountiful harvest in the upcoming year.

The New Year has been celebrated on January 1st only since the Meiji Restoration. Before that time it followed the lunar calendar and, in fact, consisted of two separate dates — the first new moon and the first full moon of the year.

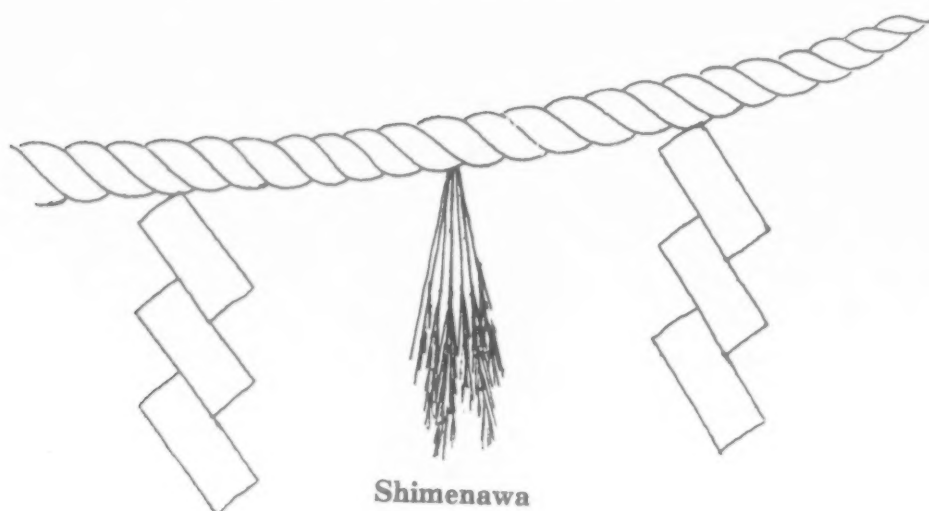
For most Japanese the New Year's celebrations follow roughly the same pattern, with certain differences depending on regional and family traditions.

Food is a central focus of activities. Enough food for three or four days is usually prepared ahead of time and set aside in *jubako* (stacking containers usually of lacquerware or porcelain.) *Mochi*, steamed rice that has been

pounded into small sticky buns, is eaten in several ways: roasted, dipped in one of several sauces, or in one of the traditional soups (*ozoni*, *zensai*, or *shiruko*). Its rather sticky texture also unfortunately accounts for a not inconsiderable number of deaths due to choking each New Year's season. Other special foods include *toshikoshi soba*, literally "end-of-year buckwheat noodles", eaten just before midnight on December 31st.

A typical New Year's might go roughly this way for today's Japanese. To start the year afresh, debts and disputes are settled. Companies and offices hold *Bonenkai* (year-forgetting parties) in December to promote goodwill among co-workers. Friends, relatives, and business acquaintances fill the mails with special cards which are delivered en masse on New Year's Day. Postmen and transportation workers are among the few for whom New Year's means extra work rather than a vacation.

Acknowledgment: The author of this article is Larry Rosensweig, Curator of The Morikami Museum of Japanese Culture in Delray Beach, Florida. The article is reprinted from *The Morikami Newsletter* (January 1981), published by Friends of Morikami, Inc., P.O. Box 804, Delray Beach, FL, 33444.



Shimenawa

With one's business and personal life, as well as the home cleaned up and in order, the New Year is ready to be welcomed. At midnight Buddhist temples toll their bells 108 times, representing the leaving behind of 108 worldly concerns. Family members wearing new clothing toast the New Year with *sake* (rice wine). Three lacquered sake cups, representing Heaven, Earth, and Human Being, are stacked and set on a *sanbo* (wooden tray stand). Family members sip from each cup three times.

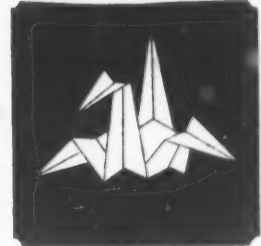
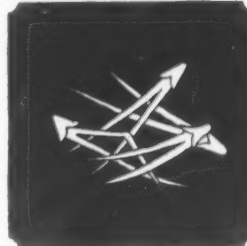
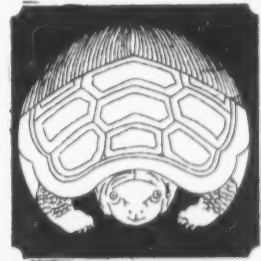
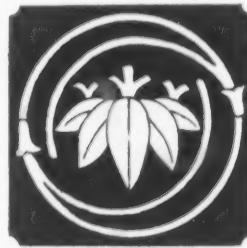
After midnight, or in the morning, the Japanese visit local shrines which are crowded with booths selling foods, games and all sorts of objects associated with the New Year. Vendors invariably sell hundreds of *daruma*, a popular good luck charm in the shape of a weighted, round-bottomed doll. The *daruma*, most often made of papier mache and painted mostly red, represents Bodhidharma, the Indian Buddhist priest who originated the sect known in Japan as Zen. By meditating in a seated position for nine years Bodhidharma lost the use of his legs but displayed great determination. At New Year's Japanese people buy *daruma* with blank eyes, painting in one as a wish or resolution is made and the other when it is fulfilled.

Since most businesses are closed the first three or four days of the year, time is taken to visit relatives and friends. A seemingly never-ending cornucopia of food and drink is consumed during these visits.

Games occupy the attention of nearly all family members at one time or another. The entire family may play such card games as *hanafuda* (flower cards) and *karutatori* (100 poem matching game). Boys are likely to fly kites and spin tops, while girls play *hanetsuki*, a badminton-like game played with a wooden *hagoita* (battledore) and *hane* (feathered shuttlecock).

Special symbols of the New Year abound in Japan. The *shimenawa* (sacred rope) is a deep fringe of straw along which is strung *gohei*, angular strips of white paper. The Japanese place it at the front entrance of their houses where it sanctifies and protects from evil spirits. *Mochi*, the pounded rice cake referred to above, is offered to the gods in an arrangement called *kagami mochi* or "mirrored mochi." Composed of two large bun-shaped mochi stacked one on top of another and placed on a white paper in the center of a wooden tray stand, the *kagami mochi* represents a mirror, the symbol of *Amaterasu-omikami*, the Sun Goddess. It is often embellished with other New Year's symbols such as rice, a *mikan* (mandarin orange) and a lobster, symbolic of the bounties of the earth and sea and of the wish for a lengthy and prosperous future.

A third common symbol of the New Year intended to ward off evil, invoke fertility, and bring prosperity, is the *kadomatsu*, an arrangement of pine and bamboo, which is placed by the front gate of every house. The Morikami will erect its *kadomatsu* this year on the weekend preceding New Year's, December 28th. In past years, Atsuko Lefcourte, Chieko Mihori and Nora Rosensweig have arranged locally acquired bamboo, sandpines, and the red berries of the Brazilian pepper.



Symbols of the New Year

Many traditional New Year's decorations symbolize long life. The crane and the tortoise are symbols of longevity. It is tradition to hang origami cranes in the home during the New Year season and to use dishes decorated with tortoise designs. The curved back of the lobster also symbolizes longevity while the mikan (mandarin orange) represents the generations of family ancestors.

The bamboo used in arranging the *Kadomatsu* symbolizes strength and endurance. Besides symbolizing long life, the pine needles are intended to discourage ghosts and evil spirits who dislike sharp points. Pine needles also symbolize wedded love because they occur in pairs.

Questions for Discussion

What is the most important festival or holiday celebrated by your family each year?

Make a list of the customs that are part of this holiday.

Explain the significance of each.

In what ways are these customs similar to those that are part of the Japanese New Year?

Different?

What conclusions can you draw from the comparison of the way festivals are celebrated in two different cultures?

The Japanese Greet '87, in 31 Apt Syllables

By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, Jan. 13 — In a ceremony as subdued as the whisper of snow that had fallen overnight, Emperor Hirohito presided today over Tokyo's lyrical welcome to the new year, the annual poetry party at the Imperial Palace.

Perhaps nowhere else in the world is the value of verse reaffirmed with such formality by a sovereign and his subjects. While the quality of today's readings may be debated, no one questioned the enchantment of the moment for a select group of 70 Japanese invited to the palace and for millions of others who watched on television.

Six men wearing morning coats and striped trousers sat around a table and, in unison, read Japanese tanka poems in a low, doleful chant. The verses, of 31 syllables each, had been written by the Emperor, other members of the Imperial family and 10 ordinary Japanese whose offerings had been selected from among 29,372 entries inscribed in calligraphy.

Hirohito sat at a separate table covered in brocaded cloth, listening with barely perceptible nods as his own contribution, apparently an allusion to Japan's economic success, was intoned three times:

*Year by year, as our country
Has recovered from the war,
The dawn redwood has grown taller.*

Poetry ceremonies at the Imperial court date from the 10th century. In 1869, the second year in the reign of Hirohito's grandfather, Emperor Meiji, readings became a New Year's fixture, usually held around Jan. 10. At first, only the Imperial family and guests took part, but starting in 1879 the public was allowed to submit verses, too.

In Japan, virtually every important endeavor has a prescribed form, and the New Year's performance in the palace's Pine Room is no exception. The men wear morning coats and the

women formal kimonos or Western-style gowns. They stand, stiff and unsmiling, as their poems are chanted — two times for everyone except the Emperor. Their verses are written only in classical tanka style.

The tanka consists of five lines arranged in an unvarying sequence of five, seven, five, seven and, once again, seven syllables. It has a close relative in the haiku, the 17-syllable form that is much better known to Westerners.

At the annual palace gathering, verses must be based on a specific topic. This year's was trees.

Empress Nagako, who was not feeling well, according to the Imperial Household Agency, did not attend. Her offering was read anyway:

*As warm sunlight shines
On the Izu hills,
Branch tips are colored
By sprouting buds.*

As a matter of course, Crown Prince Akihito and Crown Princess Michiko also had their poems chanted. For ordinary Japanese, fate rested with a panel of five poet-judges. How they determined the 10 winners was not announced, but attention seemed to have been paid to striking geographical, occupational and other balances.

Teruko Otani, from Tottori Prefecture on the Sea of Japan, was the youngest winner at the age of 44. She wrote of a tradition in rural Japan in which parents plant trees, then chop them down years later before their daughters are married. The wood is sold to lumber companies, and the money applied to wedding costs:

*For my dowry,
My parents cut down cedar trees
That took decades to grow.*

The oldest person at the reading was Kosaku Tanaka of Gumma Prefecture, north of Tokyo. At 90, he was five years older than the Emperor. He wrote:

*Voices of students
Who plant saplings
Roll down the mountain slopes,
Echoing.*

When the last chant drifted into the air today, winners and losers alike got a chance to think of 1988. They were given until mid-October to put brush and black ink to paper, once they had found 31 apt syllables on the subject of wheels.

Additional Resources

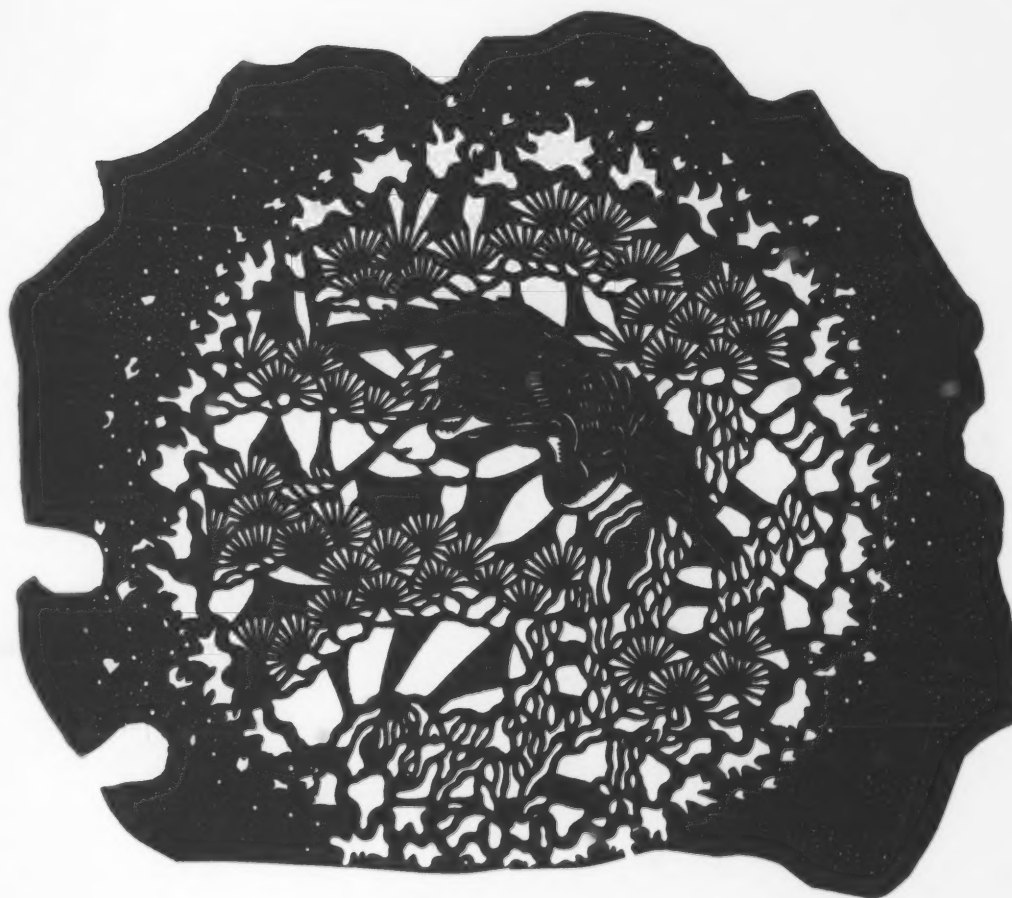
MATSURI: FESTIVAL

by Nancy Araki and Jane Horii

This booklet describing Japanese American celebrations and activities is rich in material and illustrations. The festivals and customs coincide with those celebrated in Japan.

Available from: . Heian International Publishing Company
P.O. Box 2402
South San Francisco, CA 94080

Price: \$7.50



Children and Festivals

I. New Year Festivities (January 1st – 3rd)

The great holiday of the nation is at New Year. In every household preparations are made to celebrate the occasion. The front entrances of the houses are decorated, usually with a pair of pine-trees called *kado-matsu*, on both sides of the entrance. At the back of each pine-tree are placed three stems of bamboo. Across the top of the gate or at the entrance to the house is hung the *shimenawa*, or taboo-rope. It is a rope with tufts of straw and strips of white paper which hang from it at short intervals. Placed among the decorations are fern leaves, an orange, and a small lobster, representing good wishes for a long, strong, and prosperous life. The pine-tree, because of its hardness, denotes long life; the bamboo stems, constancy and virtue; the fern, with its multiplicity of fronds, suggests an expanding good fortune throughout the coming year; the orange *daidai* has the same pronunciation as the Japanese word signifying "from generation to generation," and therefore could not be left out of the good wishes; and the lobster is supposed to suggest old age because of its curved back. Since the lobster's back is bent, this symbol expresses the special wish that one may enjoy a very long life until one's back is bent like that of the lobster.

The first day of this season is spent in visiting the local shrine and exchanging visits with friends and acquaintances. The whole family dressed in their best clothes usually participate in the shrine visit. The second day is devoted to ceremonies for the beginning of all sorts of activities in the hope that everything will go on in the same happy way for the rest of the year. Young school children study calligraphy for the first time in the year.

In the streets and open plots, boys fly kites and girls play shuttlecock with battledores artistically decorated with figures and flowers of silk.

The indoor games of this season, which are still favorite games among Japanese children, are a card game known as *Irohagaruta* and a kind of backgammon game called *Sugoroku*.

Irohagaruta (alphabet cards) consist of two sets, one bearing popular sayings, and another set with pictures illustrating the sayings. As the card is read, the children pick up the corresponding picture card.

Sugoroku can be played by two or more persons. On a large piece of paper (about 60-90 centimeters) are printed in various colors small pictures arranged in a particular order. These pictures illustrate incidents in a story or a journey, but are not necessarily related. The players shake dice and move their markers ahead as many sections as the dice indicates. One who reaches the goal line first wins. But there are hazards at many points, where one must remain stationary or is ordered to go back several sections. This makes the game interesting.

Source: This article is one in the Facts about Japan series published by the Public Information Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan.



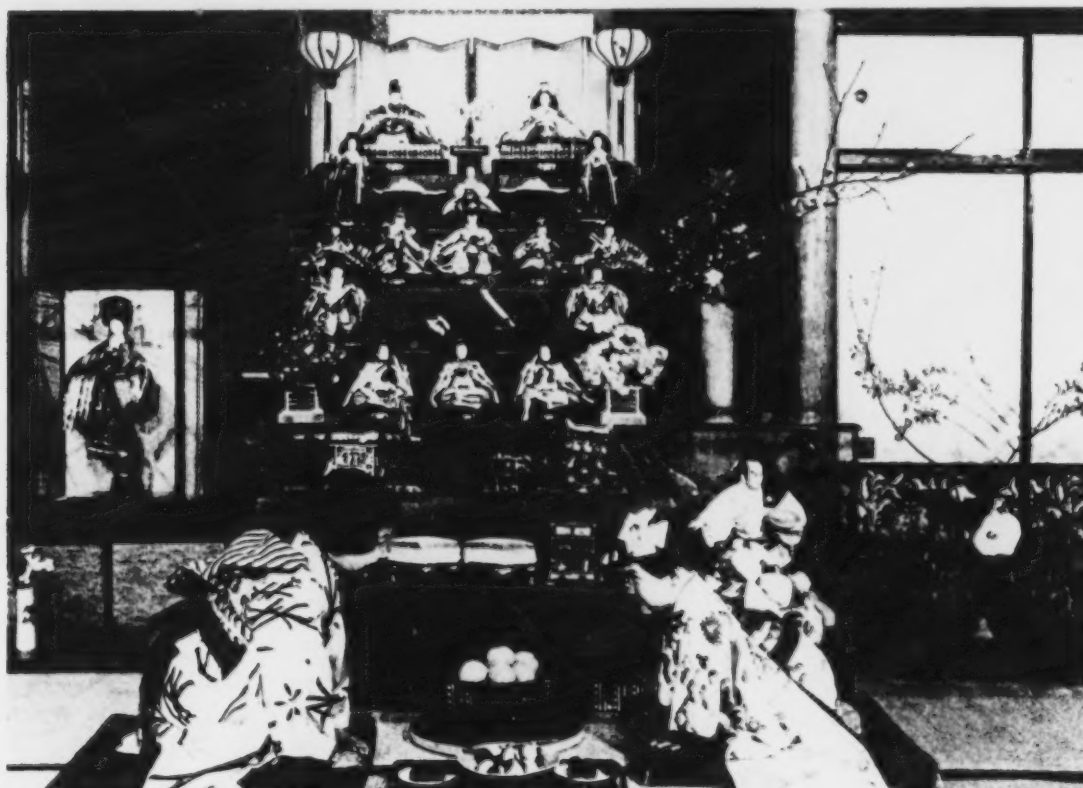
Shuttlecock and battledore on New Year's Day.

II. Girls' Festival (March 3rd)

Hina-Matsuri, or Dolls' Festival observed on the third day of the third month with a display of beautiful dolls as its main feature, was originally a girl's festival but it is now enjoyed by the whole family.

The dolls to be displayed on this occasion are not those with which the children of the household play every day. Instead, ceremonial dolls, many of them handed down from generation to generation as household heritages, are placed on display in the best room of the house for the duration of the festival, after which they are carefully boxed and stored away until the following year. Parents who do not possess such heirlooms buy new sets of dolls for any girl-baby born since the preceding festival, and relatives and friends make gifts of dolls. Generally a set consists of fifteen dolls, usually in ancient costume. Besides the regulation dolls, the display is not complete unless it includes miniature household articles and appurtenances, which are often exquisite samples of art. The dolls most highly valued are the *Dairi-sama*, which represent the Emperor and Empress, dressed in resplendent ancient Court costumes of silk. They are attended by their ministers and other dignitaries, Court ladies and musicians. All are displayed on a doll-stand or *hina-dan* which is a tier of shelves, usually five or seven feet wide, covered with bright red cloth. The *Dairi-sama* invariably occupy the top shelf, the Emperor on the left, the Empress on the right as one faces them. Behind them are miniature folding screens, which also form a background for decorated toy candle-stands and vases with peach-blossoms. Court ladies and musicians, ministers, Court officials, and delicacies of many kinds in beautifully decorated miniature boxes are placed on the lower shelves. Peach-blossoms, symbolizing happiness in marriage, are indispensable decorations of the stand. Being full and round, peach-blossoms also signify the feminine characteristics of softness, mildness and peacefulness. The daughters of the house and their friends gather before the display and are most ceremonious in their greetings, practicing the rules of etiquette they have been taught.

When the festival is over, the dolls and utensils are carefully packed in wooden boxes and stored away until the festival next year. To open up these boxes, take out the dolls and beautiful furniture and arrange them on the shelves is a source of great joy to the little girls of the country.



Hina Matsuri, or Girls' Festival, on March 3.

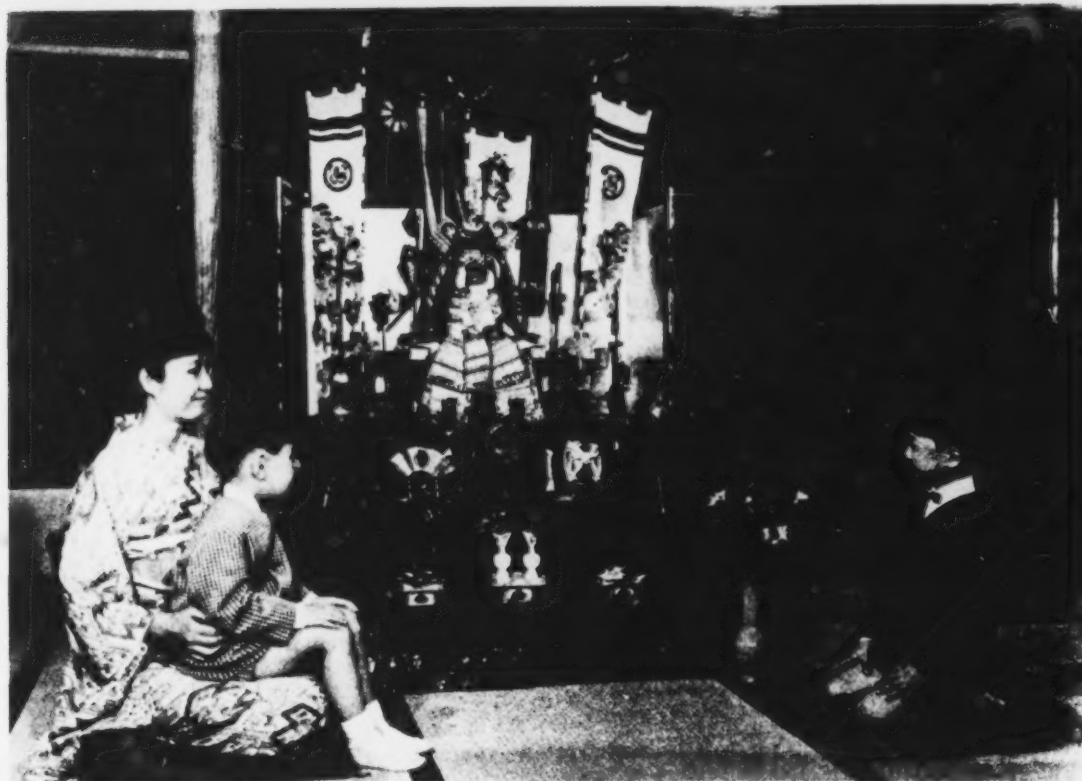
III. Boys' Festival (May 5th)

Boys' Festival or Iris Fete, which has been celebrated for centuries on the fifth day of the fifth month, is as much a day of festivity for small boys as March 3rd is for girls. Since World War II, it has been designated a national holiday and is known as *Kodomo-no-hi* or Children's Day.

On a tall bamboo or wooden pole erected in the yard or garden are hoisted paper or cloth streamers in the shape of a carp, which fill out in the wind and appear to swim in the air like real fish. A carp was hoisted originally for each son, a very large one (of perhaps fifteen feet or more in length) for the eldest, the others ranging down to a small one if there is a baby boy in the house. Several legends account for the choice of the carp, the most popular being based on the fact that this fish has the energy and power to fight its way up swift-running streams, cascades and waterfalls. Because of its strength and its determination to overcome all obstacles, it is held to be a fitting example for growing boys, typifying ambition, energy, strength, perseverance, and the will to overcome all obstacles. This is the fundamental idea of the festival: the encouragement of manliness, the overcoming of life's difficulties, and consequent success.

Sometimes a stand similar to that of the Doll's Festival may be erected in the parlor and on it are displayed dolls representing famous feudal generals, and a paraphernalia of swords, armor, helmets, banners, saddles, etc.

While the origin of this festival is not definitely known, scholars trace it to a court function observed in the days of the Empress Regent Suiko (593-629 A.D.) The practice became popular with the military class and commoners during the Edo Period.



Boy's Festival on May 5, known as Children's Day, with its miniature replicas of historic banners and armor.

IV. The Star Festival (July 7th)

The *Tanabata* Festival of July 7 is picturesque and romantic. It originated in the old Chinese tradition of the Star Weaver who is separated by the Milky Way from her lover, the Altair, and meets him once a year on the evening of July 7.

As weaving was one of the important tasks of women in ancient times, they prayed to the Star Weaver on this evening to make them skillful in weaving. Then in the seventh century, *tanabata* became an important national festival. Although the Chinese tradition of the stars gave romantic and picturesque features to the festival, *tanabata* was originally one of the rites held in July for remembering ancestors.

The *Tanabata* Festival is still very beautiful and is observed all over the country. The people, and particularly children, place long bamboos in their gardens or in their rooms. On the bamboo branches they hang cut decorations of colored papers, and also long strips of white paper on which they write poems or wishes.

It is believed that by tying these colored papers to the branches, they offer prayers to advance their learning and particularly to become skillful in calligraphy. Old-time women prayed for skill in weaving and many girls pray for dressmaking ability.

Sendai and other cities are particularly famous for their *Tanabata* festivals, on which they are gaily decorated.

V. Shichi-Go-San (November 15th)

The *Shichi-Go-San* (Seven-Five-Three) rite, observed on November 15, is the most picturesque event in the autumn season. On this day, parents take their three-year-old children of either sex, five-year old boys and seven-year old girls to the parish shrines dressed in their best clothes. There the guardian spirits are thanked for the healthy growth of the children and prayers are offered for their further development.

This is truly a colorful occasion, dominated by the beautiful clothes worn by the young boys and girls. Originally, the custom was for the boys to dress in the traditional formal garb of the Japanese male, wearing the white bifurcated socks (*tabi*). However, recently, the trend is toward wearing suits and frock coats. The young girls, on the other hand, almost always choose the colorful traditional kimono with the long *obi* sash around the waist and the *pokkuri*, a kind of colorful wooden sandal especially worn by little girls.

Additional Resources

For elementary school children:

BOSTON CHILDREN'S MUSEUM

Discovery Kits Activities, focused units for small groups, objects, books, pictures, activity instructions, and supplies are included.

Japanese Children's Day
Japanese New Year

Rental: 1 week, \$15.00; 2 weeks, \$20.00.
(limited to New England and New York State)

Available from: Kit Rental Department
Boston Children's Museum
300 Congress Street
Museum Wharf
Boston, MA 02210

Tel. (617)426-6500

Japanese Activity Sheets Each of ten sheets provides complete background information and instruction for recreating an authentic cultural activity.

Available from: The Museum Shop
Boston Children's Museum
300 Congress Street
Museum Wharf
Boston, MA 02210

Tel. (617)426-6500

Price: \$5.00

Japanese Food: A Mirror of History

The traditional Japanese diet was based mainly on rice, fish and vegetables. Little meat was eaten, and this is sometimes attributed to the influence of Buddhism. Although Buddhist teachings may have had a slight influence, far more important is the fact that over 80% of Japan is mountainous and the small amount of land left over for agriculture made it necessary to concentrate on the necessary cereal production, leaving little land for animal pasturage.

In the preparation of food in Japan, the idea from ancient times has been to avoid waste. For instance, there is an expression concerning the use of fish that says, in effect, to use the flesh for *sashimi* (sliced raw) or to grill it, to boil the lean parts of the flesh, and to use the other parts (except the innards) for soup. Also, preserved foods have been used since long ago to anticipate shortages in lean years. Preservation methods include pickling for vegetables and salting or drying for fish and meat.

Food is eaten using chopsticks (*hashi*), which are nearly always made of wood. Breakfast is rather plain and simple, and lunch is fairly light, the main emphasis being on the evening meal.

FOOD PREPARATION

Japanese cuisine is unique to the Japanese archipelago where it originated and developed over the centuries. The majority of Japanese dishes are prepared so as to accent the natural flavors of fresh fish and shellfish, and almost all are made to go well with rice and *saké*. The season of the year is a prime factor in the selection of ingredients and the choice of how to prepare them. Utmost care is used in arranging the foods on dishes of various

Acknowledgment: This article, by Linda S. Wotjan, is reprinted from News and Notes on the Social Sciences (winter 1982-1983), p. D1, a newsletter published by the Social Studies Development Center, 513 North Park, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, 47405. Reprinted by permission.

colors, shapes, and materials. In addition to rice, soup, and pickles, there are hors d'oeuvres, *sashimi* (slices of raw fish), grilled fish, deep-fried and boiled foods, vegetables and fish in various dressings, and vinegared dishes.

Special efforts are made to enhance the natural flavor of the ingredients using seasoning. Typical seasonings are soy sauce, saké, vinegar, and sugar, but the seasoning is never so heavy as to make the dish strong or cloying. In making broths for soups and boiled foods and sauces for fried foods, stocks prepared from such materials as dried bonito, *shiitake* mushrooms, and tangle (an edible seaweed) are used to bring out added flavor. One common technique in Japanese cooking is the use of a "hidden seasoning," which is not perceptible to the people enjoying the dish but which accepts some natural flavor of the ingredients. For instance, a small amount of salt is added as a "hidden seasoning" to bring out the natural sweetness of a dish. The use of refined sugar goes back only about 100 years, and today sugar is used only sparingly in the best Japanese cooking.

Among the Japanese foods liked best by foreign visitors are *sushi*, *tempura*, and *sukiyaki*. *Sushi* is slightly-vinegared rice covered or mixed with raw fish, shellfish, laver (seaweed) or vegetables. The method of preparation, shape, and taste differ somewhat depending on the locality. The *nigirizushi* of Tokyo is a simple variety of *sushi* consisting of small, oblong balls of vinegared rice topped with a thin slice of fresh raw fish or shellfish. It is usually eaten in *sushi* shops, where it is prepared before the customer's eyes by cooks who go about their work in a smart and lively manner that gives these establishments a special atmosphere. Today, *nigirizushi* is popular throughout the country.

Tempura is a fritter-like dish of fish, shellfish, and vegetables dipped in a flour-and-water batter and deep-fried in vegetable oil. Although not a traditional Japanese dish, *sukiyaki* has been quite popular from about the late 19th century. Slices of beef are braised together with vegetables in a small amount of liquid seasoned mainly with soy sauce and sugar.

The Japanese celebrate particularly happy occasions with red rice (*sekihan*) and sea bream (*tai*), a sunfish prepared with head and tail intact. *Sekihan* is made by steaming glutinous rice (an especially sticky variety) together with red beans, which turns the rice red. The Japanese have long considered red to be a lucky color because of its association with the color of fire and the sun. The Japanese word for sea bream, *tai*, sounds similar to the word "*mede-tai*" or "felicity" and, what is more, the *tai* is auspiciously red in color. On festive occasions, the *tai* is served broiled completely whole from head to tail: the wish for good luck is thought to be better conveyed through the full and perfect shape.

CUISINE IMPORTING AND EXPORTING

Increasing contact with other countries from the Meiji Restoration onwards has brought about changes in diet patterns, particularly since the end of World War II, with economic prosperity and higher living standards. Rapid increases in the consumption of dairy products and meat, as well as of bread, noodles and other wheat products, have been accompanied by a progressive decline in consumption of the traditional staple, rice.

The overall differences between urban and rural diet patterns are disappearing with improvements in distribution systems. In the cities, numerous restaurants specialize in the cuisine of other countries, and some of them are quite within a moderate price range. This tendency is also spreading to provincial areas to some extent. Many standard dishes eaten in Japan today are Japanized versions of other nations' foods. Some examples are *sukiyaki*—a mixture of meat, vegetables, and other ingredients simmered in a

liquid flavored with sweetened rice wine, soy sauce, and other flavoring; *tonkatsu*—a way of cooking pork cutlets, etc.; and "curry-rice."

The so-called westernization of the Japanese diet has been charted by the government for over a quarter century. Quick preparation and precooked foods now characterize many Japanese diets. There has also been a decline of vegetable consumption, much of this due to the popularization of salads over cooked vegetables. Since there is far less volume weight in raw salad vegetables than in their cooked form, that means people are eating less vegetables. The westernization of the Japanese diet is also seen in the steady climb in calorie consumption from an average of 2,490 in 1977 to 2,520 in 1981.

For several years now, Japanese food has been gaining in popularity in the United States and Europe. Japanese restaurants have opened in many of the world's major cities. In New York alone, over 400 Japanese restaurants large and small, including many sushi shops, are doing business. Many supermarkets in major American cities now have Japanese sections where Japanese-style rice, soy sauce, and other Japanese foods are available. Cookbooks for dishes using tofu (bean curd) are said to be in great demand.

Recently, the National Rice Distribution Association of Japan released the results of a survey showing the increased popularity of Japanese food in America. More than 90% thought that Japanese food was nutritious, nonfattening, and thus healthful. The ten more frequently eaten Japanese foods selected by Americans in the poll were:

- tempura (vegetables, fish, shellfish, dipped lightly in egg batter and deep-fried) - 85%
- chicken teriyaki (chicken marinated lightly in a mixture of soy sauce, sugar, and saké and broiled on a grid iron while adding the remaining marinade) - 83%
- beef teriyaki (beef cooked the same way as chicken teriyaki) - 83%
- sukiyaki (sliced beef and vegetables cooked with soy sauce and sugar in a small amount of boiling water) - 74%
- sushi (rice spiced with sweet vinegar, compressed into 5-cm slabs, topped with slices of raw fish or shellfish, and dipped lightly in soy sauce) - 67%
- sashimi (raw fish slices taken from the choice boneless parts of fish and eaten with strong soy sauce) - 64%
- tofu (bean curd made from liquid extracted from crushed soybeans, then solidified through a special process; tofu itself is unseasoned and can be eaten in many ways) - 60%
- udon and soba (Japanese noodles eaten in a variety of ways) - 43%
- yakitori (chicken broiled over charcoal after immersion in soy sauce) - 43%
- nori (edible seaweed dried into crisp, thin square sheets) - 39%

Japan's culinary borrowing began in the 6th century when she had contact with China, and the continued cultural influence of China in the 7th and 8th centuries resulted in the introduction of soybeans and tea. The cultural origin of many other foods are reflected in the variety of terms found in the Japanese language. The term for bread, for example, is *pan*—the Latin term, thus reflecting early Portuguese influence.

Increased contact with the West, especially the United States following World War II, has resulted in a number of transliterated, adopted foreign items, usually written in the *katakana* script. Examples of these "dietary" loan words include *aisukur-iimu* (ice cream) and *hotto dokku* (hot dog).

Exercises

1. If there is a Japanese restaurant near you, plan a Japanese meal and order dishes for the class to taste.

As you are eating, explain what each dish tells you about Japanese history, culture and geography.

2. Make a list of your favorite American foods. Think about each item on the list and suggest what it tells you about American history, culture or geography.

Recommended Resource

"Japan, Geography, Cuisine and Culture"
by Karen Kay

Good source of detailed information on Japanese food items and their preparation together with a discussion of how geography influences the choice of foods and methods of cooking.

Available from: Yale University
East Asian Outreach Program
85 Trumbull Street
P.O. Box 13-A, Yale Station
New Haven, CT 06520

Tel. (203) 432-3426

Price: \$4.00



Chanoyu—Tea Ceremony

I. Background

The tea ceremony, referred to as *chanoyu* in Japan, is an aesthetic pastime peculiar to Japan that features the serving and drinking of *matcha*, a powdered green tea.

According to recorded history, tea was introduced into Japan around 700 A.D. from China, where tea had been known from as early as the Post-Han Dynasty period (25-220 A.D.). *Matcha*, as used in the tea ceremony today, was still unknown at the time. It was not until toward the end of the 12th century that *matcha* was brought into Japan from China of the Sung dynasty. However, tea was still very precious and was used mostly as a medicine rather than as a beverage. Tea drinking was practiced almost exclusively among Zen Buddhist priests who used it to prevent drowsiness during their long hours of meditation.

The popularization of tea began early in the 14th century, when a game called *tocha* (lit. tea contest) was introduced from China. This was a party diversion in which the guests, being served several cups of tea produced in different regions, were called upon to select the one containing the tea produced in the best tea-growing area. Those who guessed correctly were given prizes. As this game came into vogue, tea plantations began to flourish, especially in the Uji district near Kyoto, where tea of the best quality is still produced.

Source: This article is one in the Facts about Japan series published by the Public Information Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan. It is available free-of-charge from the Japanese Information Center of the Japanese Consulate in the United States. The New York address is Japan Information Center, Consulate General of Japan, 299 Park Avenue, 18th Floor, New York, NY, 10171. Offices also in Anchorage, Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Guam, Honolulu, Houston, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Portland (Oregon), San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.

TEA CEREMONY/2

The *tocha* was gradually converted into a more sedate social gathering, at which prizes were no longer awarded. The aim now became the enjoyment of a profound atmosphere in which the tea was served. At the same time, under the influence of formalities and manners regulating the everyday life of the *Samurai*, or warriors, who were then the dominant class of the country, there came into being certain rules and procedures which the participants in a tea party were required to obey.



Togudo Tea House of the Silver Pavilion, Kyoto

It was a man named Murata Shuko (1423–1502) who, out of this tradition, created the fundamentals of ceremonial tea drinking known as *chanoyu*. His legacy was inherited by, among others, Takeno Jo-o (1502–1555), who set forth the principles of *chanoyu*, taught by Shuko, in more concrete terms. And his student, Sen Rikyu (1522–1591), a son of a merchant and follower of Zen Buddhism, finally codified *chanoyu* into its present form.

Chanoyu, thus developed, is something more than a refined form of taking refreshment. Its purpose and essence are difficult to express in words. It will be helpful to remember that the ceremony was developed under the influence of Zen Buddhism, the aim of which is, in simple terms, to purify one's soul by becoming one with nature. In addition, *chanoyu* is an embodiment of the Japanese people's intuitive striving for recognition of true beauty in plainness and simplicity. Such terms as calmness, rusticity, gracefulness, or the phrase "aestheticism of austere simplicity and refined poverty," may help to define the true spirit of *chanoyu*. For instance, the strict canons of *chanoyu* etiquette, which may seem to be burdensome and meticulous at first glance, are in fact minutely calculated to achieve the highest possible economy of movement and indeed are pleasing for the initiated to witness, especially when performed by experienced masters.

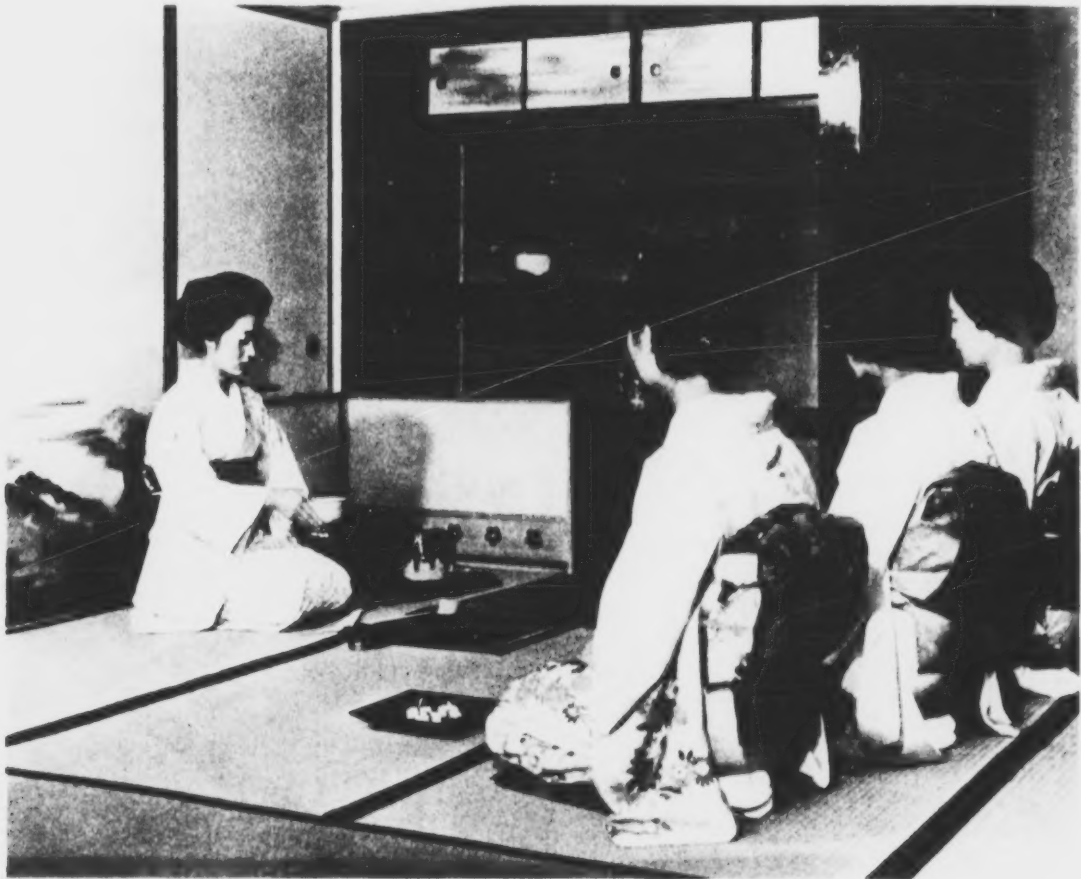
Chanoyu has played an important role in the artistic life of the Japanese people, since, as an aesthetic pursuit, it involves the appreciation of the room in which it is held, the garden attached to the room, the utensils used in serving the tea, and the decor of the setting, such as a hanging scroll or a *chabana* (flower arrangement for

TEA CEREMONY/3

the tea ceremony). The development of Japan's architecture, landscape gardening, ceramics and the floral arts owes a great deal to the tea ceremony. The spirit of *chanoyu*, representing the beauty of studied simplicity and harmony with nature, has molded the basis of these traditional forms of Japanese culture.

Furthermore, the development of the daily manners of the majority of the Japanese has been basically influenced by formalities such as those observed in the *chanoyu* ceremony. As a result, it is a rather common practice for young ladies before marriage to take lessons in the art in order to cultivate the poise and refinement stemming from *chanoyu* etiquette.

After the death of Sen Rikyu, many schools of *chanoyu* sprang up, differing from each other in the details of the rules, but maintaining the essence of the ceremony which the great master had instituted. This essence has been handed down to the present day unchallenged and respect for the founder is one element that all the schools possess in common. Among the various *chanoyu* schools, the most well-known is the Urasenke School. Founded by one of Sen Rikyu's great grandsons, the Urasenke School has been headed ever since by his direct descendants and is currently directed by Mr. Soshitsu Sen, the 15th generation of the founder's family. Some of the other distinguished schools are Omotesenke, Mushakojisenke and Enshu.



The hostess prepares the tea while the guests silently observe the procedure.

II. A Typical Chanoyu Party

There are many ways of performing the tea ceremony according to the school to which the host belongs. These also vary according to the occasion and the season. In the essential elements, however, there is a basic similarity.

1. Material and equipment required:

1) The *sukiya*, or tea house

It is a long established custom to have a small house, called *sukiya*, especially constructed for *chanoyu*. This consists of a tea-room proper (*cha-shitsu*) and a preparation room (*mizuya*), waiting room (*yoritsuki*) and a garden path (*roji*) leading to the entrance of the tea-house. The house is usually located in a specially created wooded section of the garden proper.

2) The utensils

The principal utensils are the *cha-wan* (tea-bowl), *cha-ire* (tea-container), *cha-sen* (bamboo tea whisk) and *cha-shaku* (bamboo tea scoop). These are, as a rule, valuable objects of art.

3) Dress and accoutrements

Clothes of quiet colors are preferred. On strictly formal occasions, men wear solid color silk *kimono* with three or five family crests on it, and white *tabi*, or traditional Japanese socks. Women wear conservative crested *kimono* and white *tabi* also, on such occasions. The guests should bring with them a small folding fan and a pad of *kaishi* (small-sized paper napkins).



Complete set of utensils for the formal tea ceremony.

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2. The ceremony itself

The regular tea ceremony consists of 1) the first session at which a light meal, called *kaiseki*, is served, 2) *nakadachi*, or a short recess, 3) *goza-iri*, the main part of the ceremony, where *koicha*, or thick tea, is served, and 4) the service of *usucha*, or thin tea. The entire ceremony takes about four hours. Often only the *usucha* service is performed, requiring about one hour.

1) The first session:

The guests, five in number, assemble in the waiting room. The host appears and conducts them along the garden path, to the tea room. At a point on the way there is a stone basin filled with fresh water. Here they wash their hands and rinse their mouths. The entrance to the room is very small, so that the guests must crawl through, thereby humbling themselves. On entering the room, which is provided with a stationary hearth or a portable firebrazier for the kettle, each guest kneels in front of the *tokonoma*, or alcove, and makes respectful obeisance. Then with his folding fan before him, he admires the hanging scroll on the wall of the *tokonoma*. Next he looks in the same manner at the hearth or the brazier. When all the guests have finished viewing these articles, they take their seats, the principal guest taking the one nearest to the host. After the host and guests have exchanged greetings, the *kaiseki* is served, with sweets concluding the light meal.

2) Nakadachi

At the host's suggestion, the guests retire to the waiting bench outside in the inner garden near the room.

3) Goza-iri

A metal gong hung near the room is sounded by the host to signal the beginning of the main ceremony. The usual custom is to give five or seven stokes. The guests arise and listen attentively to the sound. After repeating the rite of purification at the basin, they again enter the room. The reed screens hung outside the windows are removed by an assistant in order to brighten the surroundings. The hanging scroll is gone and in the *tokonoma* there is a vase with flowers arranged in it. The receptacle for fresh water and the ceramic tea container are in position before the host enters carrying the tea-bowl with the bamboo tea whisk and the tea scoop in it. The guests inspect and admire the flowers and the kettle just as they did the hanging scroll and the hearth at the beginning of the first session. The host retires to the preparation room and soon returns with the receptacle for waste water, the ladle, and the lid rest for the kettle or the ladle. The host then wipes the tea container and the scoop with a special cloth called *fukusa*, and rinses the whisk in the tea bowl containing hot water drawn from the kettle. The host empties the bowl, pouring the water into the waste-water receptacle, and wipes the bowl with a *chakin*, or piece of linen cloth.

The host lifts the tea scoop and the container and puts *matcha* (three scoopsful per guest) into the bowl, and takes a ladleful of hot water out of the kettle, putting about one-third of it into the bowl and returning the remainder to the kettle. He then whips up the mixture with the whisk until it resembles a very thick green pea soup in consistency as well as color. The tea thus made is called *koicha*. *Matcha* used here is made from the young leaves of tea plants from twenty to seventy years old or more. The host puts the bowl in its proper place by the hearth of the brazier, and the principal guest moves along on his knees to pick up the bowl. The guest makes a bow to other guests and puts the bowl on the palm of his left hand, supporting one side of the bowl with the right hand. After taking one sip, he praises its taste, then takes two or more sips. He wipes the spot of the bowl from which he has drunk with the *kaishi* paper, and passes the bowl to the second guest who drinks and wipes the bowl just as the principal guest had done. The bowl is then passed to the third guest, then to the fourth, until all five have partaken of the tea. When the last guest is finished, he hands the bowl to the principal guest, who returns it to the host.

4) The *usucha* service

Usucha differs from *koicha* in that the *matcha* used in the former is made from the young tea leaves of plants only three to fifteen years old. This makes a foamy green mixture.

The rules followed in this service are similar to those of the *koicha* ceremony, the main differences being:

- a) the tea is made individually for each guest with two or two and a half scoops of *matcha*. Each guest is expected to drink his entire portion.
- b) the guest cleans the part of the bowl which touched his lips with the fingers of his right hand and then wipes his fingers on the *kaishi* paper.

After the host has carried the utensils out of the room, he makes a silent bow to the guests, denoting that the ceremony is over.

The guests leave the *sukiya*, seen off by the host.

Gardens in Japan

To the student

Most of us, when we think of a garden, think of bright arrays of flowers surrounding a broad expanse of green lawn. In Japanese gardens, however, flowers are usually relatively unimportant, and lawns practically nonexistent. Even that most Japanese of blossoms, the flowering cherry tree, is valued almost as much for the ephemeral quality of its beauty as for the spring in Japan. Radio stations broadcast the condition of the blossoms--three-quarters open, for example--along with the weather forecast, and there is a special word, *hanami* ("seeing the blossoms", flower-viewing excursion) for the activity of viewing them. Nonetheless, they are thought to be most lovely before they are fully open, or, especially, after the petals have started to fall. And some of the most famous of all Japanese gardens have few or no flowering plants; one that you will see has no plants at all: In the trip that you are about to take, you will explore the world of Japanese gardens (in Brooklyn), and discover some new ways of seeing and of thinking about the meaning of a garden.

The gardens described below are in the New York area. This guide can serve, however, as an introduction to other Japanese gardens around the country or as a basis for class discussion of gardens in Japanese culture.

THE BROOKLYN BOTANIC GARDEN The garden (BBG) is located in 1000 Washington Avenue Brooklyn near Prospect Park and behind the Brooklyn Museum. By subway it can be reached by the 7th Avenue Express of the IRT, Eastern Parkway-Brooklyn Museum Station, by D or M train to Prospect Park station, or the IND 8th Avenue line to Franklin Avenue, where you change to the BMT shuttle to the Botanic Garden Station. Call the Garden for bus or car directions.

Hours

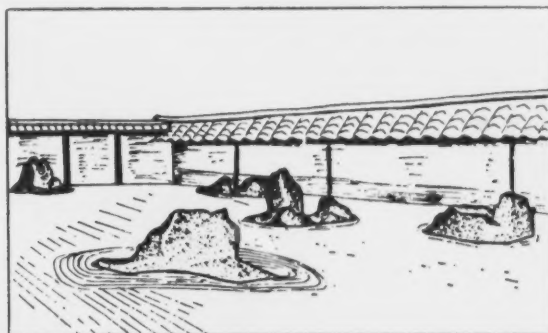
September-April: Tuesday through Friday, 8-4:30, weekends and holidays (including Monday holidays), 10-4:30.
May-August: Tuesday through Friday, 8-6, weekends and holidays (including Monday holidays), 10-6.

The special gardens, conservatory, and shop have special hours: call for additional information.

There are three Japanese gardens within the Garden: The Japanese HILL-AND-POND GARDEN (nominal admission charged on weekends: 25 cents), the RYŌANJI TEMPLE STONE GARDEN reproduction, and the ROJI GARDEN (both open only from 11-1 and 2-4 weekends and Monday holidays, 25 cents admission).

Try to arrange your visit so you can see all three, to get an idea of the range of beauty offered by Japanese gardens. Maps of the 50-acre BBG are available at the entrances.

Keep in mind that the garden is only beautiful if we treat it well--keep it clean by not bringing in food or drinks; keep it quiet by not playing ball or radios.



THE HILL AND POND GARDEN

This garden was designed by Takeo Shiota and constructed in 1914-1915. It contains the three major elements of Japanese gardens--plants, water and stone. The plants are arranged so that they afford beauty in every season--in spring, the blossoms of the wisteria, the cherry trees, the azaleas; in summer, the lush green foliage; in autumn, the red leaves of the delicate Japanese maple; and in winter, the enduring green of pine trees in snow. But it is the locations and shapes of the plants and other elements that are most important to the overall design. As you enter the garden, step into the viewing pavillion, and look out over the water to the surrounding garden, to see what a sense of great space it projects. The garden is, in a sense, a summary of all nature--an attempt to contain the natural world in a single place.

Standing in the pond is a great red torii, the gate that indicates the precincts of a Shinto shrine. A garden is an appropriate site for a shrine, since Shinto is in its essence a celebration of natural beauty. Often a shrine is set into a grove, so that it is approached through an avenue of trees, and surrounded by woods. Even in the middle of a city, a shrine will have trees nearby. The torii itself is situated here to accentuate, and take advantage of, the beauty of the pond--the reflection heightens its own beauty, and emphasizes the still tranquility of the water. The characters written on it--大明神-- mean "great illuminating spirit"--the spirit, perhaps, of the garden itself.

The pavillion on which you stand, the fences enclosing the garden, and the bridges and seats within it, all celebrate the beauty of nature by using materials in their unaltered form--bare wood, woven bamboo, unpolished stone.

As you walk through the garden, notice the curving paths which give you constantly altered views of the landscape. The shape of the pond itself is based on the character kokoro (心) which means heart, or mind, and is an additional indication of the centrality of water to a Japanese garden. As you continue along the paths, you will pass through a series of small waterfalls. The flowing water provides an additional element: sound. Here the sound is emphasized by the construction of the falls, which are backed by small caverns to echo the sound. Sight is not the only sense a garden pleases. Touch the railings to appreciate texture of natural materials; listen to the water flowing; and as you make your way to the hill in the rear of the garden, smell the cool freshness of the pines.

Standing amid the pines--which are a symbol of longevity to the Japanese--is the shrine. It is dedicated to the spirit of the harvest. As with all shrines, only the spirit, or deity, enters; worshippers stand outside. Notice the bare wood construction, with the thatched roof--using nature to celebrate nature.

Notice the way stone is used throughout the garden--in its natural form, to provide a setting for the plants and water. It is arranged for practical use as well as beauty, such as the stepping stones that lead from place to place, and constructed to form lanterns, which function as sculptural form to contrast with and highlight natural forms and color.

As you leave the garden, take a few moments to notice the animal life, for the pond is home for ducks, turtles, and Japanese carp -- the beautiful large goldfish appreciated for their perseverance in swimming upstream and for longevity.

RYŌANJI TEMPLE STONE GARDEN

One of the best times to see this garden is on a cool, overcast morning, when you are most likely to have it to yourself. It is a place for quiet meditation. The Zen Buddhist garden is a replica of one created five hundred years ago in the Ryōan Temple in Kyoto, with an aesthetic sense that is completely at home in twentieth-century America. This is a symbolic garden, in a way: the pebbles that form the flat ground for the garden are raked to represent the ripples on a calm sea; the fifteen stones arranged in odd-numbered groups within it rise from it almost like living islands.

Notice that you are provided with paper slippers as you enter, and you are expected to remove your shoes before stepping up to the viewing veranda. (In Japan, not only do you remove your shoes in temples, but in all homes and many restaurants.)

The long roofed wall enclosing the garden and the walls of the building that opens onto the garden are in natural colors; the stones of the garden are greys and tans. The simplicity which eliminates color, scent, sound, even growing things, is perhaps a difficult one to appreciate; yet the very simplicity allows us to see more clearly. Take time to look, and examine how the garden changes from different spots on the veranda. What do the stones suggest to you? How does the quiet contemplation of the garden affect you?

One clue to the creator's intentions can be found as you leave the stone garden and step into the Roji Garden: the replica of the stone water basin--used to cleanse one's hands before entering the original in Japan. Four characters share a single element--the square--to write out a phrase which may be translated as "I know only contentment."

ROJI GARDEN

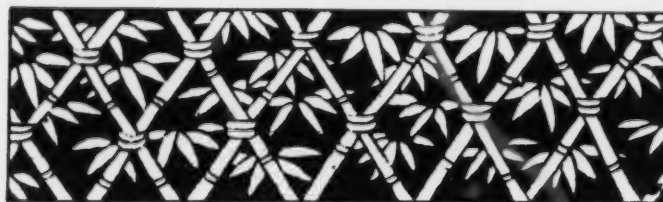
The extensive hill-and-pond garden and the austere stone garden are exceptional ones, the former because it is so large and elaborate, the latter because it is refined to such an extreme. The Roji Garden, however, is of a kind often encountered in Japan

today. Originally the roji, or "dewy path" garden, was created as the entrance way to a small structure designed for the tea ceremony. Now similar pathways are used to lead to regular houses. The intention is to create a sense of unsullied nature within a very limited space. To do this, the familiar elements of plants, water, and stone are used. The plants are low-keyed greens--pines, ferns and moss. The bare earth shows through in places, and the greens of the plants are set against the warm browns of earth and bark. Water is present, flowing through a simple construction of bamboo pipes, to add the gentle sound of the water dripping into the stone basin. There is stone elsewhere also, defining the path which, as we have seen before, curves to alter one's view of the garden and to create a sense of space greater than it really is, and there is in the lantern half-hidden by the plants.

IN ADDITION

The Brooklyn Botanic Garden has an excellent collection on bonsai or dwarfed plants and trees. These small, carefully trained plants provide a view of nature in miniature, a way of appreciating grandeur close up.

The Cherry Esplanade and the surrounding walks provide a site for hanami in early May that is unrivalled anywhere, with its grand display of Japanese cherry trees in bloom.



Vocabulary

array

replica

ephemeral

aesthetic

hanami

extensive

excursion

austere

conservatory

unsullied

nominal

bonsai

foliage

pavilion

centrality

longevity

meditation



Exercises

1. Write a short essay describing the hill-and-pond garden, with special attention to the way the season in which you viewed it influenced the way it looked. Later, for your own pleasure, go again in a different season, and compare the effect of the garden's design as elements changed.

2. Visit the Osborne Memorial section of the Brooklyn Botanic Gardens after you have walked through the Hill-and-Pond Garden.

Make a list of differences (and similarities).

What general conclusions can you draw about the way Japanese and European gardens are designed?

How are people most likely to respond to each type?

Discuss which you prefer, and why.

3. Plan a hanami party in early May. The lawn in the Cherry Esplanade is the one place sitting on the grass is encouraged in the Gardens. Plan to stay a while and write a tanka (see the unit entitled "What is a Tanka?" in the LITERATURE section of the workbook), or a short English poem on the blossoms, the day, and the feelings they evoke in you.

Enduring Cold the Japanese Way

In Japan, people warm themselves, not their drafty houses

by Amanda Mayer Stinchecum

"A house should be built with the summer in mind. In winter it is possible to live anywhere, but a badly made house is unbearable when it gets hot." These words, written by the Buddhist priest Yoshida Kenkō in the fourteenth century, still reflect the feelings of the Japanese people. Lady Lawson, a traveler to Japan in the early twentieth century who, being English, was used to cold, damp winters, wrote of the Japanese house in winter:

I believe the Japanese love to sit in draughts. On a cold, frosty morning, a paper house does not seem the right thing in the right place, and paper windows are inadequate, as the shivering foreigner feels. On these occasions, I used to recall Pierre Loti's dictum, that Japan was a tropical country which had moved up north by mistake and had never found it out.

It would be risky to state that the Japanese do not feel the cold as keenly as Westerners do, but there is no question that they are more stoic. Edward Sylvester Morse, who went to Japan in the late 1870s as a marine zoologist

and became fascinated with Japanese culture, described his experience in Tokyo:

Occasional snowstorms have occurred this winter but the jinrikisha men do not seem to mind the snow and run in it barefooted, and when standing the steam is seen rising from their bare feet. Curiously enough, the houses appear as open as in the summer. The children are barelegged, just as in the summer, and play in the snow without minding the cold.

In general, instead of seeking to change an uncomfortable or difficult situation, the Japanese accommodate themselves to it or, more often, endure it so as not to make anyone else uncomfortable. They frequently speak of the necessity of putting up with things or being resigned to them. This attitude of accommodation is perhaps at the root of the Japanese approach to dealing with cold: they warm themselves, their individual bodies, rather than their environment. And this, in turn, is tied to the way they think of the space they inhabit.

The traditional Japanese house and garden form an integral unit, separated by a wall from the surrounding community and from raw nature. The garden usually lies on the south side of the

house, although its shape varies as part of the overall design. Particularly in smaller towns and in the country, the garden may adjoin rice fields, vegetable gardens, or even uncultivated land, and the wall surrounding it and the house may be simply a living hedge of bamboo or other foliage. Nevertheless, the garden is not part of nature but a reconstruction of it that belongs to the space of the house. It is not a backyard to sit out in on hot summer nights, but a setting for seasonal changes to be viewed in safety from one's living room. In order to appreciate the poignancy of the passing seasons, the Japanese observe the garden, even in winter, not through narrow panes of glass, but with the sliding doors thrown open as wide as possible. In her *Pillow Book*, Sei Shōnagon, the great diarist and wit of Japan's early eleventh-century court, described with delicacy a typical scene at the palace in Kyoto:

In winter the early mornings [are loveliest]. It is beautiful indeed when snow has fallen during the night, but splendid too when the ground is white with frost; or even when there is no snow or frost, but it is simply very cold and the attendants hurry from room to room stirring up the fires and

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bringing charcoal, how well this fits the season's mood! But as noon approaches and the cold wears off, no one bothers to keep the braziers alight, and soon nothing remains but piles of white ashes.

As one might guess, the inhabitants of Kyoto do not face winters of extreme cold. The four main islands of the Japanese archipelago extend south to north as far as the United States does from Mobile, Alabama, to Bangor, Maine, but more than two-thirds of Japan's population lives in temperate regions south of the thirty-sixth parallel. Japan's major metropolitan centers are concentrated between 35° and 36° north latitude, the same as the central third of the state of North Carolina. In this zone, temperatures in January average 32° to 39°F, and people who live in such cities as Tokyo, Nagoya, Kyoto, and Osaka may see snow only once or twice a year. Even in the northernmost and more mountainous regions of the main island of Honshu, the January temperatures, warmed by the Japan Current (*Kuroshio*), average from 18° to 32°.

Hokkaido, the most northern of Japan's main islands—and the coldest—is a case apart. Originally inhabited by the Ainu, a racially and culturally distinct people, Hokkaido did not have large numbers of Japanese settlers until the nineteenth century. In general, the architecture follows the European more than the Japanese tradition, and the life style also reflects the strong Western influence that followed the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Faced with snowy winters, the settlers of Hokkaido, by necessity, departed from the original Japanese patterns. A description of traditional attitudes does not apply to Japan's truly cold region, therefore, but to the more characteristic temperate areas, where nevertheless, the dampness of the climate, combined with features of Japanese architecture that preclude efficient heating, contributes to an experience of winter that can be uncomfortably cold for weeks or months on end.

The traditional Japanese house is unsuited for heating not only because of its integration with the garden but also because of its construction. Like the modern skyscraper, it is supported by its frame. The exterior walls serve mainly to enclose the space, block the wind, and give a sense of privacy. Sliding doors of paper or glass often constitute one entire side of the house, sometimes more, depending on how extensive the garden is.

These provide no insulation from the cold, and the *amado* (storm doors) that are drawn across at night or during heavy storms are only made of a single layer of wood or thin aluminum. Inside, the rooms are small and the ceilings are low, helping somewhat to retain heat. But the walls of the rooms consist of *fusuma* (opaque sliding screens), which are flimsy and light and can be lifted out of their grooves to open up the interior space. Between the top of the *fusuma* and the ceiling there is often a wood or bamboo latticework transom, which is intended to aid ventilation and cannot be closed to conserve heat.

The traditional house is designed for winter in only one way: it is built with maximum southern exposure. Usually the best room in the house faces south, where the garden is located. In a well-designed house, the overhang of the roof is sufficiently long on this side to block the rays of the summer sun. On sunny days in midwinter, the doors are thrown open to let in the sunshine and air the house, and the bedding is hung from an upper balcony railing to air it and warm it up for the cold night ahead.

The Japanese have traditionally used charcoal fires for heat, but these mainly warm individual bodies rather than the space surrounding them. There are three types of arrangements for burning charcoal. The most basic is the *ro* (fire-pit or hearth), a square or rectangular pit framed with heavy timbers and lined with stone or brick, which is built into the tatami-covered floor. The *ro* is not usually seen in city houses, except in the tea room if there is one; it is more prevalent in rural areas, where wood may be burned instead of charcoal. The *ro* is used for heating water for tea, for warming the hands, and for cooking certain one-pot meals, but not for cooking regular meals; for this task, there is a separate cooking stove, often in another area of the house. The fire in the *ro* is kept low, and because the ceiling above it is often left open to the rafters to allow the smoke to escape, its capacity to heat interior space is limited.

The *kotatsu* is the most effective heating device and is still widely used, although not in its charcoal-burning form. It originated as a wooden frame set over the *ro* and covered with a quilt to keep the heat from escaping. Feet and legs were pushed under the quilt, warming the lower half of the body. A more elaborate arrangement is the *hori-*

kotatsu, or sunken *kotatsu*, a deep pit in the floor, usually in the main sitting room of the house. A wooden grating is set over the burning coals of the *hori-kotatsu* and over the whole pit is placed a low table covered with a quilt. People sit around the table Western-style, that is, with their legs hanging down into the pit, and cover themselves from the waist down with the quilt. For meals and other activities requiring a hard surface, a separate tabletop is set over the quilt. Some traditional houses, even recently built ones, still have *hori-kotatsu*, but these are usually electrically heated. The common modern adaptation of the *kotatsu* is a low table frame with an electric heating element attached to the underside; the quilt is placed over this, and then a tabletop (usually of Formica, although in an elegant house it may be made of beautifully finished wood).

The third of the charcoal-burning devices is the *hibachi*, a brazier or firebox, which bears little resemblance to the grill Americans use to cook meat outdoors. Made of pottery or of wood lined with copper, this device is used for burning a few small pieces of charcoal on a bed of finely sifted ashes. The *hibachi* is designed primarily to warm the hands or to heat water for tea. Old woodblock prints frequently depict its use in a room open to a snowy garden. Before the introduction of electric, gas, and kerosene heating stoves, the *hibachi* was often the only source of heat in a city dwelling. Morse remarked on his own quarters in Tokyo:

My only stove is a square wooden box in which is a round earthen vessel filled with ashes. . . . Ice has already formed outside and my room would be very cold without the little charcoal fire. I have become accustomed to the carbonic gas, though most of it settles through the cracks of the floor; when it gets too strong, I open the door. On enquiry I found that the Japanese never suffer any inconvenience from burning charcoal, their sole means of heating. The old woman who . . . brings in a few hot coals from her own *hibachi* had never heard of the gas being injurious, nor had she an idea that it could kill one.

The cost of charcoal has risen so high, however, that the charcoal-burning *hibachi* has all but disappeared: it is now a luxury reserved for such gracious pursuits as the tea ceremony. Gradually, kerosene, gas, and electricity have replaced the traditional fuel. Believed to present less danger of conflagration,

electricity and gas were preferred until the recent "oil shock," when the cost rose so dramatically that many Japanese switched to kerosene. Some of the new fixtures—usually small, portable stoves—are space heaters. Because of the unpleasant fumes from both gas and kerosene, however, such stoves are used only intermittently, and not at night, when the house is more tightly closed off by the storm shutters. In general, fires are not left burning unattended, or at least not with sufficient heat to keep a room warm. On a frosty night, bedding remains the primary retreat from the cold.

Japanese bedding, called *futon*, consists of a set of mats and quilts filled with cotton batting or silk floss. An underpad is spread first, then one or more top quilts, depending on the degree of cold. In the West, people often cling together in bed for warmth in the winter, but in Japan most adults sleep in individual beds. The *futon* are likely to be placed immediately adjacent to one another, however, because in Japan sleeping is a social activity. The members of a household and their guests usually sleep together in a few rooms, rather than spreading out one to a room, even where the size of the house permits it. And up to the age of six or seven, children often sleep in their mother's beds. These sleeping customs, however, seem to derive from a need for security rather than warmth.

In addition to the bedding itself, there are a number of devices to warm up a cold bed. One is the hot-water bottle, dear to English hearts, but in Japan it is made of metal or ceramic instead of rubber. Morse also describes "a little wooden box . . . used for the purpose of holding an earthen receptacle for coals, and this is taken to bed as a substitute for the hot stone or brick which is often used at home for a similar purpose." Both of these have now generally been discarded in favor of the electric blanket; the type that is spread under the sleeper seems to be preferred to the kind that is used as a cover. Sometimes the bedding is placed over or around an electric *kotatsu*, the low table with an electric heating element attached to the underside. Sleepers lie with their feet under the table, and the whole bed is warmed. This is considered a dangerous arrangement, however.

As bedding is used at night, so clothing is used by day to conserve body heat and keep the individual warm. One item, the *dotera*, or *tanzen*, is actually a cross between a kimono and a *futon*, that is, between a garment and bedding. A heavily padded, oversized kimono with wide sleeves, it can be drawn around the body or spread over the bedding for extra warmth.

The traditional layers of clothing include, for a woman, a *koshimaki* (wrapped undershirt) or *nagajuban* (underkimono), two or more of which are worn in cold weather. Over these a woman wears a kimono and either a *haori* (jacket) or *hanten* (padded jacket). The *hanten*, which is less formal than the *haori*, is available in a version large enough to cover an infant carried on its mother's back. A man would wear long underwear, and his kimono would be padded or would be covered by a sleeveless vest.

This use of layers of clothing is a practical solution to the problem of cold in a culture in which people do not traditionally wear either furs or fleece. Because Buddhism prohibits the killing of animals, the use of furs never became widespread in Japan, although now they are sought as a Western-style luxury item. And because sheep were not a part of the rural household, wool was not available for winter clothing until relatively recently. Before industrialization, Japan was an agrarian society in which domestic animals did not play a major role. Rice was cultivated by human labor, and meat was rarely eaten until the custom was introduced from the West in the sixteenth century.

Traditionally, farmers and poorer urban classes wore hemp cloth year-round, while the wealthier classes wore clothing padded with silk floss. The cultivation and production of cotton, introduced into Japan by the late sixteenth century, became widespread during the eighteenth century. Cotton was found to be much warmer than hemp and soon became the preferred material, thickened in various ways to make it warmer. Both adults and children wore kimonos and jackets padded with cotton batting. To give garments added strength and warmth, a quilting stitch, called *sashiko*, could be used either on a single layer of cloth or to join two or more layers of cotton. In northern Japan, where the climate pre-

cluded the cultivation of cotton, the people made cotton cloth from used kimonos or rags. They tore these into strips and wove the strips together into a heavier and more durable cloth. In Japan today, those who wear Japanese-style clothes have the advantage of wool kimonos; they may also wear shawls over their kimonos and, underneath, long underwear and sweaters.

The Japanese once made use of paper clothing, or *kamiko*, which was originally worn by Buddhist priests (since paper garments could be seamed with paste, no woman had to touch them). By the end of the seventeenth century, *kamiko* were also worn by ordinary people, especially to ward off the cold on journeys. The paper was coated with persimmon tannin to make it strong and waterproof. The seventeenth-century haiku poet Matsuo Bashō mentions carrying a *kamiko* when he started off on his journey to the far north: "Setting out with nothing but what I could bear myself, I carried a stout paper raincoat to keep out the chill at night."

Various kinds of rushes and rice straw were once used for raincoats, footwear, and hats. Besides being water-repellent, the hollow straws provided some insulation against the cold. In rural areas, sedge hats are still worn as protection against sun, rain, and snow. In earlier periods the Japanese wore many kinds of hats as signs of rank and for protection in battle or against the elements, and hoods were worn for warmth by women, old men, and priests (who shaved their heads). But today the Japanese rarely wear hats except to shade themselves from the sun or to keep off precipitation. While Westerners concentrate on keeping their extremities warm, donning hats, scarfs, gloves, and warm socks when the weather turns chilly, the Japanese seem unconcerned about such items of clothing.

Japanese tradition places the seat of a person's being—the spirit, the emotions, the breath—in the belly (*hara*): if the belly is kept warm, the person will be warm and healthy. The *haramaki*, or belly band, often a knitted wool tube about six inches wide, keeps the abdomen warm. Once more common, *haramaki* are worn today primarily by workmen who are exposed to the cold, by pregnant women, and by children. In fact, *haramaki* are built into children's

pajamas. Another device for heating the belly or chest, used since the beginning of the eighteenth century, is the *kairo*, a small container filled with smoldering ashes, which is worn tucked under the sash or into the folds of the kimono. In earlier periods, a heated pumice stone wrapped in rags was similarly used.

The Japanese warm their insides as well. In winter they drink hot tea, of which there are many types, almost continuously. The tea not only warms the middle, but the handleless teacup warms the hands as well. And while all cultures with cold winters have their own special hot drinks for cold nights, the Japanese heat their rice wine, sake, in all but the hot, summer season. In Japan, drinking liquor is a social activity—pouring one's own drink is considered inappropriate.

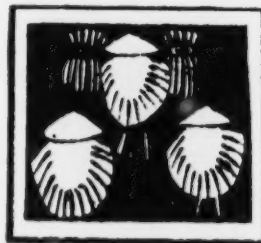
Meals also take on a more communal quality in the winter, creating more warmth in a room. A special category of dishes, called *nabemono*, or one-pot meals are prepared at the dining table. Into a pot of boiling broth, the hostess plunges various combinations of vegetables, fish, chicken, and meat. When these are just barely cooked, each diner fishes out a portion and dips it into an individual bowl of sauce. Sukiyaki, an American favorite, is a *nabemono* dish. This type of cooking originated in the rural and the more northern areas of Japan where the open hearth was a common feature of domestic architecture. On a cold night, the heating element—originally the *ro* but now a gas burner or electric ring—and the simmering broth warm the people huddled around the table. Other hot foods prepared in winter include noodles served in steaming broth, and sweetened bean paste, thinned to the consistency of a thick soup and served with pieces of rice cake in it.

The one place where the Japanese can feel totally surrounded by warmth, however, is the bath. It is the best way to relax before going to sleep, and a long soak in the near-scalding water warms the body for hours afterward. For the Japanese, who are more oriented toward the group than are Westerners, the bath is, more often than not, a social activity as well. The public bath provides an occasion for social relaxation and gossip. In cities and small towns, there is always one, often two,

within walking distance of most households. Many Japanese who live in apartments or boardinghouses, such as students and unmarried men, do not have their own baths, while in some older houses the large tub must still be heated by building a wood fire under it. Even when a gas flame is used, preparing the bath at home is time-consuming (as well as costly). At the public bath, on the other hand, for a modest fee there are unlimited quantities of hot water and, in Tokyo and Kyoto at least, sometimes whirlpool baths and saunas. Cold beer, milk, and soft drinks are available in the changing rooms, the television is tuned to the most popular melodramas or the evening's baseball game, there is the opportunity to visit with one's neighbors and friends, and someone else cleans up.

An extension of the amenities offered by the public bath can be found at the numerous hot spring resorts scattered throughout Japan. Hot springs are more popular during the warmer seasons, but to spend New Year's at a hot spring is one of the delights of winter travel in Japan. Guests spend hours in the pools, indoors and out, sipping cups of tea or sake while they soak.

The Japanese have turned in recent years to methods of heating the environment rather than warming individual bodies: they are beginning to install central heating in newly built apartment houses and even in single-family homes. Mainly because of the rising cost of fuel, however, this is still the exception rather than the rule. Ingrained attitudes toward enduring the cold and enjoying the natural beauties of the winter season, longstanding architectural customs, and the energy crisis all contribute to the retention in Japan of a traditional approach to keeping warm. □



Culture and Urban Growth

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JULY 28, 1983

Sunny Side of the Street Is Very Dear to Japanese

By CLYDE HABERMAN
Special to The New York Times

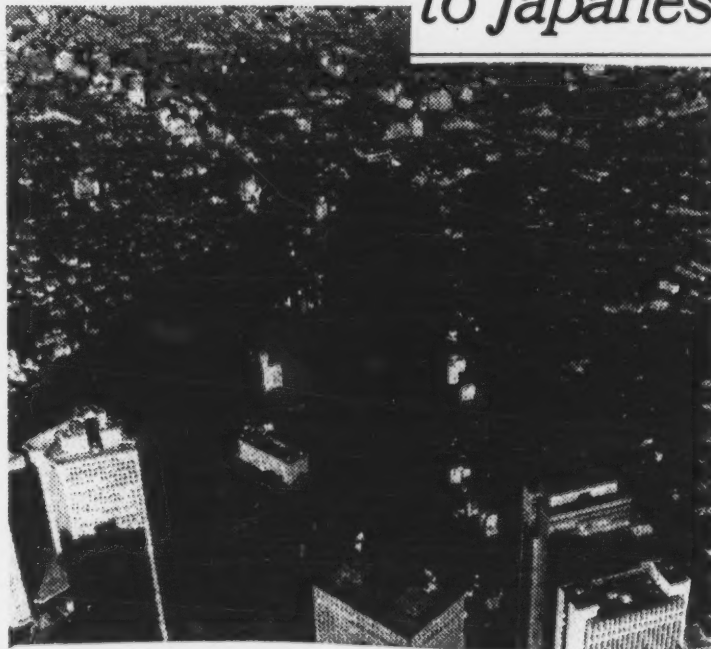
TOKYO, July 27 — In the Land of the Rising Sun, sunshine has taken a bit of a beating in recent days. It has more to do with Government policies than with the rainy season, which held on stubbornly but finally let go this week.

Japanese cities over the last decade have passed all sorts of ordinances seeking to guarantee residents a minimum amount of sunshine each day in their houses and apartments. With tall buildings jabbing through the once-flat urban landscape, feelings run high that light and heat are a city dweller's right and not a privilege that could be swept away by a developer.

As a result, anyone in Tokyo who puts up a building that suddenly casts his neighbors into shadow can expect to pay them for their troubles. The usual going rate is anywhere from \$420 to \$1,260 for each hour of lost sunlight, but the price can go a lot higher in special cases and settlements of \$12,000 or more have been known.

Enter the Government this summer.

The economy has been bumping along, and the construction industry was felt to be in need of a boost. National and local authorities have been working on a plan that would raise the



High-rise buildings casting shadows over a part of Tokyo's Shinjuku section.

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height limit, now 33 feet, on buildings in many Tokyo residential neighborhoods. Sunshine codes would also be relaxed in most of the city's 23 wards.

Court Backs Developers

If the plan is carried out, builders would get the lift they want, but some Tokyo people are already worrying that any boon for the industry will come inevitably at the expense of their own sunlight.

Along with that came a court ruling that further strengthened the developers' hand.

Often, when contractors and local residents find themselves deadlocked over what would constitute fair compensation for lost sunshine, they turn to local government officials for mediation. But a district court judge concluded that the Tokyo Metropolitan Government was taking too long to come to decisions, costing developers time and money. This judge ordered City Hall to pay one construction company \$50,000 for allowing a sunshine case to drag on for months.

In the way of bureaucracies, officials are now skittish about getting involved in these matters, probably to the advantage of the real-estate people. One builder of apartment houses, known graciously, if inaccurately, as "mansions," said, "We are seeing surprisingly favorable opinions for us at the negotiation table with residents."

Each year scores of new cases arise, not all of them necessarily disputes. Most contractors recognize sunshine payments as part of the cost of doing business.

For example, in central Tokyo's Minato ward, the owner of a three-story apartment house figures that he and his tenants will lose five hours of sunlight each day because a 10-story building is about to go up across the street. The developer does not argue that some sort of compensation is required; the only question is how much.

"Even scholars can't give us a clear answer as to why the Japanese value sunshine so much," said Kazuo Tanabe, who handles this issue for the Tokyo government. "But I think traditionally we have always found it especially important in winter. I don't think Westerners depend on sunshine as much as we do."

He is probably right. Even in glittering, neon-ridden Tokyo there are still thousands of one- and two-story houses made of wood, many, perhaps most, of them inefficiently heated by portable kerosene or electric stoves. Since skies tend to be clear in winter, sunshine is critical for keeping these houses warm.

So the local government has complex codes that spell out in excruciating detail how much of a shadow a new building may project upon its neighbors. "In their most rigid, the codes say a building may not cast a shadow during the winter solstice for more than three hours a day up to a point 16 feet from the property line or more than two hours up to 33 feet. Architects, at times, have been ordered to redraft their designs.

Too Early to Tell

More often, hard-core disputes wind up in court, and the dockets are strewn

with unhappy neighbors at odds with each other.

Parents have sued builders for putting their children's schoolyard in the shade. A few years ago the Japanese National Railways had to pay \$1.2 million to people in the town of Ichikawa, east of Tokyo, because an elevated line blocked out the sun. Others have collected because they could no longer set their futons out to dry or because new buildings set winds to swirling or because radio interference was created.

It is too early to tell whether the proposed easing of Government restrictions on the construction industry signals truly dark days for Tokyo's sunshine advocates. Rarely is anything done here that alters the balance of forces precipitously.

"This will require new measures to insure the quality of life," said Mr. Tanabe, indicating more shadow boxing on this issue when summer stretches into fall.

Questions for Discussion

1. How would you compare the importance attached to sunlight in urban Japan with that attached to sunlight in United States' cities?
2. List city laws you know of in the United States that control the location of new high-rise buildings.

What is the purpose of these laws?

How do they compare with the Japanese laws?

Polite Behavior in Japan: The Art of Bowing

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, APRIL 22, 1985

Spring Training in Japan, or How a Bow Is Born

By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, April 21 — This is the season when young Japan is taught how to bow.

The skill might not seem to require lessons, especially in a country where people bow at far more than just the drop of a hat. But there is a proper way to do everything in Japan, and that means rigorous spring training for the many thousands of young people who graduated from school in late March.

For the last few weeks the bigger companies have put their recruits through courses not only in the right way to bow but also in the right way to smile, the right way to dress, the right way to walk. Young women learned the right way to serve tea, and young men the right way to present their calling cards to a new acquaintance — a ritual of immeasurable significance here.

Everyone learned the right way to talk, a less-than-breezy task because polite Japanese involves varying levels of humbleness, depending on whether one is speaking to a social superior, equal or inferior.

Classes for New Employees

No one has had to work harder at all this than employees of department stores and banks who maintain steady contact with the public. Most of these companies prepared their own manuals and videotapes demonstrating proper techniques, such as the importance of keeping the back straight when bowing and not bobbing one's head like a fishing float.

At the Takashimaya department store in central Tokyo the other morning, the time had come for 32 ill-at-ease women, all just out of high school, to learn how to bow properly.

The women were divided into groups of eight, and they took turns bowing and greeting, bowing and greeting, trying to remember that at Takashimaya one bent 30 degrees when welcoming customers and 15 degrees when encouraging them to look around. At other stores 45-degree bows are de rigueur for departing customers.

"You look so nervous," said their instructor, Mitsuo Keuchi, a crisply dressed man recruited from the men's clothing department. "You have to smile when you say 'Good morning.'"

So the young women greeted and bowed all over again, trying to get it right but not looking discernibly less nervous. They had far to go, concluded Kazuo Hoshino, who heads the store's education division.

View Across the Age Gap

Inevitably, many older Japanese think young people have poor manners, bowing fitfully and speaking unspeakably. Some say younger Japanese are too tall for graceful bowing; others blame lax discipline at home these days.

"What I see most clearly is stooped posture — their hands hang in front of them like gorillas," said Kiyonobu Ogasawara, the 72-year-old master of an etiquette school in Tokyo.



The New York Times/Jim Wilson

Japanese girls practicing their bowing in a Tokyo park. The proper way to do it requires rigorous training.

Of course, with all respect, older people everywhere tend to think that youngsters are not what they ought to be. Even so, in how many other countries are manners so crucial that someone would invent a machine like the one that has been used by the Kintetsu department store in Osaka?

It is a bowing machine. A person presses his or her chest against the breast plate, and in that manner the body adjusts to the desired angle of bow. Usually, that is somewhere between 15 and 45 degrees. Deep-crouched, both-hands-touching-the-straw-mat bows are far less common.

A few years ago the bowing machine delighted foreigners who saw it as a splendid amalgam of Japan's passion for precision and for gadgets. In reality, the machine is little used, but it does make an effective point as to how somberly Japanese take this ancient custom.

Legislators Keep Limber, Too

There may not be as much obligatory bowing as before World War II, when people made obeisances in the general direction of the Imperial Palace, but there is still enough bending to keep everyone limber.

The Prime Minister bows to members of Parliament before addressing them, and television announcers bow from behind their desks before reading the evening news. In offices, workers

sometimes bow involuntarily when saying goodbye on the telephone. People swear they have seen company presidents climb into limousines while employees bow them away, not straightening until after the cars have turned the corner.

Right before the present session of the House of Representatives, Kenji Fukunaga lost the important position of Speaker when it became apparent that he was too infirm to bow to the Emperor and then walk backward down a few steps during an opening-day ceremony. In truth, Mr. Fukunaga's problem was a waning behind-the-scenes influence. But his physical inability in the face of required formality sealed his fate.

In Takashimaya, Mitsuko Hitaka, who sells maternity clothes, estimates that she bows seven to 10 times for each customer. At that, she probably gets off lightly. A magazine called Gendai examined bowing patterns two years ago and found that in one unnamed Ginza department store the young women who ran the elevators bowed to shoppers an average of 2,560 times a day.

Women Bow More Often

The Gendai study also discovered that Japanese begin to bow on the street when they are within 20 yards of an acquaintance. Women, the maga-

zine said, bow 35 percent more often than men (no surprise there), and their bows last 1.4 seconds, on average, compared with only nine-tenths of a second for men.

As important as bowing for young people is the instruction they have received this spring in polite language — learning which phrase to use to show they recognize their station. This is a complicated business and a serious one, even in make-believe. The actor Toshiro Mifune, for example, refused to use language he thought unfit for the feudal lord Toranaga when he made the American miniseries "Shogun" a few years ago.

Modern youngsters do not automatically know such subtleties, Mr. Hoshino of Takashimaya said. But he was confident that with perseverance his new recruits would eventually know instinctively both how to bow and talk, from the opening welcome to the final sayonara.

On second thought, even sayonara, perhaps the one Japanese word most foreigners know, is becoming vaguely unfamiliar to young Japan. It is still used, for sure. But more and more youngsters here part company by not bowing to each other and then saying in perfect non-Japanese, "Bye-bye."

Questions for Discussion

1. How would you compare the Japanese tradition of bowing with the American handshake?

How do you think each tradition may have originated?

What purposes does each have today?

2. What does the author of this article mean when he talks about people showing that "they recognize their station?"

3. Compare the importance attached to polite behavior in Japan with that accorded to good manners in the United States.

List the techniques mentioned in this article that Japanese people use to express exactly the right degree of politeness.

Can you think of similar techniques used by Americans?

What do we mean by "body language?"

4. Why do you think Americans are interested in reading articles like this one?

How does it contribute to our understanding of Japanese culture?

How does it contribute to our understanding of American culture?

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JAPAN

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JAPANESE AMERICANS / CONTENTS

JAPANESE AMERICAN CURRICULUM PROJECT

(Resources)

provides information on a central clearing house for curriculum material, audio-visual resources, and other activities on the Japanese American experience.

REDRESS AND REPARATION

(Primary Source Selection/Background)

presents a primary source selection with background material for teachers on the issue of internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, suggesting ways it can be raised in relation to other topics covered in the workbook.

RESOURCES

lists other materials of interest that are available for class use.

Japanese American Curriculum Project

JAPANESE AMERICAN CURRICULUM PROJECT

This organization offers a comprehensive collection of curriculum materials, audio-visual resources, games and activities on the experience of Japanese Americans. All audio-visual materials can be previewed at no charge.

Write for their catalogue:

Japanese American Curriculum Project, Inc. (JACP)
414 East Third Avenue
San Mateo, CA 94401
(tel.) 415-343-9408

THE JAPANESE AMERICAN JOURNEY

Published by the Japanese American Curriculum Project in 1985, this is a compilation of history, biographies, short stories, and poetry providing a history of Japanese Americans to readers in grades 5-8. Publishers are asking for a \$25.00 donation.



Redress and Reparation

To the teacher

The internment of Japanese in the United States during World War II is an issue worthy of class discussion. It may arise naturally when the class is studying World War II in the context of its study of Japan, and can lead to consideration of the related issues of:

- nationality
- racism
- tension that always exists between the fundamental rights of citizens and the definition of national security

The history of the internment of Japanese citizens received national attention between 1980 and 1982 with the hearings and final report of the Federal Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. Newspaper and journal articles from that period would provide material for independent student research and reports.

The following articles and primary source selections are appended here for background on the issues of evacuation and internment and of redress and reparations for Japanese American citizens interned during the war. They include:

Document 1. Final Recommendations of the Commanding General, Western Defense Command and Fourth Army.

Document 2. Instructions to Evacuees.

- Article 1. Editorial from the Washington Post, by Alan Barth, March 28, 1946.
- Article 2. "Redress and Reparations: Coming to Terms with the Past," reprinted from The East Asia Review of the Project on East Asian Studies in Education at the University of Michigan.

Final Recommendations of the Commanding General,
Western Defense Command and Fourth Army,
Submitted to the Secretary of War

HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND
FOURTH ARMY

Presidio of San Francisco, California
Office of the Commanding General

February 14, 1942

014.31 (DCS)

Memorandum for: The Secretary of War,
(Thru: The Commanding General,
Field Forces, Washington, D.C.)

Subject: Evacuation of Japanese and other Subversive Persons from the
Pacific Coast.

1. In presenting a recommendation for the evacuation of Japanese
and other subversive persons from the Pacific Coast, the following facts
have been considered:

a. Mission of the Western Defense Command and Fourth
Army.

(1) Defense of the Pacific Coast of the Western Defense
Command, as extended, against attacks by sea, land or air;

(2) Local protection of establishment and communications
vital to the National Defense for which adequate defense cannot be
provided by local civilian authorities.

b. Brief Estimate of the Situation.

(1) Any estimate of the situation indicates that the follow-
ing are possible and probable enemy activities:

- (a) Naval attack on shipping in coastal waters;
- (b) Naval attack on coastal cities and vital installa-
tions;
- (c) Air raids on vital installations, particularly within
two hundred miles of the coast;
- (d) Sabotage of vital installations throughout the
Western Defense Command.

Hostile Naval and air raids will be assisted by enemy
agents signaling from the coastline and the vicinity thereof; and by
supplying and otherwise assisting enemy vessels and by sabotage.

Sabotage, (for example, of airplane factories), may be
effected not only by destruction within plants and establishments, but by
destroying power, light, water, sewer and other utility and other facilities
in the immediate vicinity thereof or at a distance. Serious damage or
destruction in congested areas may readily be caused by incendiarism.

(2) The area lying to the west of the Cascade and Sierra
Nevada Mountains in Washington, Oregon and California, is highly
critical not only because the lines of communication and supply to the
Pacific theater pass through it, but also because of the vital industrial
production therein, particularly aircraft. In the war in which we are now
engaged racial affinities are not severed by migration. The Japanese race
is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japanese
born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have

become "Americanized," the racial strains are undiluted. To conclude otherwise is to expect that children born of white parents on Japanese soil sever all racial affinity and become loyal Japanese subjects, ready to fight and, if necessary, to die for Japan in a war against the nation of their parents. That Japan is allied with Germany and Italy in this struggle is no ground for assuming that any Japanese, barred from assimilation by convention as he is, though born and raised in the United States, will not turn against this nation when the final test of loyalty comes. It, therefore, follows that along the vital Pacific Coast over 112,000 potential enemies, of Japanese extraction, are at large today. There are indications that these are organized and ready for concerted action at a favorable opportunity. The very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken...

2. Action recommended.

a. Recommendations for the designation of prohibited areas, described as "Category A" areas in California, Oregon and Washington, from which are to be excluded by order of the Attorney General all alien enemies, have gone forward from this headquarters to the Attorney General through the Provost Marshal General and the Secretary of War. These recommendations were made in order to aid the Attorney General in the implementation of the Presidential Proclamations of December 7 and 8, 1941, imposing responsibility on him for the control of alien enemies as such. These recommendations were for the exclusion of all alien enemies from Category "A." The Attorney General has adopted these recommendations in part, and has the balance under consideration. Similarly, recommendations were made by this headquarters, and adopted by the Attorney General, for the designation of certain areas as Category "B" areas, within which alien enemies may be permitted on pass or permit.

b. I now recommend the following:

(1) That the Secretary of War procure from the President direction and authority to designate military areas in the combat zone of the Western Theater of Operations, (if necessary to include the entire combat zone), from which, in his discretion, he may exclude all Japanese, all alien enemies, and all other persons suspected for any reason by the administering military authorities of being actual or potential saboteurs, espionage agents, or fifth columnists. Such executive order should empower the Secretary of War to requisition the services of any and all other agencies of the Federal Government, with express direction to such agencies to respond to such requisition, and further empowering the Secretary of War to use any and all federal facilities and equipment, including Civilian Conservation Corps Camps, and to accept the use of State facilities for the purpose of providing shelter and equipment for evacuees. Such executive order to provide further for the administration of military areas for the purposes of this plan by appropriate military authorities acting with the requisitioned assistance of the other federal agencies and the cooperation of State and local agencies. The executive order should further provide that by reason of military necessity the right of all persons, whether citizens or aliens, to reside, enter, cross or be within any military areas shall be subject to revocation and shall exist on a pass and permit basis at the discretion of the Secretary of War and implemented by the necessary legislation imposing penalties for violation.

(2) That, pursuant to such executive order, there be designated as military areas all areas in Washington, Oregon and California, recommended by me to date for designation by the Attorney General as Category "A" areas and such additional areas as it may be found necessary to designate hereafter

(3) That the Secretary of War provide for the exclusion from such military areas, in his discretion, of the following classes of persons, viz:

- (a) Japanese aliens.
- (b) Japanese-American citizens.
- (c) Alien enemies other than Japanese aliens.
- (d) Any and all other persons who are suspected for any reason by the administering military authorities to be actual or potential saboteurs, espionage agents, fifth columnists, or subversive persons..

WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION

Presidio of San Francisco, California

May 3, 1942

INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

Living in the Following Area:

All of that portion of the City of Los Angeles, State of California, within that boundary beginning at the point at which North Figueroa Street meets a line following the middle of the Los Angeles River; thence southerly and following the said line to East First Street; thence westerly on East First Street to Alameda Street; thence southerly on Alameda Street to East Third Street; thence northwesterly on East Third Street to Main Street; thence northerly on Main Street to First Street; thence northwesterly on First Street to Figueroa Street; thence northeasterly on Figueroa Street to the point of beginning.

Pursuant to the provisions of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 33, this Headquarters, dated May 3, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above area by 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Saturday, May 9, 1942.

No Japanese person living in the above area will be permitted to change residence after 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Sunday, May 3, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the representative of the Commanding General, Southern California Sector, at the Civil Control Station located at:

Japanese Union Church,
120 North San Pedro Street,
Los Angeles, California.

Such permits will only be granted for the purpose of uniting members of a family, or in cases of grave emergency. The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.
2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property, such as real estate, business and professional equipment, household goods, boats, automobiles and livestock.
3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.
4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence.

The Following Instructions Must Be Observed:

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Monday, May 4, 1942, or between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Tuesday, May 5, 1942.

2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Assembly Center, the following property:

- (a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
- (b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
- (c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
- (d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family;
- (e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station. The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

3. No pets of any kind will be permitted.

4. No personal items and no household goods will be shipped to the Assembly Center.

5. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage, at the sole risk of the owner, of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted for storage if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.

6. Each family, and individual living alone, will be furnished transportation to the Assembly Center or will be authorized to travel by private automobile in a supervised group. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

Go to the Civil Control Station between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Monday, May 4, 1942, or between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Tuesday, May 5, 1942, to receive further instructions.

Editorial from the Washington Post by Alan Barth,
March 28, 1946

JOB WELL DONE

The most distasteful of all war jobs, the detention upon mere suspicion and without trial of approximately 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry, two-thirds of them citizens of the United States, has now been liquidated. It was a job made necessary through the decision early in 1942 of Gen. John L. DeWitt to exclude all Japanese-Americans from the Western Defense Command, of which he was at that time the commander. His exclusion order has since been validated by the Supreme Court on grounds of military necessity. For our part, however, we hold still to the opinion we have expressed on a number of occasions that the exclusion was altogether unnecessary, that it was prompted much more by blind racial prejudice than by military considerations and that the Supreme Court's validation of it amounted, as Mr. Justice Murphy charged in a dissenting opinion, to a "legalization of racism." The treatment accorded this helpless minority remains a smudge upon our national honor and a threat to elementary principles of freedom.

Once the exclusion error was committed, guardianship of the uprooted Japanese-Americans became a Federal responsibility. They had to be kept in detention centers until they could be relocated in parts of the country other than the West Coast. The burden of discharging this unhappy obligation was given to an emergency agency, the War Relocation Authority, headed at first by Milton Eisenhower, later and through most of its existence by Dillon S. Myer. It performed its task with humanity, with efficiency and with a conscientious sense of trusteeship toward the evacuees which made some amends for the terrible hardship inflicted upon them. All the men associated in this undertaking, and in particular Mr. Myer, who fought valiantly and pertinaciously against prejudice for the rights of these unfortunates in his charge, can take pride in a difficult job exceedingly well done.

When at last the Army rescinded its exclusion order about 57,500 evacuees moved back to their former homes in the West Coast States, But about 51,800 settled eastward in new homes. Perhaps the dispersal will have some benefits in better integration of the Japanese-Americans into the American society. Their loyalty of those left here has been meticulously scrutinized. Out of the whole number in the relocation centers, some 3000, including quite innocent family members, were transferred to internment camps administered by the Department of Justice; and about 4700 persons were voluntarily repatriated to Japan--many of them, no doubt, because the treatment they received here convinced them they had no hope of leading free lives in America. It seems to us that we owe those who remain remain generous help in getting reestablished and restitution for their property losses.

REDRESS AND REPARATIONS:

COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

Source: The East Asia Review, Fall-Winter 1981, published by the Project on East Asian Studies in Education (PEASE), 108 Lane Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109

Nearly forty years ago, on February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which cleared the way for the War Department to forcibly relocate and inter in concentration camps over 100,000 West Coast residents of Japanese ancestry. Two-thirds were American citizens. Taken from their homes and communities with no more than they could carry, they lost houses, businesses, and friends to the dust and tarpapered barracks in the desert.

We were told the guns were there for our protection. But why were they pointed at us. . . ?

---Sueko Embrey, *L.A. Times*, 4/4/72

The Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco estimates that the Japanese Americans endured close to \$400 million in property loss from the internment. A mere 10% was repaid under the 1948 Evacuation Claims Act. But beyond inflicting financial (and physical) hardship, the exclusion-internment program cast doubt on many constitutional safeguards. Though many argue it was for their own safety, American citizens were deprived of their civil liberties and the right to due process. Is "wartime necessity" a valid and constitutional reason to uphold exclusion orders? Does the fact that citizens of Italian and German descent were not subjected to relocation indicate that the mass evacuation was an act of racial discrimination and thus a violation of equal protection under the law? These questions have never been adequately decided on a constitutional basis in the courts.

Over the years there have been several legislative and executive orders to remedy in part the damages incurred by the *nikkei* (persons of Japanese descent.) The 1948 Claims Act was limited to tangible losses--"damages to or loss of real or personal property"--documented by receipt. There was no recognition of replacement value or personal loss.

In 1972, Congress passed a bill to return (without interest) \$4.5 million to 2,000 *issei* (first generation Japanese Americans) whose accounts in the California and Hawaii Yokohama Specie Bank were confiscated immediately after Pearl Harbor. Separate rulings in 1965 and 1967 returned savings to 5,000 others at the pre-war exchange rate.

In 1973, a measure was approved to expand Social Security eligibility to those adults in the camps who became citizens after the 1952 repeal of the Oriental Exclusion Acts. President Carter acted in 1978 to give retirement credit to civil service employees held in the 1940's.

None of these measures have addressed the issue of injustice. Nor have they acknowledged the human losses incurred: the damage to mental and physical health, reputation, livelihood, and community life. Executive Order 9066 was only formally nullified in 1976.

May the injustices and humiliation suffered here as a result of hysteria, racism, and economic exploitation never emerge again.

---Manzanar, California

Historical Landmark plaque

The redress and reparations movement among the Japanese American community has

been directed toward rectifying the abuse of civil liberties that occurred four decades ago. Though views on proper compensation differ among advocate groups, all are united in the effort to secure government recognition of injustice and personal hardships. All work to educate the American people about a chapter in American history rarely mentioned in classrooms or textbooks. They mean to prevent such events from happening again.

The movement began in earnest with the efforts of activists like Edison Uno in the early 1970's. Increased awareness by the *sansei* (third generation) of the impact of the internment on their lives fostered annual pilgrimages to camp sites. The community worked to have the sites set aside as landmarks by the California State Park Department. Manzanar was dedicated in April, 1973; Tule Lake in May, 1979.

Resolutions calling for reparations were introduced at national conventions of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), finally endorsed as national policy at the Salt Lake City convention, July, 1978. Establishment of the JACL Redress Committee marked the first organized lobby for redress and reparations. With the preparation of two bills for introduction to Congress in 1979 and early 1980, the debate on redress and reparations broke wide open.

It is doubtful that the Japanese American community is as split over the redress and reparations movement as some would seem to believe (e.g. *L.A. Times* reporter, Theresa Watanabe.) Recent informal surveys by the *L.A. paper*, *Rafu Shimpo*, indicate strong *nikkei* support of redress. Yet the subject is hardly an unemotional one. Many still advocate a "forgive and forget" stance, fearful of rekindling old resentments and racism. Senator S. I. Hayakawa (R-CA)--who was not interned--argued vociferously against seeking redress, saying forced relocation was "perfectly understandable" in light of hysteria and the possibility of mob actions. Hayakawa also credited the camps for breaking up the Japantowns and giving the *nikkei* opportunities that have made them the "model minority." He was answered by an open letter in the *Washington Post*, May 9, 1979: "It was not our removal to camp that opened up the ghet-

toes, but the repeal of the anti-Oriental laws that barred the Issei from U.S. citizenship, owning property, and certain jobs. *After camp we had nothing. . . .* It was hard work, combined with the help of a few good friends, that brought us our present success. . . . Our success does not excuse the camps from American history.

What you call the white hysteria of the time does not excuse or lessen the damage done to Japanese America or American justice."

Most of the debate, however, centers on the issue of direct monetary compensation. The first redress bill to be introduced to committee was sponsored by Senator Mike Lowry (D-WA). His WW II Human Rights Violations Redress Act provided direct financial redress in the amount of \$15,000 plus \$15 per diem to all Japanese Americans (or their legal heirs) interred, detained, or forcibly relocated by the government during the war. Proponents of this measure saw the payments as an equitable way for official recognition of the violation of human rights. Some objections were voiced on the grounds that the per diem fee overlooked those who joined the army or relocated out of the camps. A few feel that asking for such "charity" is a disgrace. Hayakawa now champions a simple national apology.

Many feel that neither individual payments nor apologies are enough. They have proposed that a community development fund and/or a legal defense fund for civil rights cases be established as a way to emphasize that redress and reparations are not a matter of money, but of principle.

Responding to this debate and a fiscally wary Congress, the JACL, with the backing of a group of *nikkei* congressmen, proposed establishing a study commission to make recommendations for legislative action. The Inouye-Wright Bill, the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians Act, was passed unanimously in July, 1980. (The Lowry Bill has never come to the floor.) The Commission was chartered to collect testimony and information to determine whether a wrong was committed and to recommend appropriate remedies. Inouye-Wright does not specifically provide for redress.

Several major groups, including the

REDRESS

JACL Redress Committee, have been involved actively with the redress and reparations campaign developments since 1930. The two most notable are the National Coalition for Redress/Reparations (NCRR) and the National Council for Japanese American Redress (NCJAR).

The NCRR was formed in July, 1980. Endorsement and membership of the Coalition is drawn from many of the active *nikkei* groups on the west coast. Its efforts for redress are directed along legislative, educational, and legal lines. NCRR feels in principle that the Japanese Americans should not have to prove injustice endured, as it is "well-documented in research and personal experience" (NCRR Banner, February 1981). However, it sees the hearings as an opportunity to educate the public, impress upon the government that "r/r" is past due, and as a way to unite and involve *nikkei*. The Coalition has held conferences and community programs and organized February 19, Day of Remembrance activities.

The NCJAR is preparing a class action suit to obtain compensation, based on violations of civil and constitutional rights, for Japanese Americans interned in the WW II camps. They have raised 60% of costs and retained a Washington, D.C. legal firm to start proceedings. The NCJAR endorses the NCRR efforts but sees legal securing of compensation as the most direct means to redress and reparations. William Hohri of the Council has expressed a concern that the testimony given at Commission hearings will obscure issues and confuse the difference between injustice and damages.

You ask me what I think would be a proper reparation for the damages I suffered? I want to be returned to age 25, where I can live a life that I could have lived, a life where there could have been some enjoyment.

---Shigeo Nishimura, L.A. hearings,
CWRIC, July, 1981.

The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians began hearing testimony in Washington, D.C., July 14. Close to 5,000 witnesses from government,

Japanese American interest groups, law associations, academics, and the Asian and Caucasian communities spoke before the nine-member Commission in cities around the country.

At this writing it is still too early to tell what outcome these hearings will have. A few salient areas do come to mind, however. Most disturbing is that many non-Asians still confuse *nikkei* with the Japanese enemy of the 1940's. As Commissioner Edward Brooke cautioned, to compare POW's and people incarcerated in their own country is to "extend the wrong that was done in 1942."

Discussions of Supreme Court rulings on the legality of the Evacuation were informative. One attorney pointed out that it is within the power of the Court to correct decisions such as *Korematsu vs. U.S.*, 1944 (a group of citizens may be singled out, expelled from their homes and imprisoned without trial, based on ancestry) by Writ of Error with evidence that the Commission already has.

To no one's surprise, testimony from key figures involved in the relocation program, Karl Bendetsen of the Army and John McCoy, former Assistant Secretary of War, reiterated that the relocation was enacted for fear that, in an invasion, the *nikkei* would be disloyal or killed. Neither mentioned the fact that in Hawaii no one felt the need to move the Japanese American population stateside.

The Commission's final report to Congress is due sometime this spring. Many have expressed concern that, in making its recommendations for redress, the Commission will bow to the "political climate" and shy away from financial reparations. Many question whether the Commission will have adequate time to review transcribed testimony and documentary evidence. The NCRR and NCJAR are committed to a long struggle. They hold no illusions, nor do they believe the hearings were the "one and only chance" for the *nikkei* to bring their "experience and demand for r/r before the government." However, as Roy Nakano observed in a recent issue of *Cross Currents*, the hearings allowed the *nisei* to finally break four decades of silence, and leave the camps for good. (DAW)

Special thanks to Scott Wong and Grant Din for source material on r/r.

JAPANESE AMERICANS /Resources

ASIA IN THE UNITED STATES, FOCUS Magazine, Fall 1983 (vol. III, no. 1) (Special Issue)

This special issue of FOCUS contains articles, photos, class activities, and resource lists on Asian Americans.

Available from: Education Department
The Asia Society
725 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Price: \$3.00

SHARING OUR DIVERSITY: THE JAPANESE AMERICAN

Designed for the elementary level, this 500-page loose-leaf collection of readings, class activities, resource lists, and material providing teacher background is one of a series prepared in 1976 by the Sacramento City Unified School District.

Available from: Human Relations Office
Sacramento City Unified School District
Sacramento, CA

Price: Inquire at above address.

DESERT EXILE: THE UPROOTING OF A JAPANESE-AMERICAN FAMILY

This 154-page book by Yoshiko Uchida chronicles the life of one Japanese-American family as its members emigrated to the United States, established a new life here and eventually faced internment in a relocation camp during World War II. The book is especially notable since it offers a quite readable account geared toward high school readers.

Available from: University of Washington Press
P.O. Box 50096
Seattle, WA 98145

Tel. 1-800-441-4115

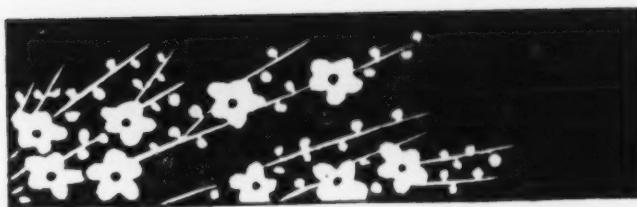
Price: \$9.95

A MORE PERFECT UNION: JAPANESE AMERICANS AND THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

This new exhibit at the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC records the World War II experience of Japanese Americans with artifacts and photographs. The exhibit includes a reconstructed barracks room furnished with objects made and used by Japanese Americans in such detention camps across the West. Military artifacts tell the story of Japanese Americans who served in the U.S. military during World War II. Additional information is available from:

National Museum of American History
Visitor's Information Center
Smithsonian Institution
14th Street & Constitution Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20560

Tel. (202)357-2700



ARTS/Contents

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART: JAPANESE GALLERIES (Reading & Field Trip)

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TEACHING ABOUT JAPAN THROUGH THE ARTS (Resource)

ARTS RESOURCES

Metropolitan Museum of Art: Japanese Galleries

In the spring of 1987, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York opened its new Japanese Galleries to the public. Included in the exhibit are some 200 items ranging in date from 1000 BC to the middle of the 19th century. The earliest objects on display include a collection of bronze mirrors related to Japan's native Shinto religion and some of the few genuine haniwa clay figures from the 6th and 7th centuries that exist outside Japan. Buddhist influence on Japanese art is reflected in a seven foot high wooden statue of Dainichi Buddha dating to the 12th century as well as in scroll paintings from a somewhat later period. A separate room is devoted to Japan's samurai tradition, exhibiting both armor and screen paintings depicting the great battles of early feudal Japan. The 18th and 19th centuries are represented by lacquer objects, paintings and ukiyoe woodblock prints.

Barbara Ford, Associate Curator of Asian Art at the Metropolitan Museum, has observed that art is an intimate part of Japanese life, inseparable from living spaces. For that reason, the Met's Japanese galleries have been planned to suggest the original setting of the objects displayed. Each space opens into the next, replicating the design of Japanese homes, palaces, and temples. One entire room of the exhibit is a reproduction of the guest room at Kangakuin, one of the buildings of Japan's Miidera temple.

Another highlight of the exhibit is a fountain designed by the Japanese-American sculptor Isamu Noguchi. Set in a bed of stones from the Ise River in Japan, the water sculpture suggests the Japanese gardens that form an integral part of any home or temple in Japan.

The exhibit also offers videotapes showing the techniques used in creating many of the objects on display as well as the way they are employed today.

Tour information for schools can be obtained at (212)879-3308. For general information about the Metropolitan's Japan Galleries, contact:

Metropolitan Museum of Art
82nd Street & Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10028

A Setting Fit for a Shogun

By DONALD KEENE

THE FIRST WORD I HAD OF the plan to create a new space for Japanese art at the Metropolitan Museum came three years ago from a Buddhist priest I met at the Miidera (also known as Onjōji), the imposing temple complex that overlooks Lake Biwa, east of Kyoto. I had gone there, as I had long intended, to pay my respects at the grave of Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908), the American scholar who did so much not only to introduce Japanese art to the West but to persuade the Japanese, then in the throes of modernization, to preserve their traditional arts. After his death in London, his ashes were brought for interment to the Miidera, a temple he had especially admired.

The priest led me to Fenollosa's grave, some distance from the main temple buildings. It was just the time when the mists

In the Met's new Japanese galleries, temples are evoked and water splashes in a rock garden.

were tinted the most brilliant autumn colors, and a profound silence reigned over the terrace on the hill that is the resting place for Fenollosa. Later in the day, almost casually, the priest informed me that a reproduction of Kangakuin, one of the buildings of the Miidera, was to be built in New York.

I misunderstood the implications of what I had been told: I thought that the entire Kangakuin would be re-created, and wondered how it would be possible to find room for a whole Buddhist temple inside an already crowded museum. Then the prosaic thought occurred to me that there was certain to be immense confusion if long lines of American visitors were required, in the Japanese manner, to remove their shoes before entering the new temple-gallery.

Only one room of the Kangakuin has, in fact, been reproduced in the Metropolitan Museum. It is a breathtakingly beautiful section of the exhibition, but it does not produce the effect of a grand climax because each of the galleries passed before visitors reach this room has already succeeded in captivating them, both by the quality of the objects displayed and the imaginative presentation.

Some 200 objects, ranging in date from perhaps 1000 B.C. to the middle of the twelfth century, will be on display in the new exhibition space, which opens to the public on Saturday. A number of these objects have been in the possession of the museum for 50 years or more without having once been shown, but thanks to the Japanese Government and some 23 other Japanese organizations plus the New York Japanese community, more than \$4 million was raised to build galleries where the Met's collection could be exhibited. The museum is devoting about 11,000 square feet on its second floor to the space, which is divided into 11 separate areas.

I cannot think of any museum in Japan, even among those that boast many national treasures, that produces a more convincing impression of the overpowering beauty of Japanese art over the centuries. The deep vitrines and cluttered assemblies of objects typical of the old-fashioned Japanese museums destroy the intimacy needed for the appreciation of much of the art; but in the Metropolitan each object can be seen at the proper distance. Instead of attempting to overwhelm visitors with a gargantuan display of the 20,000 or so examples of Japanese art in the museum collection, emphasis was placed on the individual works, and each has been given sufficient space to breathe in.

The first room one sees on entering the Japanese galleries presents examples of indigenous art, works created before the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century affected Japanese artistic expression

as profoundly as the adoption of Christianity had affected art in the West. Some, like the bronze mirrors, are directly related to Shinto, the native religion. I was particularly struck by the haniwa (clay figurine of the sixth and seventh centuries) of a deer's head. There is something irresistibly appealing in the tilt of the head and the puzzled expression. Haniwa are easy to fake, and both museums and private collections of the world contain many 20th-century examples, but a few genuine haniwa exist outside Japan, like those on display here.

The Japanese, originally under Fellenosa's guidance, instituted a system of controls over the exportation of objects of art, notably those designated as national treasures or important cultural properties. This policy has had the desirable result of checking the outflow of objects that are the common heritage of the Japanese people, but it has also meant that, apart from the ukiyoe woodblock prints, there are comparatively few works of absolutely first-rate quality outside Japan.

This in turn has created the impression among people who have not been able to visit Japan or the four or five museums and private collections in America with major holdings in the field that Japanese art was only of secondary importance, or even merely a provincial variation on the great art of China. The new galleries at the Metropolitan should help to dispel this misconception. The national museums in Tokyo and Kyoto undoubtedly possess greater riches in every area of Japanese art covered by the exhibition in New York, but the major American contribution to the museums of the world — the art of effective display — immensely enhances the Metropolitan collection.

Each room in the exhibition space has been planned to create a distinct impression. Apart from the room from the Milder — a flawless recreation not only of the dimensions but the materials and atmosphere of the original — the second room, devoted to Buddhist art of the Heian period (794-1183), impressed me most. At the center, visible from the distance the moment one sets foot inside exhibition space is a 12th-century, seven-foot-high wooden sculpture of Dainichi Buddha, the central

figure of worship for believers of Shingon Buddhism, an esoteric sect dating to the eighth century in Japan. This statue, though acquired by the museum in 1926, has been shown to the public only sporadically because of the lack of suitable gallery space. It shows traces of gilt and color, but is perhaps more affecting in its present worn state, which suggests the Buddhist lesson of impermanence, than when it was first created.

The hands of Dainichi form a mudra or sacred gesture: the five fingers of the right hand, each representing one of the five elements — earth, water, fire, air and ether — are clasped around the forefinger of the left hand, representing mind, the sixth element that joins the rest. The statue of Dainichi sits on a lotus pedestal that is mounted on an altar platform that symbolizes Mount Sumeru, the mountain of wonderful height that supports the Buddhist heaven, and the center around which the heavenly bodies revolve. The platform, together with its pillars, roof and rear wall, were all made of cypress wood from the Kiso region of Japan, a wood especially prized because it is not disfigured by knotholes. This wood is used sparingly — for temple architecture, the stages of Nô theaters and other works of art.

Before this room was built, a suitable model was sought in Japan. The choice was finally the altar and magnificent coffered ceiling of the Fukid-era, a small, 12th-century temple in the Kunisaki Peninsula, a remote area of the island of Kyushu. The care exercised in having chosen this particular temple for reproduction in New York reflects the painstaking collaboration of the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs and especially of Kakichi Suzuki, an architectural historian who personally supervised the Japanese craftsmen who built this and other galleries. Even details that are hardly visible, such as the metal ornaments on the lintel of the Milder room, were changed several times until exactly the desired effect was obtained.

On the other side of the wooden wall behind the statue of Dainichi Buddha is a large colored scroll painting of Buddha's entry into nirvana, mourned not only by human beings but by all manner of birds and beasts. This painting entered the Met's collection in 1912, but is now exhibited for the first time. Indeed, it may be for the first time in hundreds of years that the painting has been seen in its present state. The restorers at the

Metropolitan, headed by Takemitsu Oba, have reason to be proud of their achievement.

In the next room, smaller in size because of the more intimate nature of the works of art, religious scrolls of the Kamakura period (1185-1333) are displayed, notably two that depict the lives of great figures of a somewhat

Effective display immensely enhances the Met's Japanese galleries.

earlier age, the priest Honan and the scholar Michizane, suggesting the origins of Japanese narrative painting. The size of the room and the mood change again as the visitors pass into the gallery devoted to Buddhist art of the Muromachi period (1336-1573), a time when Chinese influence was strong, especially in the Zen monasteries. A pair of six-fold monochrome landscape screens by Sôami dominates this room, but the scrolls of Chinese scenes and the lacquer statue of a Zen master are also memorable. On one wall is a triptych formed by a Chinese-looking Buddhist figure flanked by paintings of wild geese. I learned from Barbara Ford, the associate curator of Asian art who has guided the planning of the gallery and the choice of objects to be displayed, that the two wild geese paintings were acquired separately and have only recently been reunited after many years apart.

Even while admiring the objects in the Muromachi room one hears from somewhere the sound of splashing water. It comes from the minuscule garden just beyond. A garden is an indispensable element of any Japanese temple or residence, but it was not feasible to incorporate an actual garden in the exhibition space. It was while pondering this problem that Dr. Ford visited the Isamu Noguchi museum in Queens and saw there a boulder, slashed along one side to reveal its core of contrasting color, that had been made into a fountain with water, flowing from the center. She intuitively recognized that this was the garden element for which she had been searching. Noguchi's imagination was also fired, and he took off for

Japan to make a somewhat larger fountain to fit the space in the museum "garden." He was not satisfied with his first effort and made another, along the same lines. The visitors' first glimpse of the fountain is deliberately obstructed by a wood grid at eye level that forces them to look downward; later, when they have passed through a loop of successive galleries and emerged into the first gallery that is lit by natural light from above, the fountain is again revealed, this time from the other side, the water gleaming in the sunlight.

From the abstract garden one passes next to the reproduction of the guest room at the Kangakuin that I first heard about in Japan. The other galleries have carpeting to keep the noise level at a minimum, but here the polished wooden boards of the floor are reminiscent of a temple and induce a perhaps subconscious awareness of having entered a different world. The luster of the gold-leafed sliding doors, the wood of the tokonoma (the alcove for displaying objects of art) and the powerful design of the screen painting of a plum tree contrast harmoniously with the spare elegance of the tatami matting. I shudder to think of the monumental bottlenecks that will be created by future visitors reluctant to leave this exquisite room.

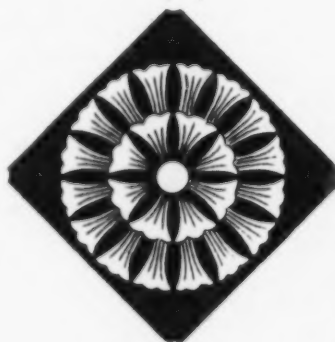
There are still many treasures ahead, including three screens by Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716) — the remarkable pair of iris screens (perfectly displayed here) and Kōrin's superb waves — that are perhaps the most celebrated Japanese works of art in the Metropolitan collection. One room (toward the end of the gallery tour) is devoted to "samurai splendor" and includes the powerful martial clashes on the great screens depicting the Hōgen and Heiji wars, along with a suit of armor donated to a temple in 1331 by the chief military leader of the day, Ashikaga Takauji. The 18th and early 19th centuries are represented by lacquer, theatrical robes, paintings and, of course, some choice examples from the Metropolitan's collection of ukiyoe.

Last of all, if one is somewhat tired after the pilgrimage through the riches of Japanese art, there is a room where one can sit for a while in peace and quiet, looking — or not looking — at video tapes that show

the manner in which lacquer, ceramics and other objects on display are still created, and how these objects are employed today in Japanese homes or in religious observances.

The exhibition will be changed from time to time, because of the fragile nature of many objects, but mainly because it is in the Japanese tradition to change the treasures that are displayed in the tokonoma so that the owner does not, because of over-familiarity, stop "seeing" them.

In 1887 Ernest Fenollosa helped to draft a law for the preservation of the temples and shrines and their treasures. A few years earlier the Japanese had been only too eager to sell their traditional art to foreigners, as we know from the accounts by Henry Adams and other early visitors, who complained of the daily visits of "curio dealers." A hundred years later, the Japanese, now proud of their artistic heritage, have generously contributed to create galleries at the Metropolitan Museum ideally suited to displaying this heritage in full glory. □



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Special issue on "Teaching About Japan Through Art and Modern Literature," edited by Charles von Lowentfeldt and Betty Bullard. Sections on Japanese art focus on eight objects, one from each of Japan's principle historical periods.

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